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the Society

15 March 1902.

(Cambridge
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REPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS.

REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 18, 1885,

WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY,
1884—1885.

1885)

ALSO

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OF THE

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VOL. VI.

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REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 18, 1885.

WITH APPENDIX.

Cambridge:
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REPORT.

In presenting their Forty-fifth Annual Report, the Council record with regret the loss by death of the Rev. G. Crabbe, rector of Merton, Norfolk, an accomplished genealogist, who, if his connection with the Society had been longer, might have left his mark among its publications.

From change of residence and other causes, eleven names have been withdrawn; but 39 new Members have been elected into the Society, which now numbers 331 on the list.

In the first week of last August the Society visited Quy, Swaffham Bulbeck and Swaffham Prior, Burwell and Anglesea Abbey, and were most courteously entertained by the local land-owners and clergy, who kindly read memoirs descriptive of the churches, dykes, and other objects visited.

The *Report and Communications for* 1882—83 was issued last November; the next number, completing the fifth volume of our *Communications*, is on its way to publication.

Among the octavo publications, Nicholas Tyery's *Suggestions for a Coinage for Ireland*, and Mr Hailstone's *History of Swaffham Bulbeck*, are in the Press and the former will, it is

hoped, be issued during the present year: Mr J. E. Foster has undertaken to edit Alderman Newton's *Diary* (1662—1717), and is on the point of sending it to Press.

The second loan exhibition of portraits belonging to the University and Colleges has been arranged by the President in the Fitzwilliam Museum, and illustrates the period from the accession of James I. to the death of Charles II.: it is probable that it will be necessary to hold at least two more similar exhibitions. When all the portraits available for study have been carefully criticised, the Council hope to publish a complete descriptive catalogue of the whole series.

The following learned bodies have been added to the list of Societies in correspondence for the exchange of publications:

The American Antiquarian Society (October 20, 1884).

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I. AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 18, 1885.

October 20, 1884. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

J. H. Hessels, Esq., M.A. 36 Union Road.
R. D. Hicks, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.
B. Lewis, Esq., M.A., Queen's College, Cork.
Rev. E. H. Morgan, M.A., Jesus College.
R. A. Neil, Esq., M.A., Pembroke College.

Mr G. SPENCER PERCIVAL exhibited and kindly presented to the Society a glass bottle, 8½ inches high, 18 inches in circumference at the base, bearing the legend in relief—Thoˢ: Ewin, Cambridge, 1736.

Mr A. G. WRIGHT, of Newmarket, exhibited (from his own collection) five billon denarii of Postumus, with the legends FELICITAS • AVG : IOVI • STATORI : NEPTVNO • REDVCI : SAECVLI • FELICITAS : SARAPI • COMITI • AVG, from the Baconsthorpe hoard (1878): also a Roman bronze ear-ring and a mediæval bronze signet-ring, both found at Stoney Hill, Lakenheath, early in this present year: also a photograph of a rare palaeolithic implement found at New Park, March, in 1877.

Mr LEWIS exhibited a well-preserved *first brass* of Marcus Aurelius, *rev.* HONOS with portrait of the young Prince erect, olive-branch and cornucopiae (141 A.D.), which had been found in 1883 on land occupied by Mr T. Russell at Litlington in this county.

Mr BROWNE read a paper "On some Inscriptions and Supposed Inscriptions." (See *Communications*, Vol. VI, No. I.)

Mr O. C. PELL read a paper "On Libere tenentes etc. in Domesday, and on the meaning of the word *Wara*." (See *Communications*, Vol. VI, No. II.)

Dr BRYAN WALKER considered that the thanks of the meeting were due to Mr Pell for his learned discourse, and for bringing to their notice these important documents. He agreed with Mr Pell and Prof. Skeat that *wara* meant uncultivated land, or rather the right of pasturage over such land. In Domesday Book, or at any rate in the part of it relating to Cambs., *wara* meant "common appurtenant," i.e. commonage rights in one manor attached to land lying in another manor; as was shown by three instances in the accounts of Hinxton, Shelford and Trumpington. That in later times *wara* or *warecta* meant also the one-third or one-half of the land in a manor lying in dead fallow in any one year; as shewn by quotations from the Hundred Rolls, Domesday of St Paul's (A.D. 1181), and Register of the Priory of Worcester. He also agreed with Mr Pell that many free tenants must have existed at the time of the Conqueror's Domesday who were not catalogued in Domesday, though their pecuniary renders, no doubt, formed part of the *valet* or income of the manor. He could not agree with him, however, that the *villani* were *free* tenants paying money-rents; but held on the contrary that they were the most important of the cultivating tenants, whose rent consisted mainly in services performed on the demesne land both personally and by the use of their *carucæ*, or plough-teams; which undoubtedly were reckoned as eight oxen to a team. Neither could he agree that there were 1300 virgates, or quarters of a *terra ad carucam*, in the hands of the "homines" in the Isle of Ely; but only 81 *terræ ad carucam*, i.e. 324 virgates. He also objected to Mr Pell's application of 1277 and 1221 estimates of the acreage of *terræ ad carucam* to the Domesday accounts; and said that the Domesday itself shewed that in the majority of the townships in the Isle, the *terra ad carucam* was 120 acres in the Conqueror's time, and the virgate therefore 30 acres, not 24, 28, 34, 36, &c. acres as it stood in the later records quoted by Mr Pell. Domesday further shewed that the cottars and serfs in the Isle had little or no arable land; and therefore could not have provided or maintained the *carucæ hominum*; and that these belonged to the *villani* and *sochemanni*; whose arable land, added to the arable land in demesne, in all cases exactly made up the total of arable land assigned in Domesday to the whole manor.

November 10, 1884. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

W. M. Jones, Esq., Christ's College.

C. W. Townley, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire.

H. F. Wilson, Esq., B.A., Trinity College.

The MASTER OF PETERHOUSE exhibited and kindly presented to the Society a shilling of James I. which was found last October in digging a drain in the Lodge garden; *obv.* IACOBVS·MA·BRI·FRA·ET·HI·REX crowned bust to right XII: *rev.* QVÆ·DEVS·CONIVNXIT·NEMO·SEPARET.—in memory of the Act of Union.

Professor HUGHES gave an account of the opening, last June, of a tumulus at the north-western side of Upper Hare Park, *i.e.* at the eastern end of the Four-Mile Race-Course, Newmarket.

He first observed that some flint flakes which he exhibited might have been derived from the surface-soil on which the mound was raised, and might be of any date earlier than the tumulus; and he referred to an account of the discovery of such flakes associated with a palaeolithic implement close by (see *Nature*, October 30, 1884.)

He next described the situation, pointing out how the forms of such mounds were modified by subsequent denudation.

Most of the remains were found in the south-western portion: the north-eastern had not yet been explored. They consisted of skeletons buried whole on their sides, with the arms and legs doubled up; of bones and charcoal shewing evidence of cremation; of rude urns; one urn being ornamented with a shoulder and cris-cross lines indented. There was also found in the earth a piece of a ring of Kimmeridge coal.

The relative age of these remains was not clear, but they were all in the body of the tumulus. Over them there was towards the lower margin a thick accumulation of earth, due to the washing and trampling down of the mound. In this were fragments of Roman pottery and two Roman coins of Galba and Quintillus. Over the surface mediaeval and later remains were scattered.

Professor Hughes then described the results of his investigations along the line of the Maiden Way, and at Whitley Camp. (See *Communications*, Vol. VI, No. III.)

Dr BRYAN WALKER read an account of the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*. (See *Communications*, Vol. VI, No. IV.)

Professor SKEAT explained the word *sol* to mean a plough, and said that it was still so used in Devonshire.

Mr PELL said that he could not agree with Dr Walker in the reasoning by which he arrived at the conclusion that the areal *hide* generally in Cambridgeshire or in the Manors specially named by him was 120 acres. The general opening statement in regard to all Manors in Domesday of

"*se defendit pro* (*x*) *hidis*" (for instance pro decem hidis in Balsham) was by no means a statement of area from which the course of cropping might be inferred, but merely a taxational one meaning nothing more than that the arable land in the Manor was taxed at ten pounds, this amount being expressed by the formula of ten imaginary hides of 120 acres of cropped land each and taxed at 2*d.* per acre. It was only reasonable to suppose therefore after the Inquisitio C. C. had distributed this taxation implied in the formula over the several holdings of the Manor, and when the process was reversed and the several items correctly added up again, that they would amount to the same totals from which the start was made. The only correct way of arriving at the area of the arable land in any one manor was to have regard to the number of ploughs (remembering however that the manor-ploughs might imply a greater quantity of land than that implied by the ploughs of the homines) and also to have regard to the fact that the *terra ad carucam* in Domesday means not only the land under cropping in any one year but also the idle shift as well (differing in this respect from the opinion expressed in Dr Walker's former paper). Taking Balsham again to illustrate this, it will be seen that Inquisitio C. C. first of all apportions nine of the ten pounds of taxation (as expressed by nine of the ten imaginary hides of 120 acres each) on the Abbot of Ely's holdings, leaving the remaining pound and the remaining imaginary hide of 120 acres of cropped land not (as Dr Walker's paper impliedly suggests) to eighty acres held by one Hardwinus plus forty acres held by one Almarus (which forty acres however had been previously valued and was therefore out of the calculation), but upon the said eighty acres of Hardwinus plus another eighty acres (stated to be held in Domesday book) both of the said eighty acres being valued at thirteen shillings and fourpence each (when including the idle shift), but each containing sixty acres of cropped land and therefore each taxed at ten shillings—thus making up the remaining imaginary taxational hide of 120 acres, and the remaining one pound of taxation.

Mr Pell concluded by pointing out that Balsham afforded one of many examples of the correspondence of the MSS. of 1221 and 1277 (alluded to in his communication to the last meeting of the Society) with Domesday book in regard to the size of the virgates of the homines in the Manors contained in those surveys, Domesday Book as well as the Hundred Rolls severally stating the *terra ad carucam* of the homines in the Manor of Balsham to be 80 acres and the virgate therefore 20 acres, that being the quantity given both in the MS. of 1221 as well as that of 1277 as the size of the virgate of the homines in Balsham, and he further stated that he had found no instance in which Domesday Book, and the two MSS. did not agree as to the area of the virgate of the homines in the manors so surveyed.

Mr Cunningham expressed his great interest in the paper and his hope that Dr Walker's analysis of the *Inquisitio* might soon be in their hands,

so that they might be able to use it side by side with the *Domesday*. There seemed to him a certain awkwardness in speaking of *plough-lands* of 120 and 80 acres, when *areas* of 180 and 160 were really meant. Assuming that these areas were correct, he could not feel confident that the *virgate* should be treated as a quarter of a plough-land, as many cases occurred in the *Hundred Rolls* where five or six virgates made up the plough-land: and he believed that 45 or 40 acres was an unusually large virgate. On these grounds he felt a little doubt about some of the explanations, even when the figures tallied very remarkably; he was unwilling to continue a somewhat technical discussion, and would only add that he did not quite understand Dr Walker's treatment of the variations in the *Domesday* values.

Dr Walker in reply said that he had confined himself to the question of the area of the *taxational* hide; and particularly wished to keep clear of the doubtful point whether the hide contained a single plough-land or more. He also thought, after looking once more at Domesday, that there was not the slightest ground for Mr Pell's assertion that Harduin had two parcels of 80 acres in Balsham, or that Almar's parcel was not to be counted in the sum total: but he agreed that the virgate was 20 acres, and plough-land *for one team* 80 acres there.

The President exhibited and described some specimens of two varieties of Ox, which had been domesticated in prehistoric or very early historic times. After briefly describing the gigantic bovine animals of which evidence is obtained from the gravel and the peat (*Bison priscus* and *Bos primigenius*, neither of which have ever been domesticated), it was stated that the remains of oxen found in graves indicated different and much smaller animals. There were probably several varieties of the domestic Ox in prehistoric times, varying considerably in size. In the fens of Cambridgeshire the most prevailing species was a very small Ox with a long face and short recurved horns, called by Professor Owen *Bos longifrons*. A complete fore-leg from Burwell Fen was exhibited, which, though quite adult, indicated an animal not more than about three feet six inches high. If this little animal was commonly used for farm labour, it is not surprising that a yoke of eight would be required to draw a plough through heavy land.

Professor Hughes stated that he had found what he considered to be a domesticated form of *Bos longifrons* together with undoubted Roman remains, and believed it to be of an indigenous breed.

December 1, 1884. The Rev. H. R. Luard, D.D. (Vice-President), in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

Rev. E. W. Ashfield, M.A., Trinity College.
W. de G. Birch, Esq., F.S.A., British Museum.

Prof. W. Ll. Birkbeck, M.A., Downing College.
Rev. L. Borissow, M.A., Trinity College.
W. L. de Gruchy, Esq., Rochebois, Jersey.
Rev. J. V. Durell, M.A., St John's College.
W. H. Green, Esq., Downing College.
J. H. Gretton, Esq., Jesus College.

Baron A. von HÜGEL and Professor HUGHES described the contents of a Roman rubbish-hole, which formed one of a number of similar pits occurring just outside the camp at Great Chesterford.

The only other example which had been completely excavated was the kiln described in a former communication to the Society. They attached importance to a careful record of all the evidence found in one and the same pit, as little was yet known as to the time over which their use extended. They called attention to the fact that, while the variety of objects was considerable, the small number of each kind and the fragmentary character of such as were found pointed to there being very large quantities concealed somewhere else. They pointed out that there was abundant evidence, from the occurrence of bricks, tiles, wattle, &c. that there were buildings about, but no foundation floors or other remains of them had been seen *in situ*. They described the dimensions of the pit and the character and distribution of its contents. Household-rubbish appeared to have been thrown in and covered at intervals with layers of earth, sand, or gravel. A considerable quantity of fine sand, such as might be procured from the surrounding gravel, was often found along the sides. These softer beds facilitated the descent of burrowing animals, which often disturbed the contents of the pit.

Among the animal remains found were bones of a small horned ox, apparently of a domestic breed, derived from *Bos longifrons*, but generally larger than the specimens found in the fens; of the Sheep, Pig, Fox, and Cat also remains were found. This was the second time that the bones of what appears to be the common cat have been found among Roman remains at Chesterford. The Partridge, Oyster, Mussel, Whelk, and two species of snail (*Helix aspersa* and *Helix nemoralis*) were also represented. Of other objects they drew special attention to the bone needles, bricks and flanged, grooved and perforated tiles. Nails and other pieces of iron—some of which might have been in the wood used for firing, but some of which probably belonged to the buildings above noticed. About two-thirds down a large piece of squared timber was found, six feet in length and one foot across, with marks of rust and nails in it. Of pottery several nearly perfect and very beautifully ornamented vessels were found, especially near the bottom. There were several flat dishes of a coarser ware and fragments of ordinary urns occurred in abundance. There were some pieces of Samian ware—one with the

potter's mark, Conatius F. and another with the two final letters of the name and OF. There was also a third brass of Claudius II. picked up below the pit—but its position in the earth was not seen.

Professor HUGHES described three sepulchral mounds near Crosby Ravensworth, in Westmoreland*. The first, which was in a wood near Harbourwain, had been raised over a contiguous group of graves formed by arranging large irregular stones, chiefly derived from the drift and surface blocks, in such a manner as to form a double series of chambers, some of which appeared to have been covered by slabs. In these graves he had found only charred wood. The next mound described was situated on the unenclosed moor between Crosby Ravensworth and Shap Wells. In general plan it was the same as the last. A fine clay, evidently carried there, occurred in some of the graves. In this tumulus the skeleton of a man of very large stature was found, and fragments of a sepulchral urn of the type known as British. It was about eight inches in height with a shoulder and was covered with alternate bands of indented horizontal lines and oblique markings. There was also a small fragment of a neolithic felstone implement. The third cairn was one of small size lying south of the road over Bank Moor, between Orton and Appleby. In this he had found the remains of four individuals. The mode of interment seemed to be as follows. The surface soil and loose blocks of limestone were removed, a small grave some 3 by 1½ feet was thus formed which was irregularly lined with small flat stones. There was often a larger flat stone under the head. The body was placed on its side with the legs and arms doubled up. Stones were placed across those that formed the sides but apparently with no great care. The graves were not contiguous as in the other two cairns. The skeletons were small and probably indicated a stature of under five feet. There was no trace of fire nor any fragment of urn found. In the S.W. part of the cairn at some distance from the skeletons was a beautifully finished gold plated bronze buckle, on the flat plate of which was what looked like an heraldic device—a lion passant regardant on a punctured field in a plain border. Below this were a few pieces of the bones of some large animal, probably horse.

Professor HUGHES exhibited a late-mediæval pig found in digging the foundations of the new post-office. Also, from the same locality, a curious figure in coarse ware of a man whose face was deeply sunk in a hood, which was covered with circular markings, giving the whole somewhat the character of chain armour. Also from the same locality a small late-mediæval glass bottle. He exhibited six metal mortars also, some ornamented and some with almost obliterated marks like lettering. These

* The Chairman insisted that this should rather be spelt Westmereland, pointing out that it was derived from the *meres* not from the *moors*.

were of a type still in use but were themselves, he thought, of considerable antiquity. Also a pilgrim's bottle with a rich impressed ornamentation.

Dr Bryan Walker, in commenting on the ancient camps in Wiltshire and the adjoining counties, remarked that Wiltshire was evidently a centre of population at the opening of history; and the reason was that woodless plains, such as are found in that district, would be suitable places of habitation for those who were unable to clear away the forest with their implements of stone or bronze. The Iberians, first of all, have left traces in the long-barrows in the centre of Wilts: and seem to have been driven by later invaders to the North and West, as it is in N. Wilts, Gloucestershire and Somerset that their barrows become chambered; and still further to the N. and W. are found the dolmens; which, according to Fergusson, are a final development from the chambers in the barrows. The intruders who displaced the Iberians seem to have been the Gael, or Cymry; who according to the Triad "Came with Hu Gadaru"; and these commenced the construction of the round barrows, (of which Wilts contains more than 2000,) and are probably also the makers of the simplest kind of defensive works found in the country, viz. the rows of parallel ramparts, tier above tier, on the sides of hills, with cross-banks connecting the horizontal lines, and sometimes with a rough kind of camp, from which the main ramparts commence. There are many of these on the Eastern Bank of the Bourne River and elsewhere, but the most remarkable series is along the S. bank of the Wily at Stockton, Groveley and Hamshill. These indicate that the Cymry or Gael were in their turn pressed out of Wiltshire to E. and W. by another and later body of invaders, who would be the tribe called the Lloegyr. Dr Walker argued that these were identical with the Ligures of S. France and Spain; and that the Ligures were a branch of the Celtic race, as Dr Guest and Prof. Rhys maintained: and as the Triad also implies, which states that the three "Social or honest tribes," (i.e. the tribes of pure Celts,) who came into our island were 1st the Cymry under Hu Gadaru, 2nd the Lloegrwys, who came from the land of Gwaswyn, i.e. N. Aquitania, 3rd the Brython, who were from Llydaw or Brittany. It is likely that the Lloegyr were compelled to leave Gaul by the pressure of the invading Brython, the Celtae of Caesar, about 700 or 800 B.C.; and the Ligurian tribes which Strabo mentions as once occupying Provence, the Sumbroi or Insubres, Uceni, Bebryces, Brigantes, have their counterparts in Britain in the Severi or Subri, who occupied Wilts, (or the Provincia Severiana, as John of Salisbury calls it,) and Severia, (which is Leland's name for Old Sarum); in the Iceni of Norfolk, the Bibroci of Berks, and the Brigantes of Yorkshire. Probably the Ligurians occupied almost all the S. and E. of England; till the Brython or Celtae, having spread through the Centre and N. of France,

were about 300 B.C., in their turn, driven across the Channel by the entrance of the Belgae into Gaul. The Brythonic settlement in England was apparently in Kent, perhaps also in Essex, and on through the Midlands; where the Cassii and Cenimagni of Caesar seem to represent the Velocasses, Tricasses, Viducasses, Bajocasses, &c., and the Cenomanni amongst the Continental Celtae: and Dr Guest remarks that as the capital of the Cenomanni is still called Le Mans, so in England at either extremity of the land of the Cenomanni, called more usually Cornavii from their geographical position, were Manduessedum and Mancunium.

When the Lloegyr had driven the Gael from their lines on the Wily, the latter seem to have constructed a line of forts along the Nadder, which are somewhat like the Lloegrian forts, but appear to retain a reminiscence of the old lines of ramparts in the parallel subdivisions which are found in almost the whole of this series, embracing Whitesheet and Jack's Castle, Castle Rings, Winkelbury, Chiselbury, &c., and somewhat similar are the forts of the Dobuni, as Castle Combe, &c. The long line of forts along the hills which bound Salisbury Plain to the W. and N. and then run to the N.E. to meet the Chilterns, must be the barrier of the Lloegryans, to secure their conquest after they had pushed the Gael inland. This line comprises Scratchbury and Battlesbury near Warminster, Bralton close to Westbury, Casterley, Rybury near Devizes, Oldbury over Cherrington, Barbury half-way between Marlborough and Swindon, Liddington, and Uffington; and the line runs on through Bucks and Herts, and into Cambs. These forts are connected by the Iknild Way and the Ridgeway: and probably the Ridgeway after passing Casterley skirted the N. of Salisbury Plain, as it seems to reappear in the ancient road, running for miles behind Bratton, Battlesbury and Scratchbury. These forts have a distinct character of their own. They are on the brow of a hill, and conform in shape to the hill: they have one or more ramparts in front, but not always an outer fosse, the steepness of the hill usually serving instead of one; but they always have a deep fosse and strong rampart in the rear upon the tableland. Though in the main a line of defence against the Gael, they also show occasionally the lines and counter-lines of Lloegrian tribes one against the other, as at the vale of Pewsey, where Martinshill with the connected works at Hewish Hill and Rybury face Casterley and Broadbury, the vale being probably the march between the Bibroci and Subri.

The last type of military forts in Wilts is the set of camps of circular, at any rate, of regular geometric shape, and not conforming to the hill on which they stand, the constructors having often altered the shape of the hill to fit in with their plans. These are found almost invariably in connection with the Belgic ditches, (see Dr Guest in his Oxford paper 1850,) and seem clearly to be the forts of the Belgae; who came to the Isle of Wight first, and afterwards landed at Tweon-Ea (Christchurch) about

250 B.C. The Lloegyr and the Cymry, when brought into conflict with the Belgae, learned a lesson from them in the art of fortification: and so Hod and Hamildon, which the Durotriges raised to bar the Blandford Valley against the Belgae, are of very excellent construction; so also is Eggardun: and another fort of the Durotriges, Maiden Bower near Dorchester, is the largest and most elaborate camp in England, containing 120 acres, and surrounded by never less than three or four ramparts of 60 feet elevation and at the entrances by six or eight ramparts. So also Membury and Fosbury, counterworks of the Lloegrians on the E. frontiers of the Belgae are more finished than the earlier Lloegrian work.

Dr Walker added a few remarks on the non-military camps, which have no fosse, or the fosse within the vallum. Of the latter Chlorus's Camp is an instance, of the former Oldbury, Dorrington Walls, Codford, Soldier's Ring.

Professor Hughes remarked chiefly on these non-military camps; that they often seemed to have been merely a flat platform of earth with a shallow bank sloping down to the natural surface, and no ditch: whereas others, like the works called *raths* in Ireland, and Arthur's Round Table near Penrith, had a deep fosse on the inner side of the *agger*.

Professor E. C. Clark pointed out the admirable arrangement of the defensive works at the entrances to such camps as Maiden Castle; in which case he could confirm the correctness of Dr Walker's diagram from personal inspection.

February 9, 1885. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the Chair.

The following new members were elected:

F. J. Allen, Esq., M.A., St John's College.
A. A. Bevan, Esq., Trinity College.
Rev. Canon M. Creighton, M.A., Emmanuel College, Professor of Ecclesiastical History.
Professor M. Foster, M.A., Trinity College.
J. A. Greenwood, Esq., Trinity College.

Mr H. F. WILSON read a short paper upon an Inscription in Ashwell Church, Hertfordshire, relating to the Black death. After criticising the interpretation of it put forward in Cussan's *History of Hertfordshire*, he stated his belief that it referred to both the visitations of the pestilence, viz. in 1348–9 and 1361. The first portion of it is in leonine hexameters and runs as follows:

M C ter X penta miseranda ferox violenta
[? discessit pestis]: superest plebs pessima testis.
MCCCL.

which Mr Wilson translated thus:

[In] 1350, the deplorable, fierce, raging [pestilence departed:] the dregs of the populace remain to tell the tale.

The second portion is in prose, with a return to verse at the close:

in fine ij (secundæ) ventus validus
* * * Maurus in orbe tonat. MCCCLXI.

"At the end of the second (visitation) a mighty wind * * * (St) Maurice thunders in the world," i.e. *there was an earthquake on St Maurice's Day.*

Mr Wilson supported his rendering of the latter sentence by a reference to Hardyng's Chronicle:

"And in the yere of Christ a M wryten
Three hundreth also sixtye and one
The ij pestylence reigned, as was weten...
.....
In that same yere was on *Saint Maurys Day*
The great wind and earthquake mervelous."

It was suggested that the inscription or inscriptions were the contemporary work of the priest at Ashwell, who was, like most of the early rectors of that place, one of the monks of Westminster. The Abbot and twenty-six of the brethren died in the plague of 1349, and a profound impression would have been made on the survivors.

Besides a rubbing of the inscription, and a copy containing his emendations of it, Mr Wilson exhibited a rubbing from an incised picture (believed to be of Westminster Abbey), which is to be seen on the north wall of the church-tower at Ashwell.

Mr Pell exhibited the following objects dug up in or near Wilburton.

1st. A specimen of gold ring-money weighing just the weight of three half-sovereigns, found in May, 1883, on the border of Wilburton Fen on the top of the fen earth.

2nd. A very good stag's horn and the base of its fellow, found in March, 1884, with bones and teeth on the top of a bank of coprolites and gravel (under five feet of fen-earth) in Stretham Parish. Driven into the bank close to the remains of the stag were some six or seven stakes, one of which Mr Pell produced. They have been sharpened at the end. The stakes were not long enough to have penetrated the peat even in its present state, though shrunk to at least one-third of its former depth.

3rd. A horn, probably of a *bos primigenius*, which was found some years ago in Wilburton gravel-pit hill on the top of a celtic urn of the usual

kind. Inside the urn were a few nuts and some teeth, very small, though of an adult.

4th. A silver spoon dug up in May, 1884, at the Rectory Orchard at Wilburton; the letter on it gives the date of either 1570 odd or 1620 odd. At that time Sir Miles Sandys, Bart., one of the Chief Undertakers for draining the fens, lived at the Rectory, and his son the next Sir Miles after him. The family of Sandys left Wilburton about 1660; so most likely the spoon belonged to one of them.

Mr PELL read a paper "On the Domesday Geldable Hide, what it probably was and what it certainly was not; with an explanation of the Domesday terms terra ad carucam, carucata, and virgata from information contained in certain MSS. of the 13th century, including the Hundred Rolls." (See *Communications*, Vol. VI, No. V.)

Professor BIRKBECK was of opinion that the Hide included a certain quantity of arable land with its due appendage of other ground, especially pasture, which formed a considerable feature in English husbandry. The arable land being the most important element, its amount is sometimes given as the amount of the hide. The statement is often appended in Domesday, 'there is also pasture enough for the villa.' Thus the hide was generally from 200 to 250 acres; later writers can hardly be wrong in stating that it varied. Eyton in his very able and accurate introduction to the Dorsetshire part of Domesday concludes that the Dorsetshire hide averaged 240 acres. It seemed most probable that it was 100 acres or so of arable, with corresponding pasture, etc. It must be remembered that the original object of the survey was to make an assessment for the collection of Danegeld. Under such circumstances the officers could not make very accurate measurements; but probably observed how many ploughs, and taxed accordingly.

Dr BRYAN WALKER agreed with Prof. Birkbeck, that originally the *terra ad unam carucam* was the arable land in one hide; but added that at the time of Domesday in some manors the hides were much in excess of the ploughlands, but more usually greatly in defect; so that the Survey of 1084 was intended to restore an equitable rate of taxation. In the time of Richard I. "carucage" was the tax instead of "hidage." The taxable part of the hide in any year was the arable sown and cultivated, together with the enclosed meadow and pasture, crofts, &c., and being of an uniform assessment, would range in size according to the quality of the land. The idle shift of the arable land, the enclosed meadow and pasture, and the commonage on the waste were all comprehended in the *vara* of the hide. Thus we can compare the entries in the Domesday, the Hundred Rolls, and the MS. Liber Eliensis of 1277 as to Shelford: the D. putting the virgate at 30 acres: the H. R. stating that a half-virgate was 12 acres of arable, 2 of meadow, and 1 in messuage and croft; and the MS. noting that

a virgate was a *plena terra de* 18 ac. *de ware.* This means that in the virgate there were 24 acres of arable land, and 6 of enclosed grass-land: so that the virgate was 30 acres; and, again, the unploughed portion of the virgate in any year was 18 acres, i.e. 12 of arable land and the 6 of pasture, &c.

He could not agree with Mr Pell that the hide was *always* 120 acres arable, or even 120 of arable and inclosed pasture, though that was the usual content. The *Inquisitio Com. Cant.* shewed in 24 instances a hide of 120 acres, but also shewed hides of 80 (twice), 96 (twice), 100, 104, 94, &c. Hides of 80 were shewn in two instances by the H. R. in Cottenham, and several in other places; but possibly they had attached to them extensive runs for cattle on the common; whilst in Landbeach, so late as the reign of Elizabeth, the arable land was less than 900 acres; but Landbeach was always assessed at 11 hides; making the hide 40 acres; the lords and tenants, however, had 3984 sheepwalks, and abundant pasturage for larger cattle, amounting to 1200 acres, and the value of this, no doubt, would be counted to make up the hides to their normal valuation. Further in the H. R. for Hunts. 26 manors in succession are enumerated, where the hide contained various numbers of virgates, as 4, 5 and 6, and the acreage of the virgate is also given; so that we see the hide varying from 120 to 240 acres, there being instances of 125, 130, 144, 168, 192 and 240 acres, though the 120 acre hide was the most common. The large hides would be where land was bad; the small hides would have adjuncts to make up their value to the normal amount. Still, as to the general principle propounded by Mr Pell; viz. that the tenants' virgates, multiplied generally by 4, but occasionally by 3, 5 or 6, give the tenants' *terra ad carucam;* and that this would be double (or $1\frac{1}{2}$ times) of the hides of the tenants, reckoned as being each 120 acres; Dr Walker assented to this in the majority of cases; for he had verified Mr Pell's calculations, and found them right in 20 out of his 24 Cambridgeshire manors; and in other three or four villages omitted from his Tables. So also in one of the two Hertfordshire manors mentioned; but not in those from Norfolk (7), or Suffolk (7), or Essex (2): though he did not deny the possibility of these also, if certain data were corrected in accordance with Domesday, coming out correct. That so many of the manors are proved by Mr Pell to be worked on the two-course principle of cultivation is a surprise; for Fleta, writing at the time, treats of the three-shift system as co-extensive with that in two-shift; and there are instances to be found of three-shift cultivation, as early as 1150, in the lands of Waterbeach-cum-Denny; and a lease was granted by the Canons of St Paul's in 1152 of 70 acres in spring-corn, 70 in winter-corn, and 80 in fallow; probably another 70 idle shift, with 10 of permanent pasture. It would almost seem that the holding of Radulph de Tony in Oakington of "VI^{XX} [i.e. six score] acr. et XIII, quae jacent in tribus campis et tertia pars jacet in warecta" is noticed in the H. R. as an exception from the

usual course of cultivation; unless, as in one of the manors of the Priory of Worcester, the lords' virgates were in three fields and the tenants' only in two; which causes difficulty, but not insuperable difficulty, in conceiving how the manor was worked.

Mr Pell in reply said he agreed with Professor Birkbeck, that the *hide* contained taxable *pratum* and *pastura* requisite for the plough, as already stated in the paper: he also agreed that the hide added to its original idle shift amounted to 240 acres (i.e. by the greater hundred of six score), his paper being based on that position. It was very satisfactory to him that Dr Walker agreed with him on so many material points. The coincidences in the Tables added to the paper were by far too numerous for them to be any other than generally correct: moreover they would speak for themselves when they came to the hands of those Members of the Society who might kindly take the trouble to compare them with Domesday Book and Hamilton's *Inquisitio Com. Cantab.* and the Caius College MS. But he could not agree with Dr Walker's apparent supposition, that the hide could be arrived at by multiplying a virgate of the *villani* by 4, 5 or by 6 &c. An entry in the Cambridgeshire Hundred Rolls is distinctly opposed to such a supposition. At Shippere (Shepreth) William de la Haye is said to hold "*a hide which contains* 120 *acres*"; this is immediately followed by "*his villains each hold half a virgate of custumary land which contains* 18 *acres.*" Unless this statement, that a hide contained 120 acres, had happened to come immediately before the statement that a virgate of the *villani* was 36 acres, the entry might and probably would before now have been quoted as an authority to shew that a hide at Shepreth was 144 acres. So in regard to the Hundred Rolls of Huntingdonshire, which in some manors give the number of virgates in a hide and also the number of acres in a virgate (of the *villani* as at Shepreth)—the explanation is simple enough. The virgates of the hide, consisting (as to the arable) of only the sown and therefore the taxable land, would each one of them be drawn from two virgates of the *homines* consisting of one portion of sown and another portion of idle shift, with possibly an addition of untaxed *pratum* &c. All this is explained in Table II., which shews that the virgates of sown land in a manor are generally half the number or contain half the acreage only of the virgates of the *villani*, which contain both sown land and idle shift.

Mr Pell added that there is no statement in the *Inquisitio Com. Cant.*, that the hide was anywhere 80, 96, or 100 acres, nor any statement in the Hundred Rolls that 125, 130, 144 acres made the hide: those numbers are, as he had shewn, inferentially and erroneously arrived at by dealing with the virgates of the *villani* (as might have been done at Shepreth). Wherever the area of a hide is stated, it is always stated as 120 acres.

February 23, 1885. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

Sir H. J. S. Maine, LL.D., K.C.S.I., Master of Trinity Hall.
H. A. Phillips, Esq. M.D., Waterbeach.
E. Pymar, Esq., King's College.
A. W. Spratt, Esq., M.A., St Catharine's College.

Professor Hughes, in laying before the Society the results of several excavations in the neighbourhood of Newmarket, pointed out that special interest attaches to archaeological researches in that part of England which was the scene of the contact of the Iceni with Rome, and which seems to have traces of every conflict of race in East Anglia from that time on.

First he called attention to a fine bronze leaf-shaped sword, the property of Mr Tharp, of Chippenham Hall, who had kindly lent it to him for exhibition. It was found about the 15th of December 1884, in a gravel-pit less than $\frac{1}{2}$ mile N.E. of Chippenham Church, in the gravelly surface-soil which here lies to a considerable, but irregular, depth over the chalky gravel of the district. It lay obliquely sloping hilt downwards to a depth of some 2 feet or so, as it would lie if it had slipped or been thrust into a rabbit-hole. When found, a black mass of charred material represented the original handle, but unfortunately none of this was preserved, so we cannot say whether it was wood or bone. There was no evidence of sepulture immediately connected with it. The workmen observed a pit of blackened earth descending into the gravel for about 4 feet, at a distance of many yards from where the sword was found, but from what he saw of this he was inclined to think that it was a pipe of dark surface-mould, and that it shewed no evidence of cremation.

There was, however, he thought, great reason for suspecting that there are traces of a tumulus now almost obliterated by agricultural operations immediately to the E. of the spot where the sword was found.

The sword measures a little over $27\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in greatest breadth and $\frac{5}{16}$ in thickness. A shallow fluting, leaving a margin about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide, runs round the edge, and the thickened central portion becomes developed into a more marked keel towards the point and stands out in a cusp-shaped prominence towards the hilt. The hilt is $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, the guard-like projection measuring $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. across. The handle was fastened on by 9 rivets, 3 on each side and 3 down the middle of the handle, and around the margin outside the rivets runs a raised rim.

He then described an interment which had been discovered in cutting a drain in the park about 100 yards north-west of Chippenham Hall. In this 5 skeletons were found lying together, as if placed in one pit. The

heads all to the N.E. No relics of any kind were found with them. In the earth Mr Arthur Wright picked up a fragment of apparently Roman pottery, but there did not seem to be sufficient evidence to connect this with the interment. The skeletons appeared to be those of young persons of small stature.

Prof. Hughes then described the contents of the tumulus known as Nine-Score Hill on the Newmarket Race-course, which had been recently removed in order to level the ground. By the courtesy of Lord March he was enabled to exhibit the principal objects found, and chiefly through the kindness of Messrs Manning and Gardner had obtained full information respecting that part of the excavation which he had not been able to observe for himself.

The mound rose gently from the level of the surrounding ground, having probably been reduced in height by agricultural and other operations, but the marginal interments shew that it cannot have extended over a much smaller area than it now appears to have covered, say some 50 feet or so. The height of the centre was about 3 feet above the surrounding ground, but the graves were sunk some 18 inches below that level. Near the centre of the tumulus were the fragments of two urns, both of British type. The larger was covered with a close ornamentation, consisting of alternate bands of horizontal lines and interrupted oblique markings. The smaller was also ornamented all over with small oblique markings produced by some pointed instruments on the clay when soft. The larger urn was found with an adult skeleton, near which Mr Gardner picked up three barbed and tanged flint arrow-heads.

With the smaller urn were the jaw and some other portions of the skeleton of a child. The earth of the central part of the mound was black, but did not contain much charcoal. The colour appeared to be due chiefly to organic matter. It was full of small white specks and lines following rootlets. These were probably white mould from decayed vegetable matter and carbonate of lime from calcined chalk and bones.

These interments probably belonged to the late neolithic or early bronze age, when stone arrrow-heads and bronze weapons were in use together.

Near the margin of the mound however there appear to have been interments of a later date. In a small shallow grave, sunk into the rubbly chalk, was the skeleton of an adult somewhat doubled up so as to fit into the grave, which was too small for such a body to be laid at full length. The grave was covered with a layer of flints. With this skeleton was a portion of a quern of puddingstone such as was commonly used by the Romans. (This, being dug out of the compacted rubbly chalk, was at first taken as a specimen of the lining of the graves, which was therefore reported to be of very hard concrete.)

In an adjoining similar but more irregular hole were portions of

the skeleton of a horse, consisting of the skull and some of the ribs. In the hollow of the mouth was a piece of what looks like a Roman brick.

Now these two interments are of special interest. They may be of any date after the arrival of the Romans, from the occurrence of the Roman quern and perhaps also Roman brick. But who could have buried the portions of a horse? The missing bones were not the most perishable, so we cannot suppose that a whole horse had been buried and only a few bones escaped decomposition. He had on former occasions shewn that the Romans buried in British mounds, and the Old English, whether Saxons or Norsemen, buried on sites of Roman graves. Does it not seem probable that we have here a record, not of Romans burying in a British sepulchral mound, but of some people much later than the Romans, when fragments of Roman art were lying about, having had recourse to the ancient burying places of a far remote age—people who ate horseflesh at their funeral feasts and disposed of their dead by inhumation?

The Rev. Canon I. Taylor remarked that as only portions of a horse were found and those not the most likely to be preserved, it looked as if the horse had been cut up for food. He therefore suggested that these secondary interments might be as late as the time of the worshippers of Odin who, it was known, ate horseflesh at their funeral feasts—this being one of the heathen customs that the early Christian teachers found it most difficult to contend against.

Professor E. C. Clark read a paper upon the inscribed stone from Brough-under-Stanemore, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum. Plaster casts of the stone were exhibited, and printed copies of the inscription, so far as

ΕΚΚΑΙΔΕΧΕΤΗΤΙC
ΙΔΩΝΤΥΜΒΩCΚΕΦΘΕΝΤ
ΥΠΟΜΟΙΡΗC ΕΡΜΗ
ΚΟΜΜΑΓΗΝΟΝΕΠΤΟC
ΦΡΑCΑΤΩΤΟΔΟΔΕΙΤΗC
ΧΑΙΡΕCΥΠΑΙΠΑΡΕΜΟΥ
ΚΗΝΠΕΡΘΝΗΤΟΝΒΙΟ
ΕΡΠΗC ΩΚΥΤΑΤΕΠ
ΤΗCΓΑΡΜΕΡΟΠΩΝΕΠΙ
ΚΙΜΜΕΡΙΩΝΓΗ ΚΟΥΨΕΥ
CΕΙ....ΓΑΡΟΠΑΙCΕΡΜΗC
.....

the reading has been generally agreed upon, were circulated. After commenting on the importance of the document as a palaeographic record Prof. Clark proceeded to state that this was an epitaph, in Greek hexameters,

on a youth bearing the name of the god Hermes, and coming from the northern part of Syria, Commagene. The language was now a settled question, but the previous attempt of Professor Stephens, to read the inscription as Runic, should not be treated as extravagant, when it was remembered that Runic characters were, according to Dr Taylor's authority, derived from the Greek.

The connexion of Syria with Westmorland, at the other end of the Roman Empire, was not very obvious, and Prof. Clark endeavoured to account for it by traces of Syrian worship and a Syrian corps of the Roman army, in the neighbourhood from which this stone came.

Brough occupied the site of a Roman station named *Verterae*. The main road coming from York, through Boroughbridge (or originally Aldborough) and Catterick Bridge, divided at the latter place into two branches, one running directly north, the other north-west. The former crossed the Tyne at Corbridge and the Roman wall at a station, now nameless, called *Hunnum:* the latter ran through Bowes (*Lavatrae*) and Brough, to Penrith and Carlisle, where it also struck the Roman wall. Brough, however, was connected with the wall not only by the main road to Carlisle, but by another and more romantic route, the "Maiden Way." This is a causeway, branching off to the north at the next station from Brough, which passes a camp now called Whitley Castle, near Alston, and crosses the wall at Carvoran, the Roman *Magna*. Horsley traces a branch of the same Maiden way leading from Whitley Castle to Corbridge, a station previously mentioned as on the more direct north road. It was at this Corbridge that the two other most interesting Greek inscriptions in the country were found; one altar dedicated to Hercules of Tyre, another to Astarte the goddess of the Sidonians. The latter may very probably be identified with the Syrian Goddess, of whom Lucian gives an account in his essay bearing that name. Of the worship of this goddess, under her style "Dea Syria," *Magna* was evidently a stronghold. Two altars have been discovered there, erected to her, the one by a cohort of *Hamii*, the other by an *ala*, bearing the name *Sabinian*, of the same people. These *Hamii* have been attributed, on reasonable grounds, to the town of *Hamath* or *Hamah* (otherwise Epiphaneia) on the Orontes. If so, they were the only Asiatic corps on the wall; they help to account for other indications of Syrian worship in the neighbourhood; and they shew how a Syrian family could find its way at least to *Magna*. A last connecting link with Brough may be furnished by the curious leaden seals found at that place some years ago, bearing the names of Roman military corps. One of these is inscribed with the words *Ala Sab.*, which obviously refer to the auxiliary *Hamii* above mentioned.

The inscription itself under consideration has nothing to do with Syrian worship, being purely classical in feeling. It was obviously written by a person acquainted with the Greek of the Homeric poems and the

tragedies. An omission of certain final Ns was probably due to the stone-cutter. In this omission, and in the spelling of *ὀδίτης* with the diphthong *ει*, there may be some evidence as to the *date* of the inscription, but the inference drawn would not be very certain, as all these peculiarities can be found at very different dates in the Corpus Inscriptionum. The evidence of the *characters* merely amounts to placing the inscription as late as possible. They are rude, and there is a marked intrusion of *uncial* forms among them, which have been dated, on MSS. authority, as late as the 7th century or later. These uncial forms, however, are admitted by Dr Taylor (Alphabet 2, 148) to appear in inscriptions before the date of the earliest extant MSS. On external considerations, Prof. Clark did not consider that the inscription could date before the comparatively settled time following the reign of Sept. Severus, when there might fairly be residents with leisure to put up monuments and travellers with leisure to read them. For similar reasons he would place this document *before* the rough times which followed the Roman departure from Britain at the beginning of the 5th century.

In the first line of the epitaph, *Ἐκκαιδεχέτη τις ἰδὼν τύμβῳ σκεφθέντ' ὑπὸ μοίρης*, there is a syllable too much. Professor Clark suggested that the first word was meant to be scanned, and perhaps spelt, *Ἐκδεχέτη* (cf. *Ἐκκέδεκα* which is thus scanned in Kaibel No. 718, C. I. 5699). In *σκεφθέντα*, the alternatives were to interpret the word "beheld," which does occur, from *σκέπτομαι*, or "covered" a participle which does not occur, but would be regularly formed from *σκέπω*. He would assume the latter as a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*, and translate "hidden in the tomb." This translation, it might be remarked, was entirely inconsistent with the notion of a *cenotaph*, in which sense, indeed, the word *τύμβος* is not much used. On the words *χαῖρε σὺ παῖ παρ' ἐμοῦ* Prof. Clark remarked that *χαῖρε* with a dative, or this easier construction *παρά* with the genitive, of the speaker, seemed to be rather an expression of *benediction* than of *valediction* (instancing Iliad *ψ*. 179; Eurip. Alcestis 436; and Verg. Aen. II. 97). Translating therefore the first words of line 3, "A blessing, or greeting, to thee, O boy, from me," he came to the *crux* of the whole epigram, *κἠνπερ θνητὸν βιο ἕρπῃς*. Both metre and sense necessitated the reading (for *βιο*) of *βίον*, a cognate accusative after *ἕρπῃς*, for which construction, though somewhat bold, there was sufficient classical authority. The literal translation of the Greek was: "Even (or, and) if thou creepest (or simply "proceedest") on a mortal life." This he could not take to mean simply "Even though thou art dead" and he therefore suggested two other interpretations:—(1) "And if thou indeed draggest on some human life (i.e. a dim semi-human existence beneath the tomb)"; (2) "Even though thou travellest (= didst travel) on the course of only a mortal life (as distinguished from the immortal career of thy divine namesake)." The play on the name may be paralleled by an epitaph in the Corpus, where a

mortal *Helius* is obviously contrasted with the divine sungod (Kaibel No. 708, C. I. 6236). In the parenthetic clause which follows, *ὠκύταϲ' ἔπτηϲ γὰρ μερόπων ἐπὶ Κιμμερίων γῆ*, Prof. Clark considered that a final *ν* of *γῆν* had been omitted, although *ἐπὶ* with the dative *case* rarely found in the pregnant construction of motion to a place and rest there (Iliad 2. 89: 4. 251 &c.). The word *μερόπων* could not possibly, he thought, be used as an epithet of *Κιμμερίων*, in whatever sense the latter word was used. He himself took these *Κιμμέριοι* to be the poetic folk of gloom and mist among whom Homer places his entrance to the shades (Od. Λ. 14): the *μέροπεϲ* on the other hand were the *μέροπεϲ* (a noun substantive) of the Greek Anthology, meaning simply *men* (Anthol. 7. 339, 684: Toup. in Suidam t. 3. p. 293; Kaibel No. 202, where this word seems to be misunderstood). The genitive *μερόπων* expressed the not uncommon meaning, in poetry, of removal from a place. This line he would therefore translate "Since very soon thou didst flit from men to the land of the Cimmerians."

In the last line there would naturally come, if No. 1 of the above renderings be adopted, another wish: and Prof. Clark had endeavoured to read these final words into a Greek version of the Latin "sit tibi terra levis." He had not, however, been successful: the first letters of the line were certainly not *κουφ* but *κουψ*; and no satisfactory expression of sleeping or resting could be packed in before the undoubted words *γὰρ ὁ παῖϲ Ἑρμῆϲ*. He therefore had with some reluctance adopted the *second* of those two renderings before mentioned, and taken the meaning of this last fragmentary line to be that the boy will not be entirely a misnomer (*οὐ ψεύϲει* "thou shalt not be false to thy name") for, though not the God Hermes himself, he is gone with him. The ingenious suggestion [*ἑρμῆ*] *γὰρ ὁ παῖϲ ἑρμῆϲ* [*ἀκολουθεῖ*] was made by a candidate for the University Scholarship, in which examination this epigram was recently set. The *α*, however, which undoubtedly follows *ψεύϲει* on the stone being irreconcilable with [*ἑρμῆ*], Professor Clark would read [*αὐτῷ*], which fairly accounted for the two or three illegible strokes before *γὰρ ὁ παῖϲ*. It would much aid the rendering of this last line, if the stonecutter could be supposed to have substituted the nominative *ἑρμῆϲ* for a dative *ἑρμῇ*, misled by the next words *ὁ παῖϲ*: but this supposition was not absolutely necessary. The transition from the second to the third person does not present much difficulty; and *hiatus* after a long vowel or diphthong is common enough in both the Anthology and inscriptions. The epigram is added below in what is submitted as its original form, with a free metrical paraphrase.

Ἐκδεχέτη τιϲ ἰδὼν τύμβῳ σκεφθέντ' ὑπὸ μοίρηϲ
Ἑρμῆν κομμαγηνον ἔποϲ φραϲάτω τόδ' ὁδείτηϲ
χαῖρε σὺ παῖ παρ' ἐμοῦ κἠνπερ θνητὸν βίον ἕρπηϲ

ὠκύτατ' ἔπτης γὰρ μερόπων ἐπὶ Κιμμερίων γῆν
κοὐ ψεύσει αὐτῷ γὰρ ὁ παῖς Ἑρμῇ ἀκολουθεῖ.

Hermes of Commagene here—
Young Hermes, in his sixteenth year—
Entombed by fate before his day
Beholding, let the traveller say:—
Fair youth, my greeting to thy shrine
Though but a mortal course be thine,
Since all too soon thou wing'dst thy flight
From realms of speech to realm of night;
Yet no misnomer art thou shewn,
Who with thy namesake God art flown.

Mr Browne shewed that of the 175 legible letters in the inscription not more than 31 could be read as ordinary runes. The letter ε occurs 20 times, and every time the middle stroke has to be got rid of, and even then it is not a known rune; ο and ι occur 14 times each, and of these ο is hopeless for runic purposes and has to be made into various shapes; α occurs 13 times, and in each case the cross-bar has to be got rid of and even then it is not a known rune. And so on through the alphabet. The only letters which are fairly runes are ι (14), ρ (11), γ (2 of the 4), χ (2), β (2). The Greek letters ζ, λ, ξ do not occur. The first line (except the last three letters) is the clearest of all, and it is difficult to see how any one could miss reading the δεχετη. There are combinations of letters very clear, such as παῖ and τὸν, which spoke for themselves. The rendering on the runic theory is now entirely abandoned by its author, who has explained that when the cast was sent to him, he sent it to the Professor of Greek at Copenhagen as belonging to his department, and it was only when his Greek colleague disowned it that he attacked it as runic, and elicited the following, more than one-third of the letters forming part of proper names. "Ingalang in Buckenhome bigged this gravekist of Cimokom, Ahl's wife but born in Ecby at Ackleigh. Holy into destruction walked she. The mound Oscil, Osbiol, Cuhl, Oeki made. The body all-friend Christ, young, reaches after death; eke sorrow's cry never moves me more."

Mr Browne had obtained facsimiles of the other Greek inscriptions in the North of England by the kindness of Mrs Senhouse of Netherhall and Mr Robinson, Sir F. U. Graham and Mr Milligan, Canon Greenhill and Professor Fowler, and Mr Franks and Baron von Hügel. He pointed out the letters which occurred on the Brough Stone and no other Greek inscription in the North of England. These were one α, two γ, μ, ρ, the straight σ, υ, ω, and δ if it was not on the "Heracles" stone. It was curious—though centuries intervened between the two—that some of these particular letters had a strong Phœnician tinge. They were

the first *α*, *δ*, *ρ*, *ν*. He thought the cutter might have been accustomed to an Oriental alphabet. On a pedestal at Saida, which he supposed was the port used by the Commagenians, there was one Greek word cut, and it had the *δ*, *μ*, and almost the *ν* of the Commagenian stone. Another Greek inscription at Saida, to one of the Antonines, had the straight-backed *ε*. The only straight-backed *ε* he found among Semitic alphabets was Palmyrene, the Palmyrenes being he supposed neighbours of the Commagenians. It was worth notice that the one Palmyrene inscription we have in England "Regina, the Catuallaunian, freedwoman, wife of Barate the Palmyrene," is careful (though so short) to state the nation of the person named, as in the case of Hermes the Commagenian. It might be mentioned also that the two Greek inscriptions found at Corchester consist each of a hexameter and are, like the Brough hexameters, Syrian inscriptions.

He read the six letters before *γὰρ ὁ παῖς* as *ἀγαθός*.

Canon TAYLOR said that Mr Browne had suggested that the unique character of three or four of the Greek letters in the inscription might be due to an assimilation of the forms of Phoenician letters used at a much earlier date. He thought that the peculiarities in the forms of the letters might be explained by a simpler hypothesis. The inscription was written in *uncial* Greek characters. Uncial Greek writing had hitherto been found exclusively in codices, other Greek inscriptions being written in capitals, the forms of which differed considerably from those of the uncial letters. He shewed on the black board that the forms of several letters, notably those of the *omega* and the *sigma*, were of an uncial type, anterior by about a century to those of the earliest uncial codices which had come down to us, and were transitional between the forms of the ordinary lapidary characters and those of the existing uncial codices. He had found some of these transitional forms on coins struck in Thrace during the first half of the 3rd century A.D., and others, such as the *mu* the *alpha* and the *delta*, were preserved in the Coptic alphabet, which was obtained from the Greek uncial of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. He thought the writer of the inscription could not have been familiar with the letters ordinarily used in Greek inscriptions, but that he was probably in possession of some uncial codex, probably a copy of Homer, from which he had taken the forms of the letters he employed. Thus this inscription was of peculiar interest, being the only lapidary record in uncial characters hitherto discovered, and supplying in the case of several letters transitional forms which had hitherto been sought for in vain.

Canon Taylor also thought that due credit had not been given to Mr Henry Bradley for the ingenious conjecture which had established the true reading of the inscription. He referred to the word *φρασάτω* at the beginning of the 5th line. This had been read either as *φιλιβιωτος* or *φιλλαγωγός*, the second letter appearing clearly in the published facsimile

as an *iota*. Mr Bradley conjectured that this must really be a *rho*, the loop of the letter having disappeared. Canon Taylor said that he had at once undertaken a journey to Brough for the purpose of ascertaining whether this conjecture could be supported, and that he discovered positive traces of the almost effaced loop of the *rho*. This point having been settled the earlier reading had been abandoned and an interpretation based on Mr Bradley's ingenious conjecture had been now universally adopted.

Mr Sandys observed that there were more than 700 Greek epitaphs included in Kaibel's *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, and added that he had recently read through all of these in the hope of finding some illustrations of the Brough inscription. The intrusive and unmetrical *καὶ* in the first word *ἐκ(και)δεχέτη*, found its parallel in an inscription at Catana, *ἐκκέδεκα* [*ἔτη ζή*]*σας* (Kaibel no. 718). At the end of the second line *ὀδείτης* was an instance of the extremely common confusion between *ει* and *ι* in Greek inscriptions; thus they had *ὀδεῖται* in no. 248, while the vocative *παροδεῖτα* occurs in no less than 24 places, the spelling *παροδῖτα* being far less frequent. At the beginning of the third line, the readily intelligible phrase, *χαῖρε σὺ παῖ παρ' ἐμοῦ*, though not occurring in this precise form, so far as he could remember, in earlier Greek, had its exact equivalent in an inscription of the second century A.D. at Pergamos: *χαῖρε, γύναι Πάνθεια, παρ' ἀνέρος* (no. 242 *b*). In the last line, he was inclined to believe that the two lost words were *ἀκμῇ* and *ἀπόλωλεν*, the sense thus gained being: 'for the boy Hermes has perished in his prime.' In earlier Greek, we should doubtless have had a genitive after *ἀκμῇ*, e.g. *νεότητος*. Traces of the upper parts of the first three letters *ἀκμῇ* could, he thought be made out on the stone. The word, he might add, was found at least thrice in Kaibel, *ἀκμὴν...ἐμὴν...Ἀίδης...ἐκαρπίσατο* (151); *ἀκμῆς ἐν ἀώτῳ* (154); and *ἀκμὴν νέος ὤν* (669). Like Dr Clark, he had endeavoured in vain to find in the last line any equivalent to the phrase so common in epitaphs, *sit tibi terra levis*; although for a while he had expected the sense to be something like that of no. 700 in Kaibel: *ἀλλ' εἴ γ' ἐν φθιμένοισί τις αἴσθησις, τέκνον, ἐστὶν κοῦφον ἔχοις γαίης βάρος εὐσεβίης ἐνὶ χώρῳ.* In conclusion, he could not agree with Dr Clark's interpretation of the tenth line. The most natural course was to take *μερόπων* and *Κιμμερίων* together [a phrase probably suggested by *Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν* in *Odyss.* XI. 14, *μερόπων* being, for metrical reasons, substituted for *ἀνδρῶν*]; and it was perhaps not necessary to alter *γῇ* into *γῆν*. The 'Cimmerian men' were in this case the Britons, who would be regarded as dwelling in a land of Cimmerian mist and darkness by those who, like the friends of the short-lived Hermes, could remember the bright and sunny land of Syria. The following would therefore appear to be the general sense of the line:

'Short was thy flight in this land of gloom.'

The Rev. Precentor Edm. Venables exhibited a photograph and drawings of a sculptured stone, discovered during February, 1885, in digging the foundations of the new School of Science and Art now in progress at Lincoln. The stone which is in the form of a rectangular pilaster or *stylus*, somewhat tapering upward, is mutilated at the base. Its present dimensions are 3 ft. 2 in. in height, by 1 ft. 3 in. in breadth in front, and 1 ft. each flank. It is finished by a *cymarecta* moulding, beautifully ornamented with acanthus leaves pointing downwards. The back is perfectly plain. The two flanks are completely covered with foliage, of the acanthus type, displaying great freedom of design. Some of the leaves fold over one another in a quite unconventional fashion. The front bears a standing figure clothed in drapery of great freedom and beauty of arrangement. The head and face are unfortunately mutilated. There are distinct traces of a veil covering the upper and back part of the head. The flatness of the chest indicates that the figure represents a male rather than a female, though at first sight the general appearance suggests the latter sex. The right hand is mutilated, and it is impossible to determine what it held: but there are clear indications of some object depending from the hand. The left hand carries a small *cornucopiæ*. The stone bears no inscription. It was probably a sepulchral memorial. The place where it was found is at the foot of the hill, just outside the second or lower Roman city of Lindum, near its S.E. corner. Not far from the stone two coarse funeral urns were discovered, one containing burnt bones.

March 9, 1885. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

Rev. J. R. Bradstock, M.A., Corpus Christi College.
Rev. B. H. Drury, M.A., Caius College.
J. W. Emerson, Esq., Downing College.

The President exhibited a complete skeleton of a Red Stag (*Cervus elaphus*), which he had recently added to the Museum of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy: the bones were found in Burwell Fen early in last summer, and were all "associated," with the exception of the shoulder-blades and the skull. Of the actual skull, the occipital region alone had been preserved, but as it presented the bases of two horns, shewing that the individual was a male, it was thought better to substitute a complete skull and horns which had been obtained from the same locality a few years ago. A skeleton of an adult stag from Scotland was also exhibited, in order to shew how much the species had degenerated in size in recent times.

The Rev. W. GRAHAM F. PIGOTT exhibited, among other curiosities recently found in the coprolite-excavations at Abington Pigotts:

(1) An unpublished gold coin of Cunobelin, resembling Evans's Plate IX, fig. 5, with the addition of the ring ornament shewn in fig. 7; it was ploughed up in April, 1875. Dr Evans has a similar specimen.

(2) A *denarius* of Nero Drusus (plated), *rev.* DE GERMANIS; Equestrian statue of Drusus on a triumphal arch, dug up in October 1884; and a *third brass* of Constans and one of Gratian.

Mr H. F. WILSON read a short paper descriptive of some objects of antiquarian interest discovered by him in an attic on the south side (letter M) of the Great Court of Trinity College, prefacing it by an apology for the insignificance of what he had to exhibit, in which he maintained however that nothing which bore upon the manners and customs of our predecessors ought to be disregarded by the Society. The "find" consisted of bones, broken bottle-glass, a key of antique pattern, oyster-shells, crab-claws, rags and other rubbish, among which were several scraps of manuscript of various ages from the 16th to the present century, and some fragments of printed books. The first-mentioned relics he believed were the traces of a clandestine nocturnal banquet held by persons *in statu pupillari* under the old régime, when an M.A. "aetate provectior" looked after the morals of the youthful undergraduates. The bottle was of an old-fashioned type, such as was common in the 17th century, and closely resembled a perfect specimen of that date, which was exhibited for comparison. Mr Wilson then gave some account of the printed and manuscript scraps, which comprised (*a*) a page from an undergraduate's common-place book or collection of Latin passages of about the year 1550, (*b*) a few sentences from a Latin essay of the same period, which said little for the classical attainments of its author, (*c*) portions of a congratulatory address to some dignitary of Trinity College, probably of the 17th century, (*d*) a fragment of a poem in English, (*e*) a worm-eaten leaf from an old play, which has not yet been identified: the dramatis personae engaged in the dialogue being given as Warh. and Dorc. respectively, (*f*) a small torn piece of newspaper, containing an abstract of Lord Fitzwilliam's Will. Mr Wilson acknowledged his obligations to Mr Bradshaw and Mr E. W. Gosse, for assistance which they had given him.

The PRESIDENT having concurred in Mr Wilson's explanation of the *raison d'être* of the bones, bottle-glass, etc.,

The PUBLIC ORATOR made some remarks upon the fragment of the congratulatory address, several words of which were visible, apparently describing the grounds of Trinity College.

Dr LUARD identified the name *Henricus Meres* which appeared on one of the smaller scraps, and expressed his opinion that the bit of newspaper above alluded to was from the *Cambridge Chronicle* of about the year 1816.

May 4, 1885. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

Rev. W. Haig Brown, LL.D., Pembroke College.
C. H. Monro, Esq., M.A., Caius College.
F. Prince, Esq., M.R.C.S., Sawston.
R. H. Solly, Esq., Gordon Villa.
Rev. C. Taylor, D.D., Master of St John's College.
W. Welchman, Esq., Birdbeck House, Upwell.

Professor HUGHES, having referred to the documentary evidence which had already been laid before the Society tracing the history of Horningsey to Norman times, drew the attention of the members to a collection of objects which carried the story of the occupation of the district back to the early stone period.

He thought that sufficient evidence had been accumulated to justify a rough chronological classification of the *Palaeolithic* weapons of the district under three principal heads, to the latest of which he referred the Horningsey implement which he exhibited.

He showed also some *Neolithic* implements, which he referred to two distinct ages and origins; and the arrow-head and flakes, exhibited by Mr Jones, he assigned to the same date. He had but little to offer in illustration of the bronze or iron age, though many objects referred to that time had been found in the district to the north. The palstave which he exhibited was turned up about two miles north of Horningsey. The iron steelyard he thought was Roman, and the iron hobble of much more recent date.

The chief interest gathered round the evidence of the Roman occupation of the district. There was north of the village a great layer of broken pottery, evidently the waste of a potter's yard: in confirmation of which view he produced the potter's bone modelling pins and lumps of clay kneaded into round masses ready for use, and retaining even the impressions of the markings on the skin of the fingers that had pressed them 1500 years ago. He showed that the material used for the manufacture was the alluvial clay, not the gault, as the Romans at Upchurch and elsewhere selected the marsh clay rather than the older clay deposits, which were abundant close by.

In the waste-heap there was a great variety of coarse pottery. Besides this layer there were rubbish-pits like those at Chesterford, in which a better class of objects was found, such as portions of a very beautiful glass bottle and a red-ware vessel with figures in relief of a type new to this district. There were bronze pans with handles, the remains of a large leaden vessel, a bronze spoon, a bronze spoon-shaped object weighted with lead, and many other small articles. He thought there were signs of an ex-

tensive occupation of the district in Roman times, and suggested that the earthworks about Eye Hall might possibly represent in part Roman entrenchments, modified afterwards into the moat of the mediaeval fenside buildings.

Mr H. F. WILSON gave an account of the Brandon flint-trade, tracing its development from pre-historic times to the present day. After pointing out upon an enlarged map of the district the various localities to which his remarks bore reference, and briefly alluding to the discovery of *palaeolithic* implements in the River Gravels of the Little Ouse, he gave an account of the famous *neolithic* workings known as *Grime's Graves*, one of which was explored with very interesting results by Canon Greenwell and others in the year 1870, and suggested incidentally that the Society might carry on the investigation then commenced, as between two and three hundred of these remarkable pits still remain to be examined. Mr Wilson drew attention to the fact that a large fair used to be held till recently upon the high ground called *Broomhill* overlooking the river about three-quarters of a mile from Brandon, and expressed his belief that this was the survival from pre-historic times of a market at which the flint-workers of *Grime's Graves* bartered their wares for commodities brought from a distance along the water-way of the Little Ouse. He next gave the evidence (collected by Mr Skertchly in his valuable monograph on the Brandon flint-trade) for the unbroken continuance of the industry up to the present day, which may be summarised as follows:

(*a*) The neolithic workings resemble in several remarkable particulars the modern flint-pits.

(*b*) The neolithic picks of red-deer horn are exactly reproduced by the modern one-sided pick of iron, *made only at Brandon*, as are *all* the tools used in the industry.

(*c*) The neolithic stone flaking-hammer (whether hafted or not) is exactly reproduced in the Old English flaking-hammer of iron, *formerly* in use at Brandon, but now superseded by the French hammer introduced about a century ago.

(*d*) The discoid neolithic implements used as (1) scrapers and (2) 'strike-a-lights' appear in the oval 'strike-a-lights' now manufactured at Brandon, of the square form of which again the modern gun-flint is a modification.

Proceeding to the modern manufacture Mr Wilson first described by the help of two large diagrams the process of digging and raising the stone, which is carried out in the most primitive fashion with none of the labour-saving appliances which might be expected, such as ladders and windlasses. He then enumerated and explained the various stages of the manufacture, which (omitting the preliminary drying when the stone is moist) fall under the three heads of

(*a*) *Quartering*, in which the large blocks of stone are broken into manageable pieces by the blows of a heavy hammer.

(*b*) *Flaking*, in which the *flakes* or strips of flint are removed by the workman from one of the quartered pieces, leaving a *core* of a conical shape, which may be used for building purposes.

(*c*) *Knapping*, in which the flakes formed by the last process are cut up into the finished product, whether gun-flint or 'strike-a-light.'

The two last-named processes (of which that of flaking is by far the most difficult) were practically illustrated upon the platform by Mr R. T. Snare, the leading representative of the trade in Brandon, whose presence contributed very largely to the interest of the paper. With his block, stool and candlestick, and his variously-shaped hammers, Mr Snare shewed, as no written or spoken words could have done, exactly how flint is flaked and knapped: and his extraordinary dexterity in both the processes called forth great admiration from all who witnessed his performances. The flakes and finished gun-flints and strike-a-lights as fast as they were made were handed round the room to be carried away by such of the members as chose to take them. Much interest was aroused by Mr Snare's success in using a pre-historic stone hammer to strike off some flakes.

Meanwhile Mr Wilson gave a few additional particulars as to the present position and prospects of the industry. The demand for gun-flints comes chiefly from Africa, to which country Mr Snare sent over 4,000,000 last year. He employs about a dozen hands, capable of producing from three to four thousand flints each per diem. The selling price averages three shillings per thousand.

A list of the words used in the industry was given, Mr Wilson observing that his hope of finding some relics of pre-Aryan speech among them had been doomed to disappointment. He concluded by presenting to the Society all the implements that had been used on the occasion, together with the various specimens of ancient and modern manufacture with which his remarks were throughout illustrated.

May 18, 1885. Annual General Meeting. The President (Mr J. W. Clark, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

W. M. Haggard, Esq., LL.M., Trinity Hall.
M. C. Potter, Esq., M.A., Peterhouse.
F. J. Sebley, Esq., 7 Pulling Terrace.
A. W. Wilderspin, Esq., Summerfield.

The following Officers were elected for the next year:

President:—Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., St Catharine's College.
Vice-President:—T. McK. Hughes, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Trinity College, Woodwardian Professor of Geology.
Treasurer:—W. M. Fawcett, Esq., M.A., Jesus College.
Secretary:—Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Corpus Christi College.
Auditors:—F. C. Wace, Esq., M.A., Esquire Bedell. Swann Hurrell, Esq., J.P.

New members of Council:

Rev. H. R. Luard, D.D., Trinity College, University Registrary.
E. C. Clark, Esq., LL.D., St John's College, Regius Professor of Civil Law.
J. W. Clark, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, Superintendent of the Museum of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.
F. J. H. Jenkinson, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

The out-going President (Mr J. W. Clark) then delivered the following address:

"When you did me the honour of electing me your President in 1883, I troubled you with a brief address, in which I spoke of one or two subjects which were then of special interest to the Society, and on which I hoped to see progress made during my tenure of office. As that period is now drawing to a close, I crave your indulgence while I review, with suitable brevity, the events of the last two years.

In the first place, I am glad to be able to congratulate the Society on having obtained a local habitation. The negotiations of which I spoke in my former address have been so far successful, that we have obtained from the University a place in which we can hold our meetings, and in which the collections which once belonged to us can be displayed. You are aware that we have made over all those collections, together with our Library, to the University, under certain conditions which were accepted by Grace of the Senate, 6 December, 1883. The scheme for the management of the Museum has been at work for so short a time, that it is impossible to say whether it is likely to prove altogether satisfactory or not. So far as it has gone, however, we can congratulate ourselves upon a certain definite amount of progress. In securing Baron Anatole von Hügel as Curator, we have obtained the services of a gentleman in whom knowledge and enthusiasm are happily blended, and who, if he be allowed a free hand, will develop the Museum—which it must be remembered has now become the *Museum of General* as well as *Local Archæology*—according to the new conditions. Again, the University has defrayed the cost of removing our collections to this place, and has provided cases for some of the more important objects. I would call your special attention to the beautiful wall-case containing the

glass and pottery, and to the skill displayed in its arrangement by the Curator. Progress has also been made with the ethnological side of the Museum. After a long delay—into the causes of which I need not now enter—cases have been provided by the University, which will hold a portion at least of the collections which have been given to the University by Sir Arthur Gordon and Mr Maudslay. The arrangement of these objects will of necessity occupy much time and labour, and, until that work is accomplished, their value and interest cannot be fully appreciated. In addition to those collections, the western room has been nearly filled with the casts made under Mr Maudslay's superintendence from the sculptures of certain buried cities in Central America, on the exploration of which he has been engaged for some years. It may well be doubted whether we shall ever be able to discover a clue to the interpretation of the remarkable picture-writing with which many of the slabs are covered; but these careful reproductions will at any rate give us trustworthy materials for its study, while the larger sculptures will supply far more distinct ideas than we have hitherto possessed of an ancient civilisation which, so far as can be be made out at present, flourished and became extinct before that which was overthrown by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. Mr Maudslay is now conducting further explorations, and has collected important evidence bearing upon the relative age of these works. In a letter written to me six weeks ago from Copan, he says: 'I have been able to find the hitherto undiscoverable stone houses of the old inhabitants, and in excavating have come on some good sculpture. The existence of stone houses is an important discovery, as we know not a trace of them was visible fifty years after the conquest, and is therefore a certain and not speculative indication of age.' I have little hope of inducing the University to associate itself further with Mr Maudslay's researches, but, though we may not benefit by them from a Museum point of view, I am sure that we shall all take great interest in the success of one of our members in such a dangerous and difficult enterprise.

A full account of what has been done in the Museum from its opening, May 6, 1884, to the present time, and the expenses which have been incurred in connexion with it, will be found in two Reports of the Antiquarian Committee (*Reporter*, 1884–85, pp. 109, 385). The management of the Museum, it may be urged, no longer concerns the Society; but, as half the members of the Antiquarian Committee are appointed by the Society, and as the second condition agreed upon between the University and the Society is: 'That the Society undertake to use efforts to increase the collections'; it will not, I imagine, be thought unbecoming in me if I invite your earnest attention to those documents. You will find in the first of them a proposal that a small annual Maintenance Fund should be granted by the University to meet the ordinary expenditure of the Museum. For the present this request, so business-like and so reasonable, has not been

listened to. I hope however that it will be brought forward again at no distant date; for, until this defect in the organisation of the Museum in which we are interested be removed, it is impossible to regard its future without serious apprehension, if not absolute dismay. On the other hand, it is pleasant to be able to record that the building is being gradually recognised as the proper place of deposit of the various relics found in the Town and in the neighbourhood, as shewn by the increase in the number and value of the presents made to the Society, or deposited in its charge. Among the former class of objects I must particularise the fragments of medieval sculpture from Milton Church—probably part of a reredos or shrine—presented by Mrs Lichfield; among the latter the Roman objects found at Willingham, Cambridgeshire, in 1857, entrusted to our safe keeping by Mr George Pegler, schoolmaster of that place.

In my former address I expressed a hope that our publications might shortly be extended so as to include a special Historical Series, to be published, in imitation of the works issued under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, in the form of texts without notes, but accompanied by a full introduction. The suggestion in this general form was most favourably received by the Council of the Society, and I feel it due not only to them, but also to the Society at large, to express my regret that I have been too much occupied to carry the matter farther at present. I have, however, undertaken to draw up, for the approval of the Council, a list of works to be printed, with a scheme of publication; and in the course of next year I trust that some progress may be made in a matter in which I take a special interest, and which will, I feel sure, prove attractive to historical students beyond the limits of our Society. Meanwhile the ordinary publications of the Society are being most ably edited by Mr Jenkinson, and the Fifth Volume of our Communications, of which three parts have appeared, will be found to be quite equal in interest to those which have preceded it. Care is being taken to effect greater rapidity in publication; before long the arrears will have been made up; and then the dates of reading a paper and of issuing it in a printed form to our members will be separated by a shorter interval.

Soon after you did me the honour of electing me your President, I suggested to the Council that a critical and descriptive catalogue of the portraits belonging to the University and the Colleges should be undertaken. This proposal was favourably received, and it was decided, as a preliminary step, to endeavour to bring the portraits together in a series of Exhibitions, each of which should include those of a particular period. By this means they could be more readily examined, and the duplicate portraits of celebrated individuals be compared with each other. The Fitzwilliam Museum Syndicate readily assented to the request that the Exhibitions should be held in one of the galleries under their charge; and the Colleges raised no difficulties about the loan of their pictures. The

first Exhibition, held last year, was thoroughly successful; and the second, opened last week, promises to command an equal share of public attention. So far, the scheme has been productive of valuable results. The pictures brought together last year were carefully examined by Mr George Scharf and other authorities, and several portraits which were either wrongly named, or not named at all, were correctly determined. I was able to take notes of most of the others, and to collect materials for the permanent catalogue. Much, however, still remains to be done before such a work can be fit for publication. As our own times are approached, the portraits become more numerous, and of larger size; and, as the space in which they can be hung is limited, two more Exhibitions at least will be necessary. I eagerly embrace this opportunity of acknowledging the cordial kindness with which I have been treated by the Director and the other authorities of the Fitzwilliam Museum, and of thanking the Colleges for so generously stripping their walls in order to oblige us. At the same time, I trust that some member or members of the Society may be found able and willing to give me assistance in the future, supposing that I am still entrusted with the charge of the Exhibitions. My own knowledge of art is so slight, that I cannot venture to prepare the permanent catalogue alone; and it would be a pity to lose the results which ought to follow from such a series of Exhibitions, and which will naturally be expected by the University.

In conclusion I have only to record with much pleasure the steady increase in the number of our members; and to thank the Council and the Officers of the Society for the kind support which I have uniformly received from them. The President whom you have just elected needs no commendation from me. Under his guidance we need be under no apprehension for the future."

The Report of the Council gave evidence of the activity and growth of the Society, which now numbers 331 members on its List, and promised several new publications—among them, Alderman Newton's Diary (1662-1717), edited by Mr J. E. Foster, and the History of Swaffham Bulbeck by Mr E. Hailstone.

The PRESIDENT gave an account of medieval Libraries, with special reference to the book-cases (illustrated by a model), and to the system of chaining the books, as shewn in Hereford Cathedral, Wimborne Minster, and Trinity Hall. As the whole of what was said will form part of the essay entitled "The Library," in Mr Clark's edition of Professor Willis' work on *The Architectural History of the University and Colleges*, it need not be reported here.

Mr BRADSHAW made remarks upon others of our Cambridge Libraries, and particularly upon the arrangements of the books at Emmanuel College, as one instance out of many, where a clue to the method of arrangement used in a Library would be obtained from a study of the order presented

in the old catalogue, even where all trace of the book-cases themselves had long disappeared.

Professor A. MACALISTER made the following remarks "On an Inscribed Block of Clay from Thebes."

The block which I exhibit is a truncated pyramid of sun-dried clay, taken from the cemetery of Dra'h Aboul Neggah (Thebes). It is a coarsely made variety of the common Funercal Cone, and has on its base four lines of raised hieroglyphs, the legend being of the character so commonly met with on such clay blocks.

As the lines of writing have not been moulded parallel to the borders of the faces of the pyramid, the end of the first and three fourths of the last are gone; what remains reads thus

Maχi χer Asar *Suten mer Apt*
The devoted to Osiris, Royal Superintendent of Apt,

Userhat Maχeru Arn *sa* *Neh ma maχeru mes*
Userhat justified born of, son of, Neh, justified born of

*Chonsu****

The name *Userhat* occurs elsewhere as that of the *Major-domo* of Ra-aa-Kheper Ka (Thothmes I.). *Neha* also occurs about the same time as a personal name, as does the more common form *Nehi*.

Little is known of the use of these seal-like masses, whose inscriptions usually run in the same strain. Upon the second cone exhibited the inscription is

Maχi χer Asar *Ab-An* *pa χeru en Amen.*
Devoted to Osiris The Priest Scribe of the Treasury of Amen.

User ha *Sa* *pa χeru* *Nebuau*
User-ha Son of the Treasury Scribe Nebuau

Upon the third cone exhibited, of later date, is the inscription

Maχi ** *An* *** *ua* *meru* *suten* *mester*
Devoted ** the Scribe *** the one the eyes of the king, the ears of

Suten *Kheb* *mer* *per* *hut*
the king of Upper Egypt superintendent of the treasure houses of

Neb tau
the king of the two lands

Ta ha raqua *maχeru* *Ra mes* *maχeru* *Ar t-n.* *nebt pa*
Tirhakah justified Rames justified born of the lady of the

Tesen hat maχeru
house Tesen hat justified.

Upon the cone in the Fitzwilliam Museum the words read thus:

Maχi χer Asar *suten sa* *Nektamer* *mes.*
Devoted to Osiris The son of the king Nek-tamer, son of.

II. LIST OF COUNCIL ELECTED MAY 18, 1885.

President.

Rev. GEORGE FORREST BROWNE, B.D., St Catharine's College.

Vice-Presidents.

Rev. ROBERT BURN, M.A., Trinity College, *Trinity Praelector in Roman Literature and Archaeology.*

GEORGE MURRAY HUMPHRY, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Downing College, *Professor of Surgery.*

THOMAS MCKENNY HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Trinity College, *Woodwardian Professor of Geology.*

Treasurer.

WILLIAM MILNER FAWCETT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Jesus College.

Secretary and Librarian.

Rev. SAMUEL SAVAGE LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A., Corpus Christi College.

Ordinary Members of Council.

FREDERICK CHARLES WACE, Esq., M.A., LL.M., St John's College, *Esquire Bedell.*

JOHN EBENEZER FOSTER, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

ALFRED PAGET HUMPHRY, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Esquire Bedell.*

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, Esq., M.A., LL.M., Downing College.

CHARLES CARDALE BABINGTON, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Botany.*

Rev. WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, M.A., Christ's College, *Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon.*

ALEXANDER MACALISTER, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Anatomy.*

Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Trinity College, *University Registrary.*

E. C. CLARK, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., St John's College, *Regius Professor of Civil Law.*

JOHN WILLIS CLARK, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Superintendent of the Museums of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.*

FRANCIS JOHN HENRY JENKINSON, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

Auditors.

F. C. WACE, Esq., M.A. SWANN HURRELL, Esq.

Excursion Secretary.

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, Esq., M.A., LL.M., Downing College.

III. SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1884.

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance from 1883				287	12	11
Subscriptions (1884)				250	18	0
Life Members Subscriptions				21	0	0
Sale of publications:						
Deighton, Bell & Co.	9	17	1			
Macmillan & Bowes	1	3	5			
By Treasurer	0	1	6			
				11	2	0
Dividend on £200 G.E R. Deb. Stock				3	18	4
				£574	11	3

Payments.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Purchase of £200 G.E.R. deb. Stock				221	4	6
University Press:						
Octavo Publications, No. XXI	17	0	0			
" " No. XXII (Photo electro block)	4	10	0			
Communications, No. XXIII (woodcuts)	21	13	0			
" " (25 additional copies)	3	4	0			
" No. XXIV (woodcuts)	14	17	6			
" " (plates)	22	10	0			
" No. XXV (woodcut)	1	10	0			
Searle's Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets relating to the University*	15	18	0			
Lists of Members, 1883 and 1884	12	17	0			
Miscellaneous printing	29	8	6			
	143	8	0			
Less discount	6	6	0			
				137	2	0
The Curator of the Museum of General and Local Archæology (part of salary for three quarters of a year)				37	10	0
Stationery, wages, &c.				3	7	6
Exhibition of Portraits				26	15	1
Book-binding				2	15	9
				428	14	10
Balance				145	16	5
				£574	11	3

* As this catalogue was not approaching completion, proofs in slip were kept and the type was distributed, after standing 12 years.

IV. LIST OF PRESENTS

RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 18, 1885.

ANTIQUITIES, &c.

From the Master of Peterhouse (the Rev. J. Porter, D.D.):

A shilling of James I. Obv. IACOBVS • MA • BRI • FRA • ET • HI • REX. XII. Crowned bust to right. Rev. QVÆ • DEVS • CONIVNXIT • NEMO • SEPARET.

From A. G. Wright, Esq., Newmarket:

Newmarket token, WILLIAM BRYANT, 1659.

Milton token, FRANCIS WACE, 1658.

BOOKS.

A. From various donors:

From Professor Luigi Pigorini (Honorary Member):

Fifteen papers on Palaeoethnology, extracted from the *Bulletino di Paletnologia Italiana*. 1877–84. 8vo.

Six papers on the same subject, contributed to the *Reale Academia dei Lincei*.

Trouvailles italiennes d'objets en bronze préromains (Budapest), 1877. 8vo.

Bibliographie Paléoethnologique italienne pour l'année 1880. 8vo.

Hypothèse sur les bois de renne travaillés, &c. 8vo.

Atlanti di Paleoetnologia Italiana. 12mo.

Distribuzione geographica delle Stazioni preistoriche in Italia. 8vo.

Museo e Scavi di Cometo-Tarquinia. 12mo.

Relazione 1 & 2 sul museo nazionale preistorico &c. di Roma. 8vo.

All by the Donor.

From H. Phillips, Esq., Ph.D., Philadelphia (Honorary Member):

Notes on the Codex Ramirez, with a translation of the same.

On a supposed Runic inscription at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. Both by the Donor.

On the cuneiform Petroglyphs, or so-called Bird-track sculptures of Ohio.

On fired stones and pre-historic implements. Both (from the *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*) by Dr D. G. Brinton.

A packet containing three guide-books and three almanacks.

From F. W. Putnam, Esq. (Curator of the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass.):

On a new stand for skulls, made by Edw. E. Chick, 8vo.

On abnormal human skulls from stone-graves in Tennessee. 8vo.

On the antiquity of Man in America. 8vo. All by the Donor.

From Dr W. J. Hoffman (Washington):

Comparison of Eskimo pictographs with those of other American aborigines (with illustrations). 8vo.

From M. Ant. Héron de Villefosse:

Mémoire sur une feuille de diptique consulaire (with illustrations). 4to.

Mémoire sur une inscription romaine découverte près d'Aflou, et sur un bas-relief antique découvert à Chalon sur Saône. 8vo.

Mémoire sur inscriptions de Reims, de Stenay, et de Mouzon. 8vo.

Mémoire sur une inscription latine de Cyrrhus (Khoros) en Syrie. 8vo.

From the Rev. J. J. Raven, D.D.:

The Church Bells of Cambridgeshire (from Mason's *History of Norfolk*). Folio.

From J. E. Foster, Esq., M.A.:

Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society during the year 1851.

From the Commissioner of Education, Washington:

Report for the year 1882–83. Washington, 1884. 8vo.

From H. G. Fordham, Esq. (Odsey Grange, Royston):

Report of the Conference of Delegates from Scientific Societies held at Montreal, Sept. 1, 1884.

From R. E. Chester Waters, Esq.:

Parish Registers in England: their history and contents. 8vo.

From the Glasgow Archaeological Society:

Report for 1883–84.

From the Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore, Maryland):

University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Third Series. The Local Institutions of Virginia, by Edw. Ingle, A.B.

B. From Societies, etc. in union for the exchange of publications:

1. The Society of Antiquaries of London (C. K. WATSON, Esq., M.A., *Secretary*, Burlington House, London, W.):
   List of the Society, June 12, 1884. 8vo.
   Proceedings, Vol. IX, No. 3, Vol. X, No. 1. 8vo.
2. The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (R. H. GOSSELIN, Esq., *Secretary*, Oxford Mansions, Oxford Street, London, W.):
   The Archaeological Journal (Vol. xli) Nos. 162, 163, 164, (Vol. xlii) 165.
3. The St Paul's Ecclesiological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, E. J. WELLS, Esq., Mallinson House, Wandsworth Common, S.W.):
   Nothing received this year.
4. The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society (*Hon. Secretary*, F. S. PULLING, Esq., M.A., 69 Walton Street, Oxford):
   Nothing received this year.
5. The Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, R. FITCH, Esq., Norwich):
   Norfolk Archæology, Vol. X, part i.
6. The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History (*Hon. Secretary*, J. MACHELL SMITH, Esq., Bury St Edmunds):
   Proceedings, Vol. V, no. 4.
7. The Essex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, H. W. KING, Esq., Leigh Hill, Essex):
   Nothing received this year.
8. The Kent Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. Canon W. A. SCOTT ROBERTSON, M.A., Throwley Vicarage, Faversham):
   Nothing received this year.
9. The Sussex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Librarian*, R. CROSSKEY, Esq., Lewes):
   Nothing received this year.
10. The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society (*Curator*, P. B. HAYWARD, Esq., Cathedral Yard, Exeter):
    Nothing received this year.

11. The Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, W. F. FREER, Esq., Stonygate, Leicester):

Transactions, Vol. VI, part i.

12. The Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, Bedford, Leicester, etc. (*General Secretary*, Rev. Canon G. T. HARVEY, Vicar's Court, Lincoln):

Reports and Papers for 1883.

13. The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (*Hon. Secretary*, C. T. GATTY, Esq., 18 Pelham Grove, Sefton Park, Liverpool):

Nothing received this year.

14. The Liverpool Numismatic Society:

Nothing received this year.

15. The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (THE SECRETARIES, The Old Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne):

Proceedings, Vol. I, nos. 20—25, 26, 26 (*continued*), 27, 28, 29, 30: Vol. II, nos. 1—4.

Archaeologia Aeliana, Vol. X, no. 2. 8vo.

16. The Cambrian Archaeological Association (*Treasurer*, Rev. E. L. BARNWELL, Melksham, Wilts.):

Archaeologia Cambrensis (Fifth Series), nos. 2, 3, 4, 5.

17. The Powys-Land Club (*Hon. Secretary*, M. C. JONES, Esq., F.S.A., Gungrog, Welshpool):

Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. XVII, parts ii, iii, Vol. XVIII, part i.

18. The Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Association (*Hon. Secretary*, ARTHUR COX, Esq., Mill Hill, Derby):

Journal of the Society for 1885.

19. The Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. F. GRAVES, A.B., Inisnag, Stonyford, co. Kilkenny):

Journal of the Association (Vol. VI), nos. 58, 59, Dublin, 1884.

20. La Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (*Archiviste*, M. E. NICARD, Musée de Louvre, Paris):

Mémoires, Tome XLIV.

21. The Norwegian Archaeological Society (Antiqvar N. NICOLAYSEN, *Sekretær*, Kristiania):

Nothing received this year.

22. Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale de Norvège à Christiania (*Bibliothécaire*, A. C. DROLSUM):

Nothing received this year.

23. La Commission Impériale Archéologique de la Russie (*Secrétaire*, M. TIESCHHAUSEN, à l'Hermitage, Pétersbourg):

Nothing received this year.

24. Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρία (Mr ET. A. COUMANOUDIS, *γραμματεύς*, Athens):

Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική, Vol. III, parts 1, 2, 3, 4.
Πρακτικά, 1883.

25. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (F. W. PUTNAM, Esq., *Curator*):

Nothing received this year.

26. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. (Spencer F. BAIRD, Esq., *Secretary*):

Annual Report for 1882.

27. The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia (H. PHILLIPS, Jun., Esq., Ph.D., *Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer*, 304 South Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.):

Report of the Society for 1884.

28. The Archaeological Institute of America (*Secretary*, E. H. GREENLEAF, Esq., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.):

Nothing received this year.

29. The Bureau of Ethnology, Washington (W. J. HOFFMANN, Esq., M.D., *Secretary*):

Circulars of Information, nos. 4, 5, 6, 7 (1884).
Annual Report for 1880–81.

30. The Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences (W. H. PRATT, Esq., *Corresponding Secretary and Curator*):

Proceedings, Vol. I, Vol. II, parts i, ii, Vol. III, parts i, iii.
On Elephant-pipes, by C. E. Putnam.

31. La Société Jersiaise (*Secretary*, M. EUGÈNE DUPREY, Queen Street, St Helier, Jersey).

Extente de l'Ile de Jersey, 1749. Publication 8me.

32. The London and Middlesex Archaeological Society (John E. PRICE, Esq., *Secretary*, Albion Road, Stoke Newington).

Nothing received this year.

33. The Surrey Archaeological Society (Thomas MILBOURN, Esq., *Hon. Sec.*, 8 Dane's Inn, London, W.C.).

Nothing received this year.

34. The Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (Wm. BIDGOOD, Esq., *Curator*, Taunton Castle).

Nothing received this year.

35. Die Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde (*President*, Dr Dietrich Schäfer, Jena).

Zeitschrift, Band XII, heft 1 & 2.
Rechtsdenkmale aus Thuringen: Lieferungen 1—5, 1852–63. 8vo.
Codex Diplomaticus. Lieferung 1. 1854. 4to.
Annales Reinhardsbrunnenses, I, II, III. } 1854–59. 8vo.
Thüringische Geschichtsquellen, IV. }

36. American Antiquarian Society: (*Foreign Secretary*, Hon. J. Hammond TRUMBULL, Hartford, Conn.). [20 Oct. 1884.]

Proceedings, Vol. III, parts 1, 2.
Index, 1812–80.

37. The Johns Hopkins University (N. MURRAY, Esq. *Publication Agency*, Baltimore, Maryland). [4 May 1885.]

V. LAWS.

(*Revised Feb.* 28, 1881.)

I. This Society shall be called The Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

II. The object of the Society shall be to encourage the study of History, Architecture and Antiquities, to meet for the discussion of these subjects, and to collect and print information relative thereto.

III. The subscription of each member of the Society shall be *One Guinea* annually, such subscription to be due on the first day of January in each year; on the payment of which sum he shall become entitled to all the publications of the Society during the current year.

IV. A member shall be allowed to compound for his future annual subscriptions by one payment of *Ten Guineas;* or, after the payment of fifteen annual subscriptions, by the payment of five guineas.

V. If the annual subscription of any member be twelve months in arrear, the Treasurer shall make application for it, and if it be not paid within one month, a second application shall be made for it, and if that is not attended to within one month, a notice of the same shall be suspended in the Society's usual place of meeting, and the Secretary shall inform the member thereof: if the said subscription be still unpaid at the expiration of two years from the time when it became due, the name of such person shall be announced at the next Annual General Meeting as having been struck off the list of the Society.

VI. No Member whose subscription is in arrear, and has been applied for (according to Law V), shall be entitled to vote at any meeting of the Society.

VII. Any person who is desirous of becoming a member of the Society shall be proposed by two members at any of the ordinary meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting: but all Noblemen, Bishops, Heads of Colleges, and Professors of this University shall be balloted for at the meeting at which they are proposed.

VIII. Honorary Members may be proposed with the sanction of the Council by at least two members of the Society at any of the usual meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting. No person shall be so proposed who is either resident within the county of Cambridge or a member of the University. Honorary Members shall receive all the current publications of the Society.

IX. In the voting by ballot for the election of members and honorary members one black ball in four shall exclude.

X. The management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a President (who shall not be eligible for that office for more than two successive years), three Vice-Presidents (of whom the senior shall retire at each Annual Meeting and be ineligible for re-election during the next two years), a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not more than twelve nor less than seven other Members, to be elected from amongst the Members of the Society who are graduates of the University. Each member of the Council shall have due notice of the meetings of that body, at which not less than five shall constitute a quorum.

XI. The President, one Vice-President, the Treasurer, and the Secretary, and at least three ordinary members of the Council, shall be elected annually by ballot, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May, the three senior ordinary members of the Council to retire annually.

XII. At the Meetings of the Society or of the Council the Chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, by the senior Vice-President, the Treasurer, or senior ordinary member of the Council then present. The Chairman shall have a casting vote in case of an equality of numbers, retaining also his own right to vote upon all questions submitted to the meeting.

XIII. The accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society shall be audited annually by two Auditors, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting; an abstract of such accounts shall be printed for the use of the members.

XIV. The Meetings of the Society shall take place once at least during each term: the place of meeting and all other arrangements, not specified in the Laws, shall be left to the discretion of the Council.

XV. No alteration shall be made in these Laws, except at the Annual General Meeting or at a special General Meeting called for that purpose, of which at least one week's notice shall be sent to all the members at their last known place of abode: and one month's notice of any proposed alteration shall be communicated, in writing, to the Secretary, in order that he may make the same known to all the members of the Society.

It is requested that all Communications intended for the Society, and the names of Candidates for admission, be forwarded to the Secretary, or to the Treasurer, 1 Silver Street, Cambridge.

Subscriptions received by the Treasurer, or by his Bankers, Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge; or at the Bank of Messrs Smith, Payne, and Smith, London, "To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's account with Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge."

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I. On various Inscriptions and supposed Inscriptions. Communicated by the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., St Catharine's College.

[October 20, 1884.]

I. The Font at Wilne, near Draycott, Derbyshire.

The existence of a church (St Chad's) at Wilne dates very far back; its parochial rights were transferred to Sawley, it is said, in 822. The font is apparently the only relic of great antiquity to be found in the church. Mr Cox in his interesting and valuable work *The Churches of Derbyshire*, Vol. IV. p. 399, called special attention to a supposed inscription round the base of the font, which the artist and he imagined to be in runes. In the *Journal of the Archaeological Association* for 1879, p. 224, Mr Cox's engraving is reproduced, and the font is described as having "unconventional patterns of lacertine foliage, "round the base of which is a mutilated inscription in a "character which has been compared with the Runic and the "Palmyrene. This relic," it is added, "deserves the attention of "palæographers, as well as antiquarians and archæologists."

The reason assigned for its possible Palmyrene origin is stated to be the practical identity of two of its characters with a Palmyrene inscription at South Shields.

The font (Pl. I. fig. 1, from outlined rubbings in which only those details which are reasonably clear are filled in) is evidently a portion of a very remarkable pillar or column, which had a tier of six panels containing dragons and birds, admirably designed and executed and now all complete; above them was another tier of six human figures, the whole perhaps representing the triumph of Christianity over the old religion. The girth is 82 inches at top and 77 at bottom; height about 23 inches. The figures may have been the Evangelists, St Chad, and our Lord. The column has at some early time been broken off between the ancles and the knees of the figures, and then turned upside down and hollowed to form a font. It will be seen that in some cases the bottom of the panel is arched, as well as the top, so that to a casual observer the effect of the sculpture as now inverted is that of a somewhat bewildering mass of detail in panels with round heads. But for this, it would long ago have been seen that the sculpture is upside down. Those who converted it into a font may have purposely availed themselves of this feature, cutting away the human figures, which would have looked ridiculous standing on their heads. The twelve bold characters of the inscription are the inverted feet and ancles of the six figures. In one case the two feet and ancles and the hem of the garment resemble the ר and ב combined in the name of the Palmyrene Barate whose monument to his wife and freed-woman Regina the Catuallaunian was found at South Shields in 1878. Hence the "inscription" has been supposed to be possibly Palmyrene. There seems less reason for the other supposition, that it was in runes. The details of the sculpture are very curious, notably the bold incisions in the columns carrying the arches of the panels, giving very much the

effect of the deep grooving of the pillars at Durham. The arches themselves are similarly grooved. This method of treatment is so far as I know without parallel on early stones, and its bearing on the "Norman" grooving deserves consideration. At the head, the columns break into an irregular cross with numerous arms proceeding from a centre, some diamond-shaped and others foliaginous. The human figures have in every case stood over the heads of the dragons or birds in the panels below, not over the crosses.

It is difficult to say what the original purpose of the pillar may have been. There is a representation in the Catacombs of the four Evangelists, each with a cylindrical pillar before him reaching about as high as his waist. The pillars have a flat top, and the top has a cover which works on a single hinge, like the lid of a watch. The covers are represented as lying back on the hinge, and the pillars are being used as tables, presumably altars for the consecration of the Eucharistic elements, the covers indicating the care taken to protect the surface on which the consecration took place. We know that early missionary bishops in our own country carried with them portable altars, in the form of small square plaques on which they consecrated; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that local piety provided, in addition to the preaching cross, some permanent table or altar, reserved for the purpose of supporting these little altars when the itinerant bishop or presbyter visited the place. In Archbishop Ecgberht's Pontifical we find that in consecrating a church the proceedings with respect to the altar were as follows. First the altar was blessed and consecrated by prayer, in which the altar was spoken of as the place for spiritual sacrifices, where prayers were to be made and oblations were to be offered, but there is a marked absence of any statement or implication that on this altar itself as a surface the divine mysteries were to be celebrated. Then follows the blessing of the "table," described as a stone prepared for the sacraments of

life, on which the victim of the Son was to be placed and the mysteries of the sacred body were to be consecrated, "a stone to be fitted on to the altar." This "table" we may take as corresponding to the little plaque which the itinerant celebrant brought with him where there was no church, while the locality provided the "altar" on which the "table" was to be placed. Ecgberht's Pontifical specially emphasises the fact that the prayers of the people were prayed at the "altar," and this may serve to suggest that where there was no church the "altar" provided by the locality was the praying-place of the district when no missionary was present, and that this was its ordinary use. We may be sure that all the energy of the Christian Art of the district would be devoted to the beautification of the permanent "altar," and that subjects so favourite and telling as the victory of Christianity over the powers of evil, and the submission of the works of nature, would be among the first to present themselves to the mind of the designer. The lower tier of the Wilne pillar is an admirable pictorial rendering of the triumphant song Praise the Lord, ye.. ...worms and feathered fowls. There are no "dragons," in the sense of sea monsters, and there are no "beasts and all cattle."

It will be seen that from the bottom of this lower tier to the band or base on the upper side of which the six pairs of feet stand, is about 18 inches, the actual height of the figures in the panels being 12 or 13 inches. The men's feet are two inches long, some of them rather more than that, and taking the man to be six times as high as his foot is long we shall have a tier of human subjects of the same height as the bird and dragon subjects below. The two tiers may thus be fairly supposed to have occupied the same length on the pillar, as is the case on the pillar at Masham described below, and this will give three feet as the approximate height, a very convenient height for the purpose of an "altar" of the kind referred to. The diameter of the top of the "altar" may be calculated from

the known dimensions of the existing portion of the pillar as having been from 23 to 24 inches.

However this may be, there are sculptured pillars of cylindrical form which can not have been altars. They have not been sufficiently considered by archæologists, if indeed they can be said to have been considered at all. The remarkable group of slightly tapering cylindrical pillars, collected from roadside sites in Cheshire and now placed in the public park at Macclesfield, deserve careful attention. They are apparently not inscribed columns, though their resemblance to the pillar of Eliseg at Valle Crucis Abbey is very striking and cannot conceivably be accidental. The cylindrical surface is plain, but near the top they are bevelled off in triangles with curved bases, filled with interlacing bands and with well-designed trefoils; in one case there is a remarkably bold example of the key pattern. Their function may have been to mark boundaries or distances. The very fine but sadly decayed example in the churchyard at Wolverhampton is a great puzzle. It stands 12 feet high on a pedestal of stones covered with ivy, which forms a very unsafe support for the ladder of the investigator. Sixty-four inches from the bottom a raised belt of rope is cut on the pillar, from which raised bands descend forming five triangles, in each of which is a large animal or a bird, about a foot high. The animal which has perished least is a nondescript. Immediately above the rope band is a remarkable tier of subjects, 19 inches wide, the girth of the pillar here being about 86 inches. By means of bars crossing one another at an angle of 45°, the belt is divided into five diamond-shaped areas, in each of which a large quadruped is sculptured, the small triangles above and below the intersection of the bars also containing a bird or a beast each (Pl. I. fig. 2). Thus there are in all 15 figures in this belt, five large and ten small. A large boss is placed at the intersection of the bars, and their ends are lost under a conventional leaf; these details look late.

Next above comes a belt of acanthus leaves, 7 inches wide. Above that again a belt 19 inches wide filled with spiral scrolls, alternately branching off to left and right. Whether the scrolls carry animals in them, or only leaves or fruit, cannot now be determined with certainty; many years ago birds could be detected in the scrolls. Then another belt 17 inches wide with animals much decayed, and above that another 12 inches wide with scrolls likewise much decayed. At the top is a heavy cap, on the bevelled surface of which there are signs of interlacing work. The whole column tapers gently upwards, and some 8½ feet from the ground the girth is about the same as that of the bottom of the Wilne pillar, which may have been part of a great column of this character. My investigation, it is right to say, took place in very bad weather. A second visit would no doubt correct many errors in the rude approximation at which I arrived[1].

The most striking example, probably, of a cylindrical pillar is found in the churchyard at Masham. Of this remarkable monument three complete tiers and at least half of a fourth remain. It is quite worthy to be compared with the Wilne pillar, but unfortunately its state of preservation is not nearly so good. The lowest tier consists of seven panels, six of them containing single quadrupeds, the seventh a pair of quadrupeds. These animals are beautifully designed and executed, their bodies deer-shaped, in some cases almost resembling the body of a giraffe, legs long, necks very long and curved so as to follow the form of the Romanesque arch which forms the head of each panel. These proudly arched necks are all of them constrained by halters looped five or six times round the neck and eventually bringing the muzzle close in to the chest. In each case one of the forelegs is raised, as with the "worms" at

[1] For some further remarks on this pillar, and on its resemblance to the Bayeux Tapestry, see the *Proceedings of the Derbyshire Archæological Society*, 1885.

Wilne, this foreleg, as also the remaining legs, being hampered and fettered by bands. These bands appear—but at the critical point the surface has been destroyed—to spring out of the ground, and there are several indications that they represent the stems of growing plants or creepers. A photolithograph from a rubbing of the neck of one of these quadrupeds will be found on Pl. I. fig. 3; it will recal some of the "Bautil" stones to students of Scandinavian art. These are the "beasts and all cattle" which are missing at Wilne; at Masham there are no "worms and feathered fowls." Each of the single arched panels is about a foot wide, and the tier is about 22 inches high. In the arched panels of the two and a half tiers above are the figures of men; in one is seen our Lord in the attitude of benediction, in another Samson with a Romanesque gate of Gaza hung on his left shoulder and reaching nearly to his feet. The girth is 80 inches at bottom, 76 at top; height 80 inches. Almost all of the subjects have gone so far to decay that imagination has to play a large part in their identification. Any one of the tiers would have made a beautiful font, if it had occurred to the early ecclesiastical lords of the vast parish of Masham to use for that purpose a part of a monument which must many centuries ago have been famous in all the vale of Yore.

II. The Jarrow inscription, *In hoc singular[i an]no vita redditur mundo* (Hübner 199).

This is an inscription in early letters 2 to 2⅛ inches long, on either side of the raised shaft of a cross on a stone now in the north porch of Bede's Church at Jarrow, (Pl. II. fig. 1). It is unlikely that such a statement should have been appended to a sepulchral inscription, and at the early date indicated by the character of the monument it is unlikely that a sepulchral inscription would state the year of death; nor would there be room in the upper angles of the cross (which are now lost, having been on another stone) for an inscription setting

forth the name of a deceased person and the year of his death. The dedication stone of the Church (Pl. II. fig. 2) states that the dedication was in the 15th year of King Ecgfrid and the 4th of Abbat Ceolfrid (A.D. 684). The letters of the inscription are of exactly the same size as those on the dedication stone, and of the sixteen letters of the alphabet in the inscription fourteen are found on the dedication stone and all in the same form, though three of them, A, E, and O, are found in two forms on the dedication stone. Thus a connection between the two is very probable, judging only from the two inscriptions. In assigning a meaning to the phrase "in this marked year life is "restored to the world," after exhausting other suggestions, the idea of the cessation of some great devastation by plague or otherwise remains as the simplest and most probable. Bede (*Hist. Abb.* c. 8) says that Benedict Biscop made Eosterwini Abbat of Wearmouth and then went for the fifth time to Rome. He returned to find sad news. Eosterwini and a crowd of his monks had died of a pestilence which raged through the whole country. Bede tells us further (c. 11) that Eosterwini had been four years Abbat, and (c. 8) that Ceolfrith was made Abbat of Jarrow on the eve of Benedict's fifth visit to Rome and (c. 11, c. 12) that three years after Eosterwini's death Ceolfrith had been seven years Abbat. Thus the fourth year of Ceolfrith was the fourth year of Eosterwini, and the dedication of Jarrow Church took place in the year in which Eosterwini and a crowd of his monks died in a general pestilence, which is not mentioned after that year. Hence, in pious memory of the deliverance from the pestilence, *in hoc singulari anno vita redditur mundo.* It is well known that a cross was a necessary part of the dedication of a Church; and William of Malmesbury, speaking of Aldhelm's dedication of Malmesbury Church a few years after this of Jarrow, says that it was usual to mark the occasion by some *honorificum epigramma.*

It is an interesting fact (or probability), first pointed out by

Mr J. R. Boyle, that the stone, 2 feet square, with the inscription *Omnium Fil... Hadr.*, taken from the wall of Jarrow Church and now in the Black Gate at Newcastle, seems to have been placed like an oven shelf next above the stone under discussion, for it has on its edge the arms of a cross which must at least closely resemble those of the cross whose shaft is on the stone in the porch. The gauge is almost exactly the same, though not quite, and the cable moulding observable on the porch stone is carried across the edge of the Roman stone. These arms of the cross are shewn in my rubbing.

NOTE. The Rev. W. T. Southward, Fellow of St Catharine's College, has suggested, since the meeting at which these remarks were made, that the gap after *singular* may be filled with *i sig*. This is very ingenious and interesting. *In hoc signo vinces* was probably known to the person who designed the inscription. But *singulare* as applied to the *signum crucis* has not sufficient passion, and it could scarcely be taken to mean "in "this sign alone," or rather, *singulare* would scarcely have been the word selected for that purpose. And it is a great question whether there is room on the stone for ISIG, considering how large a letter G is on the other side of the shaft. The remarkable crowding of the letters does not begin till a later point of the inscription. The words *singulari signo* do not balance well, but there may have been an intentional play. It would be very rash to reject Mr Southward's suggestion, which has the further merit of clearing away all complicated questions of connection with other inscriptions and with passing events.

III. The Jarrow inscription, ...*berchti* : ...*edveri* : ...*o crucem* (Hübner 200).

This inscription is on a rectangular stone found in the walls of Jarrow Church, now in the Museum at Newcastle (Pl. I. fig. 4). Though the stone appears to be one end of a rectangular slab, with an inscription in three lines ending as above, it is found on examination of the back of the stone that it has been the arm of a cross with circular indentations at the angles. The arm has been broken off where the curve commences. Its dimensions are $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches horizontally and about 9 vertically, so that the cross has been of a somewhat stunted form. Taking the head to be of the same dimensions

as the arms, and making due allowance for the curvature of the circular openings, the whole width from arm to arm must have been about 25 inches, and deducting 1½ inches for the bands and grooves which run round the arms, there would be 23½ inches for each line of the inscription. About an inch is occupied by the stops at the end of the first and third lines, and 1½ inches at the end of the second. The letters which remain are of such a size (exclusive of the M) that six occupy about 4⅝ inches, and thus there would be from 28 to 29 ordinary letters in each line; there is no gap between the *c* and *crucem*, so that the words ran on continuously and spaces have not to be considered. Above the top line of the three there is a considerable blank space, just the same space as below the middle line, so that there would have been exactly room for another line of inscription above the present three. The conclusion is irresistible that there was a short line of letters occupying the central part of the cross above the three lines, and not reaching so far as the arms. For this short line there would be about 9½ inches, to the point where the present arm is broken off. There is at York, on a shaft of a cross, *ad memoriam sanctorum*. This suggests *ad memoriam* for the short line. The M in the Jarrow *crucem* occupies so much space that three such letters would be equivalent to five average letters, and thus *ad memoriam* would occupy about 9¼ inches. This just fits the space, and it accounts for the genitives...*berchti*... *edveri*. Hübner (176) states with regard to the York inscription that it is impossible to determine what were the letters of which there are remains at the top of the fractured stone (Pl. II. fig. 4). For my part, I am satisfied that one was the base of a D and the other two of II or IT, with space for two more letters in the same line. This would give DIT[VR], and the whole may have run *hœc crux conditur ad memoriam sanctorum*, the idea of *condere aram* being probably familiar to residents in York at a time when Alcuin boasted of the Roman remains in the midst of which they lived. Following this form, and taking it that

the genitives at the end of two lines of the inscription indicate the commemoration of several persons, and that the cross was erected by the brethren of Jarrow, the last line—which had room for from 28 to 29 ordinary letters, say 27 and an M—may have been *fratres condiderunt hanc crucem*, and the whole inscription (Pl. I. fig. 5)—to take names almost haphazard from the *Liber Vitæ*:—

[ADMEMORIAM]
[BADUMUNDICOENREDICVNI]BERCHTI:·
[BEORNHEARDIBAEDAEBRONI]EDVERI:
[FRATRESCONDIDERUNTHAN]CCRVCEM:·

If any one prefers it, *Sanctorum* may take the place of *Badumundi*. The party of monks thus commemorated on one cross may have died in the pestilence or may have been the victims of some accident. The ungrammatical Welsh epitaph *Senacus Prsb' hic jacit cum multitudinem fratrum* may have had a like origin. Bede relates how a whole boat-load of monks were almost drowned out at sea, off the mouth of the other Tyne. The formula suggested for the cross would be suitable for an accident where the sea refused to allow the survivors to use the words '*Hic requiescunt in corpore*'.

IV. The Monkwearmouth inscription, *Hic in sepulchro requiescit corpore Hereberecht Prb* (Hübner 197).

This inscription (Pl. II. fig. 3) is on a stone with a somewhat stiff cross, in the vestry at Monkwearmouth. It was found at the time of the restoration of the church, below the floor of the west porch, the spot where the earliest abbats were buried and whence they were removed by Eosterwini to be laid by the side of Benedict Biscop at the north side of the Sacrarium. The first five words of the inscription are all of one style, the letters beautifully drawn and cut. The *Hereberecht Prb* is not so well cut. Below it are two faint parallel lines, the distance between them being exactly the same as the length of the original bold letters,

shewing apparently that the first workman cut the formula and graved lines for carrying the name when the stone should come to be used. There have been smaller letters on the space now occupied by *Hereberecht Prb*, and they have been erased by scraping away a considerable amount of the surface of the stone, forming a concave surface on which the *Hereberecht Prb* is incised.

In Wales, where Christianity did not die out after the Romans left Britain, the ordinary formula was *hic jacit*, rarely *jacet*. There seems to be only one Welsh case of *requiescere* being used, and in that case it is the *anima* not the *corpus*, and the reading is more probably *requies*[*cat*] than (with Hübner) *requicit*. The Irish form seems to be "A prayer for so-and-so" or "Pray for so-and-so". When we come to the epitaphs preserved in Bede's writings we find that Hereberecht's epitaph followed the accepted form. It will be observed that the difference in the formulæ of the different churches is one not of form only but of principle. The first English case is naturally that of Augustine of Kent, who died in the year 604. His epitaph is given by Bede in his Ecclesiastical History (II. 3). It is in prose, and commences with the words *Hic requiescit*, a well-known formula in the Catacombs. Coming nearer to Hereberecht's time, we find (v. 8) the epitaph of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, who died in 690. It is in verse, and Bede gives the first four and the last four of the thirty-four verses of which it consisted. The first verse is *Hic sacer in tumba pausat cum corpore præsul*. Coming down a little later, we find (v. 19) the epitaph of Wilfrith of Ripon, Hexham, and York. It, too, is in verse, and the first verse is *Vilfridus hic magnus requiescit corpore præsul*. It may be added that when Bede is writing of Whithern in Galloway, he says that there Ninian *corpore requiescit*. Thus there is every reason to suppose that *Hic in sepulchro requiescit corpore* was the form adopted in the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, where the influence of Bede's work in such matters must have been very great. At

Whitchurch (Hants.) is a very interesting early monument with the bust of a woman and graceful interlacing decoration of the spiral character, with the inscription *Hic corpus Fri(g)burgae requiescit in pacem sepultum.* Hübner reads Friθburgaé, and *pace* with space for a word after it; but the reading is clearly *in pacem sepultum.* It may be noted that William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Pont. Angl.* v. 191) gives a copy of the letter written to Aldhelm by an Irish exile in France, begging him to send some of his short sermons to the place *ubi domnus Furseus in sancto et integro pausat corpore,* i.e. Peronne (Bede, *H. E.* III. 19). The Christians of those times did not mean by this form of inscription that their departed friends were shut up in the sepulchre. The demands of metre drove the author of Theodore's epitaph into *cum corpore,* 'here Theodore rests along with his body', but that was metre or bad Latin, and not doctrine. Wilfrith's epitaph brings this out quite clearly, for after commencing with the statement 'Here rests in the body Wilfrith', the concluding verses state that 'he has joyfully gone to the heavenly realms'. The use of *presbyter,* not *sacerdos,* was in accordance with custom, so much so that in the very rare cases where *sacerdos* is used on a stone it has been argued that *bishop* is meant. The *Liber Vitæ* knows nothing of *sacerdotes* or *episcopi* till a later date, as late as the Norman Conquest; of presbyters it has long lists, and all its anchorites are presbyters. Ecgberht's Pontifical used *sacerdos* for bishop and priest. The letters EPS have been read or imagined on a small cross at Hexham, and it is said that on an early stone dug up in 1761 at Peebles there was *Locus Sancti Nicholai Episcopi.* The word Episcopus almost certainly occurs once, and perhaps twice, on the inner wood of St Cuthbert's coffin. The Yarm stone has *—mbercht sac.,* and in Wigtonshire there is a stone with *hic jacent sancti et præcipui sacerdotes id est Viventius et Maiorius. Sacerdos* or its Irish equivalent is found freely in Ireland. These differences of use no doubt point to real differences of idea which would have

great interest for the student of ecclesiastical history, for whom there certainly are sermons in stones.

V. The Cross at Hawkswell, near Bedale in Yorkshire.

Hübner gives an inscription (186) on the cross in the churchyard HAEC EST CRVX SCI GACOBI. Whitaker, writing in 1828 (*Hist. of Richmondshire*, i. 323), gives a drawing of the cross, with a panel but with no sign of an inscription. The local guide-book says positively there is no inscription. The portion of the cross which remains (Pl. II. fig. 5) is the headless shaft, 4 feet high, with simple but unusual interlacing work. The commencement of the head of the cross is seen at the top of the shaft. The panel is about $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ inches, and with the exception of a possible O there is no appearance remaining of an inscription. By rubbing with a soft pencil on tissue paper some of the letters can be detected, notably the "Irish" or "Anglo Saxon" G. The Rev. E. C. Topham, Rector of Hawkswell, has very kindly taken a "squeeze" for me since my visit in September, and it shews five or six of the letters fairly clearly, and the G quite unmistakeably. The Rev. C. E. Wyvill, Rector of Spennithorne, has sent me a very valuable tracing of a copy he made of the inscription 30 years ago, when he was Curate of Hawkswell. It agrees with Hübner's inscription and with the squeeze, except in the initial letter of *Jacobi*, which it gives as a long I. The late Rev. D. H. Haigh published the inscription in the *Archaeologia Aeliana* in 1856, from impressions sent him by Miss Pattison, the daughter of the then Rector, and he was Hübner's informant. Hawkswell is five miles from Catterick, near which place Bede says that Jacobus the Deacon of Paulinus lived for many years, at a village called (*cognominatus*) by his name. Gale, knowing nothing of the cross, suggested that "Ackburgh," between Tunstall and Hunton, was Jacobi burgus and the place referred to by Bede. Whitaker made merry over this, and confuted Gale by stating that "Aikburgh" meant the burgh of the oak, and that to support Gale's view it ought to

be Jakeburgh. Mr Moberley, knowing nothing of the cross, quotes without disapproval Murray's statement that it is tolerably certain that the first syllable of Akeburg has no connection with Jacobus. There is no place or village called Akeburg between Tunstall and Hunton, and so far Gale was wrong. But he was not far wrong. Tunstall is two miles from Catterick, on the road which leads to Hawkswell, and Hunton is four and a half miles from Catterick, on a branch of the same road. A little more than a mile beyond Hunton is a single farm called on the ordnance map Akebar, variously spelled Aikbar, and held in the neighbourhood to take its name from the oaks which grew there. When I got to the Hawkswell cross, and found that the name on the panel really does begin with an "Anglo Saxon" G, I remembered Bede's one word of the Angle language in his Ecclesiastical History, the *Gae* which Bishop John of Beverley made the dumb man say, *quod est lingua Anglorum verbum affirmandi et consentiendi*, our "yea," and also Bede's Adgefrin, now Yeverin, and I concluded that Jacobi was meant to be pronounced with a strong initial Y and consequently with a short O. Accordingly I asked if there was any place in the neighbourhood beginning with Yak, such as Yakŏbur. I was told that "Yakbur" was the local pronunciation of Aikbar—said to be so spelled—a mile and a quarter away from the cross where I was standing, a single house by the side of the Leeming Beck, where tradition said a village had been long ago, no doubt the Ackburgh of Gale; but I was assured that "Yak" was an oak, as no doubt it is in Yorkshire when it is not the first syllable of Jacob-burh. The cross and the local pronunciation of Akeburgh or Ackburgh taken together seem conclusive in favour of the cross being the monument of James the Deacon, and the house by the water side the site of his dwelling place and the scene of many of his life-long baptisings. Bede, in speaking of Jacobus, uses the same epithet *sanctus* that we find on the cross.

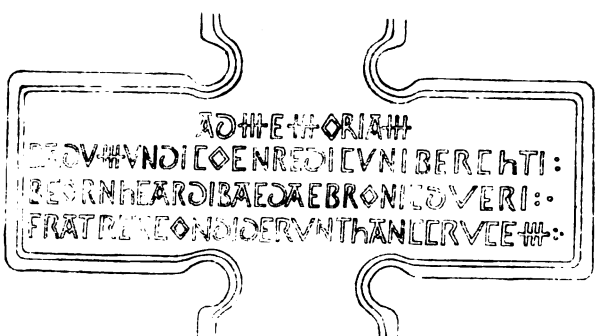
The very close resemblance of the peculiar little panel and

the inscription and the raised work to Welsh crosses may possibly afford a clue to the account given by Nennius (*Hist. Brit.* 63) of the baptism of Edwin and twelve thousand men; "Si quis "scire voluerit quis eos baptizavit, Rum map[1] Urbgen baptizavit "eos." If this is strictly true, Paulinus was Rum map Urbgen (son of Urien), as indeed two 13th century MSS. of Nennius say he was, and a Briton of the royal race of Rheged. There is, however, nothing otherwise known which connects Paulinus with Nennius's Rum. But after Paulinus had left the north and was dead, James (who had been with him there) is said by Bede to have been accompanied at the synod of Whitby by a certain Romanus, with whom he was in close harmony. Romanus is described as a presbyter from Kent, Chaplain to Queen Eanfleda, who was the first person baptised —when an infant—by Paulinus in Northumbria. Nothing is more likely than that he was one of the baptising party and one of those who fled with Paulinus and the royal family, and having always been about the court was sent with Eanfleda when she returned to the north as Oswy's bride. Or he may only have helped James in the baptisings which were so large a part of the work of his life, performing such rites as were forbidden to a deacon. In either case the British Rum corresponds with the Latin Romanus, and the statement of Nennius and the Welsh character of James's cross are accounted for,—whether correctly is a different question.

It may be added that almost close to Akebar, two or three hundred yards off at most, is St Andrew's church, now the Church of Fingall, a village some distance off. The dedication is significant. St Andrew's at Rome was the home of Gregory, Augustine was Prior, Wilfrith lived there. Hawkswell Church is St Oswald's, again very significant. St Oswald was the brother of Oswy, whose wife's chaplain Romanus was.

[1] A later MS. reads *Rimin ap* in place of *Rum map.*

1. The Font at Wilne.



5. Suggested restoration of Fig. 4.

3 at Masham

4. From Jarrow.

2. Pillar at Wolverhampton

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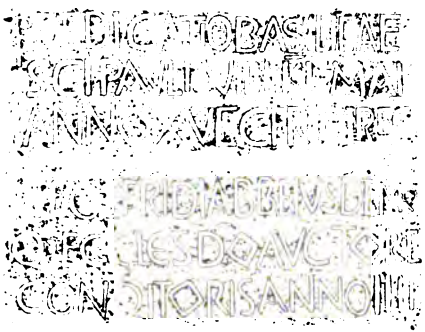
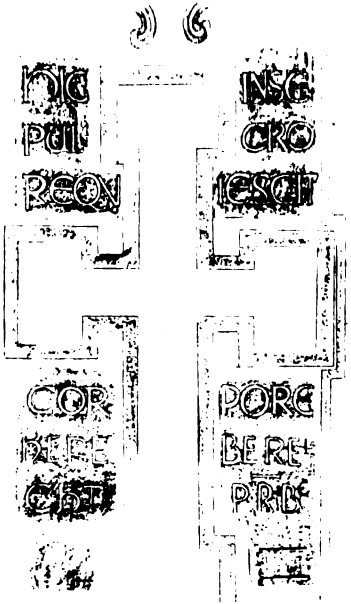
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

1. At Jarrow.



2. At Jarrow.



3. At Monkwearmouth.

4. At York.

5. At Hawkeswell

C F Browne del.

West, Newman & Co. ph. lith.

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II. Upon Libere Tenentes, Virgatae, and Carucae in Domesday, and in certain ancient MSS. containing surveys of sixty manors in the counties of Hertford, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon and Cambridge; and upon Wara, what it probably meant or implied, and the prevalent use of the word both here and on the Continent in ancient times. Communicated by O. C. Pell, Esq., Barrister at Law.

[October 20, 1884.]

I have read, I think, statements that as a matter of fact there is as to the greater part of England no direct mention in Domesday of that class of holders of land called *Libere tenentes*, and that therefore at the time of taking the Survey no such tenants were in existence. There have not however been wanting those whose opinions have gone in a contrary direction, and notably Archdeacon Hale, who maintained however that the terms *valet* and *valent* in Domesday Survey do not represent the value of the whole estate surveyed but only the annual profit derived from money rents, including of course the rents of *libere tenentes* if any such there were.

I do not propose in this paper to enter into any discussion as to the meaning of those words, as I am quite sure that a very short examination (of the *Hundred Rolls of Ed. I.*, the MSS. I have to refer to, and the *Liber Niger* of Peterborough and the *Domesday of St Paul*) will shew that the money rent payable by a *libere tenens* was (when compared with the sum

total of the render of the whole manor) of too small a nature to justify any absolute conclusion for or against the existence in the year 1086 even in considerable numbers of that class of tenants called *libere tenentes.*

There is, I think, nevertheless very great reason to believe that there were at the time of Domesday Survey a large number of that class (being tenants of what was once part of the demesne land of a manor) existing certainly in the manors of the Isle of Ely, most probably in the rest of the County of Cambridge, and if so then very likely in other counties as well; and that, if not expressly referred to in detail in Domesday Book, they are none the less included in the Survey and Valuation of the Kingdom thereby made.

I do not profess to have generally any great knowledge on this subject, but some 25 years ago, being personally interested in the matter, I took a part in carrying out the inclosure of some thirteen hundred acres of extra-parochial intercommon in the Isle of Ely called Grunty Fen Common, and surrounded by the Parishes of Ely, Witchford, Wentworth, Thetford, Haddenham, Wilburton, and Stretham. Very wild theories and claims having been advanced in regard to this Common, and being myself in possession of Court Rolls, Compotus Rolls, Surveys and other papers connected with the Manor of Wilburton running back to the time of Edward I., I obtained a great deal of knowledge of their contents, at least more than sufficient for the purpose then in hand. The inclosure in due course of time took place on Common Law principles, but it was not till I read Mr Seebohm's admirable book on the English Village Community that my interest in the matter revived.

I propose in this paper to produce evidence express and implied in support of the theory that *Libere Tenentes* in considerable numbers were in existence at the time of Domesday Book and are included in it.

I will leave out of the question the arguments to be derived from the fact of the existence of large numbers of *libere tenentes* at the time of and appearing in the Hundred Rolls of 1289, and also from the fact that at Common Law without the presence of more than one *libere tenens* the Court Baron could not legally be held, thus necessitating in the case in Domesday (alluded to by Sir H. Ellis[1]) the loan of Sochmanni by one lord to another to meet the borrowing lord's difficulty—a special difficulty, and one therefore leading to the inference that generally there was no difficulty at all. I wish however to draw attention to the fact that if reference is made to Domesday Survey and the *Inquisitio Eliensis* it will be found, that in Cambridgeshire at least the word *caruca* meant a plough of one uniform standard, viz. a plough drawn by eight oxen, whether it was used in reference to the land held by the homines or to the demesne—for instance in the *Inq. Eliensis* at Chatteris there was *terra ad carucam* for 3 ploughs, of which 6 boves were *in dominio* and 2 carucæ and two boves *villanis*, and so in many other cases. It will also be found that at the time of that Survey there was *terra ad carucam* in the Isle of Ely alone for 86 eight ox ploughs over and above the *terra ad carucam in dominio* and otherwise in cultivation,—in other words there was *terra ad carucam* for 344 two ox ploughs worked by persons cultivating land other than such demesne land as was cultivated by the lords or otherwise. Now taking the word *caruca* to mean caruca of eight oxen as an uniform standard for rating purposes, and the *terra ad carucam* to have been what Mr Seebohm says it was and what I believe it to have been when spoken of in connection with the holdings of the *Homines* of the lord, namely 4 virgates (though there are cases where it seems a greater or less number of virgates worked one full plough), and supposing (what is a very liberal

[1] i. 237 note. Domesday Book, Tome 1, fol. 193[b]. At Orwell.

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supposition) that generally only one *Homo* occupied each virgate as a *plena terra*, the existence of 344 ploughs would (though really there might be many holders of *dimidia plenæ terræ* and cases of two *Homines* holding one *plena terra*) imply the existence of about 344 *Homines in Opere* in the Isle of Ely alone, whereas the number of *Villani* stated in Domesday Book is only about 270. To put the case in another way, supposing the statement of these 270 *villani* to be exhaustive and to include all the *homines in opere* of the lords, we are driven to the conclusion that each *villanus* occupied not merely one virgate but nearly two, in other words that each occupied (with the common law rights appendant to the 4 virgates) nearly half one hide. On the other hand, if the statement of these 270 *villani* and the land they occupied is not exhaustive (as clearly it is not) then there must have been some special reason for the return asked for from the Juratores implied by the words *quot villani*, which caused their being ear-marked in the way they are in the *Inquisitio Eliensis* and *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, and the reason very likely was that though *villani* they were at the same time *libere tenentes* of land which formed part (originally at least) of the demesne land of the manor. This inference is to some extent supported by the fact that in some manors there are notices of halves of *villani*, indicating that such entries had reference to their estates and not to their persons.

I believe therefore that these *villani* were or some of them were *libere tenentes*, and that the body of the *homines in opere* are no more and no less specially mentioned than the yokes of oxen which drew the ploughs are specially mentioned.

In like manner we find in the rest of the County of Cambridge, after deducting all the *terra ad carucam in dominio* or otherwise cultivated, that there was *terra ad carucam* left for about 790 *carucæ hominum*, the number of *villani* specially stated being about 1600, thus giving about half a hide

to each villanus (but taking no account of *dimidia plenæ terræ* as before).

It is only by obtaining more detailed information that a correct judgment can be formed: and fortunately in some cases at least we have it. I propose to take the Manor of Wilburton as a first example because I have the means of testing and have tested the case by its Court and Compotus Rolls, shewing accurately what demesne lands were sown in each year and how—how much was *ad firmam*—how many *plenæ terræ* were *in opere*—how many statute acres they consisted of—how many smaller ploughs of the *homines* there were and what the rents of Assize and other payments amounted to, the whole case being one free from any difficulty arising from the assartation of fresh land, of which there seems in the Manor of Wilburton to have been none from the time of Domesday Book till the date of the MSS. I have to refer to.

The entry in D. B. fol. 192[a] of Wilburton Manor is this:

Wilburtone tenet Abbas de Ely ibi quinque hidæ terra est septem carucarum—in dominio tres hidæ et una virgata—et ibi tres carucæ ibi quatuor sochmanni qui non potuerunt nec possunt recedere et novem villani cum quatuor carucis ibi novem cotarii et octo servi, etc.

From the above statement we collect that of the *terra ad carucam* for seven ploughs the lord had three hides and one virgate *in dominio*, that there were three ploughs other than those of the *homines*, that the ploughs of the *homines* were recorded as four in number, each being equal to an eight ox plough, though (as it appears by the Compotus Rolls of Edw. I.) really consisting of some sixteen smaller ploughs, and that there were besides the nine *cotarii* and eight *servi* four *sochmanni* and nine *villani*, leaving it however no further recorded how any of such land was occupied.

In the *Inquisitio Eliensis* however we have a fuller statement, which is as follows:

Wilbertona Abbas de Ely tenet pro quinque hidis se defendit tempore regis Edwardi et modo facit sex (*sic*) carucarum ibi est terra quatuor (*sic*)

carucæ et tres hidæ et una virgata in dominio quatuor carucæ hominum novem villani quisque de decem acris et quatuor alii villani de una virgata decem cotarii et octo servi etc.

It will be noticed first that the four *sochmanni* of Domesday are called *villani* in the Inquisitio, but we also now gather from D.B. when read by the light thrown upon it by the *Inquisitio Eliensis* (assuming for the present that at Wilburton the *terra ad unam carucam* of the *homines* at any rate, consisted of four and a half virgates of 24 statute acres each and each being a *plena terra*) that in the year 1086 the land at Wilburton was held as follows:

	A.
Terra ad carucam of three hides *in dominio* plus one virgate of 24 acres (worked by manorial ploughs assisted by 4 *carucæ hominum*)	384
Pratum	39
Terra ad carucam in the occupation of nine *villani quisque de decem acris* (by the greater hundred)[1]	108
4 *alii villani de una virgata*	24
Terra ad carucam in the occupation of the *homines in opere*	300
9 *cotarii*	9
Total	864

The whole *terra ad carucam* of the *homines* being equal to the work of four eight-ox ploughs as stated in D.B. taking 108 acres each.

Though Mr Seebohm is I think right in his opinion that the four virgates of the *homines* represented the work of an eight ox plough, we must never forget that this work was in addition to that performed for the lord on his demesne, and that in Domesday Book the words *caruca*, *terra ad carucam*, and *carucata*, may have different values when applied to the demesne from those which they would have when applied to land occupied by the *homines*, the work left to be performed by the manor ploughs, assisted as they would be *cum consuetudinibus totius villatæ*, being much less than that of the *carucæ hominum*

[1] I have fully explained this in a paper read on Feb. 9, 1885, (No. IV. in this volume) in which I prove that the Domesday hide was 120 acres by the common hundred (not however C by the greater hundred).

working on their virgates; and consequently that the extent of land expressed by the term *terra ad carucam* in D.B. when applied to the whole manor (consisting as it would of the land actually worked by all the ploughs), would therefore be not so much as if all such ploughs were manorial ploughs nor so little as if all were *carucæ hominum* (weighted as they would be by their additional work on the land *in dominio*), but the resulting work of all working under their respective conditions. As will more fully appear from the MSS. hereinafter referred to the *terra ad carucam*, at Wilburton in D.B., was all the *terra lucrabilis*, and not merely the land in cultivation in any one year: so too in all the cases I have investigated, it clearly means all the land subject to the plough with the necessary *pratum*, and I think therefore such to be the universal meaning throughout Domesday Book. The *Inquisitio Eliensis* it will be seen gives four ploughs instead of the three stated in D.B., and also gives the *terra ad carucam* as for six ploughs instead of the seven of D.B.; as D.B. is confirmed in this particular by a MS. in Trinity College hereafter referred to, I have adhered to the text of D.B. and made the calculations accordingly.

The Domesday Survey was to be made upon the oaths of the Vicecomes of the Shire, and among others of *sex villani unius cujusque villæ*. These *villani*, for a reason that will appear later on, I will venture to call *Hundredarii*. I also would especially call to mind that though there was to be a return of what was implied by the words *quot villani quot cotarii quot servi quot liberi homines*, yet there was no return called for of what is implied in the words *quot libere tenentes*.

I must now refer to certain MSS. which contain ancient surveys of manors belonging formerly and some of them even now to the See of Ely. One of these surveys is a *Liber Eliensis* of the year 1277, being I think the *Liber Eliensis* quoted by Agard as his authority for the statement that the virgate or quarter of a hide at Leverington was 60 acres. The MS. I

refer to is at the British Museum, being Claudius C. XI, and at page 49 will be found a very detailed account of Wilburton Manor. The original or a copy of this MS. (I cannot say which) is in Caius College Library, and there will be found in both identically the same detailed and exhaustive description of some fifty manors belonging to the See of Ely in the Counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, Essex, and Hertford, and setting out in the most minute manner and at great length the then *consuetudines* and *servitia* of the tenants, and other matters, and giving therefore very much fuller information as to the manors it deals with than do the *Domesday of St Paul* and the *Liber Niger* of Peterborough in regard to the manors embraced in those surveys. I imagine that the existence of two copies of this valuable *Liber Eliensis* is to be accounted for by supposing the one to be the lord's copy and the other the tenants', and that the one or the other is the identical Cowcher Book referred to in many suits that were filed in the Exchequer Chamber in Tudor times in regard to disputed rights of Common. In the suit of Payne *v.* Robson, in the reign of Elizabeth, one Laurence Dounham in answer to interrogatories makes oath and says, "he knoweth that there is "a book called the Cowcher Book containing the survey of the "Bishop's manors and that he has had it in his possession some-"times, and that it appeareth by the said book that none ought "to have benefit of Common within the Manors of the Bishop "unless they be cowchant and dwelling with their families "within the said manor." The Copy at Caius College is mutilated in some places, and some pages in consequence are missing, but what is deficient in the one copy is supplied by the other.

The Survey of the Manor of Wilburton states the Demesne lands thus:

Dominium hujus Manerii ita distinguitur scilicet in campo qui vocatur Estfielde quater viginti et sexdecim acræ in Southfielde sexaginta et duodecim acræ in Westfielde cum pertinentiis centum et octo acræ Summa totius terræ lucrabilis ducente et sexaginta et sexdecim acræ per mino-

rem centinarium et per perticam sexdecim pedum et dimidii quæ possunt lucrari per duas carucas scilicet qualibit caruca de duabus stottis et sex bobibus cum consuetudinibus villae.

It then sets out the Pratum falcabile of 38 acres and three roods:

Præterea ex opposito Januae jacent tres acræ terræ ad pasturam que solent de terra lucrabili.

It then after stating the *Staurus* or stock describes the *Mariscum*, being intercommons for feeding, fishing, and turf digging with the villæ of Haddenham and Stretham. Then under the heading of *De Hundredariis et libere tenentibus*, it describes the eight holders of 81 acres of *wara* mostly in holdings of 12 acres of *wara*, the payments and services of which are as follows;

Rogerus filius Rogeri tenet duodecim acras de wara et debet sectas ad curias de Ely et Wilburton et ad quodlibet hundredredum per totum annum Et dat de sixtpany unum denarium ad festum Sancti Michaelis et ad Annunciacionem et de Wardpayne unum denarium ad festum Sancti Andreæ et ad nativitatem Sancti Johannis Et arabit per duos dies in hyeme et habebit duos denarios per duos dies in quadraginta Et habebit duos denarios sed si non arabit in quadraginta nisi per unam diem tunc nullum habebit argentum et similiter in hyeme Et inveniet ad magnam precariam autumpni unum hominem et omnes tenentes suos ad cibum domini et ipsemet erit illo die custos messorum cum aliis Et dabit leyrwite pro filia sua et Gersuma cum ipsam maritare voluerit Scilicet triginta et duos denarios et tallagium cum aliis Et de herieto meliorem bestiam vel triginti et duos denarios si non habet bestiam oves suæ non jacebunt in falda domini.

It then, under the heading *de operariis et plenis terris*, sets out the holdings of fifteen and a half *plenae terrae* and their services and customs in most minute detail, a "plena terra" being described as *duodecim acræ terræ de wara*—then under the heading *de cotariis de Wilburton*, it sets out the services and customs of $10\frac{1}{2}$ *cotarii*. It then has a summary of the amount of *Sixthpani, Wardpani, rents of assize*, with *whyte-pound* and *segsilver*, with the following memorandum:

Et sciendum quod isti denarii de Wardpani et sixthpani pertinent ad hundredum.

The above is the form in which all the surveys in the MSS. are drawn up. I may also remark that there was nothing peculiar about the manors adjoining Ely: the Fen and highland open fields were as distinctly marked as land and water. The Fens being dispastured as intercommons with other manors and not having been drained and allotted out till the time of the Commonwealth they cannot in any way interfere with the calculation, and I can discover nothing in the situation of these manors which will make them differ from the manors in the rest of the County or in fact the rest of England. That one acre of *wara* was in reality two statute acres, not for the purposes of taxation merely (though indirectly it might have some influence in that direction like a Gheld acre, if ever there was such a thing) but that it was so physically and actually and not merely one plot of ground of the size of two acres, but two acres, one in one place perhaps and another in another place, I will endeavour to shew later on; but assuming that fact for the present, it would appear that in the year 1277 there were

In cultivation by the lord *terra lucrabilis* in statute acres	276
Pratum and three acres of *pastura*	41½
Hundredarii et libere tenentes 81 acres of *wara*	162
15½ *plenae terrae* of twelve acres each of *wara*	372
Penny croft	2
10½ cottagers	10½
Total	864

making the exact quantity that was found to be in Domesday Book and the *Inquisitio Eliensis* if we add two acres of land called Penny croft stated to be held by one of the *libere tenentes* in the Survey of 1277 (and still to this day so called).

It will be observed that between the year 1086 and the year 1277 there is a decrease in the land *in dominio* of 108 acres; and an increase in the land of the *homines in opere* pratum and cottagers of 78 acres, and in the holdings of the nine *villani* and the four other *villani* of the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, an in-

crease of 30 acres, making together an increase of 108 acres or the work of one plough of the homines.

I have been unable to discover anything in Cowell bearing on the payment of sixthpani: it was payable by the *Hundredarii* as we have seen, and by the Survey of Herchyrst one of the *Libere tenentes* in that Manor seems to have had placed on him the obligation implied in the following sentence: *et debet sectam comitatus et hundredi et si forfitari villata incidit per defaltam suam ipse acquietabit misericordiam.* At Doddington one of the Hundredarii Baldwinus held 24 acres *et dat sixtepenny quantum ad eum pertinet quia sciendum quod qualibet hida dat de sixthpenny duodecim denarios.* Calling to mind that in ancient times in suits it was necessary to have six of the jury empanelled from the hundred in which the cause of action arose, and that *six villani* from each villa were to act as *Hundredarii* in the matter of Domesday, it is possible that the obligation on a villa was not merely in regard to the Survey alone, but had always been permanent, and that the payment of sixthpenny was a commutation of the burden, or that it had some connection with the service of six villani due to the hundred, and thus the payment of sixthpenny would definitely connect the *villani* of D.B. with the *Hundredarii* and *libere tenentes* of the Survey of 1277[1]. However that may be, it is plain that taking the Survey of 1277 alone and comparing it with Domesday Book, and seeing how closely the quantities agree, it is almost certain that the holdings of the Hundredarii of 1277 contain those of the 13 villani of 1086.

Nor is this all, for although it is stated that the *Liber Eliensis* in Caius College is the oldest in existence, there is yet another considerably older in the British Museum, being the

[1] Sixthpani may be a corruption of the word sectpani being a commutation of the obligation to attend "ad sectam" of the Hundred: but in the County of Dorset (see Exon Domesday fol. 23) there was a Hundred called "Serpene," now known as "Sixpenny-Handley Hundred."

one marked in the Cottonian MSS. as Tiberius B. II. The date of it appears to be 1221, that is 56 years nearer to Domesday than the MS. of 1277.

This Survey of 1221 also goes into great detail, and we still find under the same heading of *de Hundredariis et libere tenentibus* (in most of the same fifty manors and under other headings implying much the same thing in the remainder) the existence of a large class of *libere tenentes*. At Wilburton for instance we find the same amount of land, viz. 162 acres held *libere* by persons who, judging from their names, are the ancestors of those recorded as *libere tenentes* in the MS. of 1277, and who also are clearly themselves the representatives in estate to a certain extent of the nine *villani* and the four *alii villani* of the *Inquisitio Eliensis* and Domesday Book.

The same result is obtained in other Manors on comparing the Survey of 1086 with those of 1221 or of 1277 in regard to them.

Downham in the Isle (Domesday Survey).

2½ Hides of wara (by greater hundred)		720
15 "Villani quisque de 12 acris"	4 carucæ	180
Terra ad carucam hominum		252
		1152

Eight average ploughs on the whole Manor, that is, about 120 acres each.

Downham in the Isle (Survey of 1221).

	A.
Demesne (worked by 3 ploughs *cum consuetudinibus* &c.)	439
Libere Tenentes 1 Carucata (of 120 acres) and 38 a. more	158
17½ *plenae terrae* of 14 a. each	245
18 Coterii	18
6 others of 5 acres each	30
Parcus	250
Per *minorem centum* and perch of 16½ feet	1140

I have taken the Survey of 1221 here instead of 1277, as from the latter survey it appears that there was a large quantity

of land assarted in Littleport and Downham in a place called Apeshold and granted out *novis feoffatis*, and the park of 250 acres enlarged between the year 1221 and 1277.

Stretham (Domesday Survey).

Arable in demesne terra ad car. of 3 hides (of wara)	720
12 Villani quisque de 10 acris	120
11 Villani de una hida (of wara)	240
Cotarii quisque de 1 acra (10)	10
	1090

Stretham (Survey of 1277).

Demesne, by the "lesser hundred"	427
Libere tenentes 135½ of wara	271
Operarii 13 *plenae terrae* of 24 acres each	312
Operarii seven *dimidia plenæ terræ*	84
Basil	1
	1095

There was a Bill filed in the Exchequer Chamber in James I.'s reign by the Lord of the Manor complaining, amongst other things, of encroachments on the demesne, and alleging the demesne to be 427 on the authority of the Cowcher Book of the Bishop of Ely (being I suppose the Survey of 1277). The tenants filed a Cross Bill impeaching the accuracy of the Survey and the matter was settled by a compromise[1]. I have taken the "pratum" of Domesday and the Survey of 1221 to be alike, though there might have been more of it in the former, which would account for the slight difference in the total.

Chyllessella in Hertfordshire (Inquisitio Eliensis).

2 hides (of wara) +240 acres "super hidam"	720
Terra ad carucas hominum (1 hide of wara)	240
Duo Villani de dimidio hidæ (of wara)	120
Alii decem Villani de 5 virgatis (of wara)	300
9 bordarii de una virgata (of wara)	60
	1440

[1] The Bill and Cross Bill are respectively Sandys *v.* Fraunce and Thornton and Lord of the Manor of Thetford *v.* Sandys.

Kelyshille (Survey of 1277).

Demesne 357 + 177 by the lesser hundred, 3 ploughs	534
Libere tenentes	354
17 *dimidia virgatæ* held by the *Operarii*	510
Tenant of 2 acres	2
Two holding 18 acres between them	18
4 holding *quinque acras* each	20
1 holding 4 acres	4
	1442

The Survey of 1277 shows the virgate to be 30 acres of Ware or 60 statute acres; this would give to the arable hide with idle shift 240 acres. It appears that the actual holdings in this manor were by the lesser hundred, for instance 5 hides of wara by the greater hundred equal 6 hides of wara by the lesser hundred, and 1200 acres (or 5 hides of wara) by the greater hundred equal 1440 acres (or 6 hides of wara) by the lesser hundred. The lord it will be observed had the land "super hidam."

It may however be said that all these examples, though in different counties, are drawn from manors belonging to the See of Ely, and that conclusions might be rightly drawn in regard to them which might not be rightly so drawn in regard to other manors elsewhere. Unfortunately (with the exception of the Exon Domesday) we have not, as far as I know, anywhere recorded the full particulars obtained from the Juratores of D.B. in regard to other counties, such as we have in the *Inquisitio Eliensis;* but in the same MS. which contains the *Inquisitio Eliensis* there is the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, which bears the same relation to the part of the County of Cambridge comprised in it as does the *Inquisitio Eliensis* to the Isle of Ely and the manors comprised in it. The *Inquisitio Comitatus* however does not contain the same full information as does the other; but still by its aid we can see that in manors not belonging to the see of Ely the same class of holdings of demesne land by the *villani* was in existence generally, and indeed in

some cases it actually is recorded. The *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* was not printed by Sir H. Ellis, and no print of it is as yet to be found in the British Museum, but it has been collated by Mr N. E. S. Hamilton with two MSS. in Trin. Coll. Library, O. 2. 1 and O. 2. 41, and printed in double columns with the text of Domesday, and under his care has been published by the Royal Society of Literature with most ample indexes[1], and the book thus affords a most convenient way of obtaining information. In it, at page 41, we find the statement in D. B. as to Hichelinton, which is as follows:

Terra est xxiiii carucarum In dominio ix hidæ et ibi iii carucæ et quarta potest fieri Ibi xxx villani cum x bordariis habent xvi car' et iiii adhuc possunt fieri Ibi iii servi,

expanded in the *Inquisitio Com. Cant.* into

xxiiii carucarum est ibi terra iii car' in dominio et quarta potest fieri Et ix hidæ in dominio xvi carucæ villanis et iiii car' possunt fieri xxx villani x bor. iii servi et de his xxx villanis tenent xi villani unusquisque dimidium hidam et unus i virgam et unus unam hidam,

and so also in regard to other manors.

On referring to the Hundred Rolls of Edward I. it will be seen that under the head of *Libere tenentes* in Oxfordshire and other counties are placed those tenants (and they are many) who pay small sums *pro omnibus serviciis:* in this way they are like the *villani* of the see of Ely, the holders probably of parcels of the demesne, who, as appears by the terms of their holdings, would pay instead of serve, and who were therefore accounted *libere tenentes.* On referring also to the *Liber Niger* of Peterborough of the year 1125, being within 40 years of Domesday Book, we find a considerable number of the same description of tenants recorded there (in addition to the very large number of nearly allied *sochmanni*). For instance, in the Manor of Kateringes

Ægelricus tenet xiii acras et inde reddit xvi denarios cum duo acris prati In Eestona Radulphus Papilio tenet dimidium hidam et inde reddit

[1] Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis nunc primum...typis mandata. Subjicitur Inquisitio Eliensis. Cura N. E. S. A. Hamilton. Londoni: impensis Regiae Societatis Litterariæ. Apud Io. Murray. MDCCCLXXVI. 4°.

x solidos pro omnibus consuetudinibus per annum. In Altona i villanus qui reddit xviii denarios pro omnibus serviciis.

In the Survey of 1221 of Balsham there are *libere tenentes* of as much as 335 acres, and one of them is recorded as holding

quadraginta acras terræ quæ fuit operabilis tempore Nigel Epis.

Nigel was consecrated in 1133 and as "expressio unius est "exclusio alterius" we may fairly conclude that at Balsham there were *libere tenentes* of 295 acres of land before the year 1133, that is within 49 years of D. B. There is no need to multiply instances further; and, to sum up the evidence already collected, it appears that on the very threshold of D. B. viz. in the *Liber Niger* of Peterboro', there is recorded a class of tenants paying small sums of money *pro omnibus serviciis et consuetudinibus*, like those who in the Hundred Rolls later on are described as *libere tenentes*, and that in D.B. itself there are tenants called *villani* holding parcels of the demesne, who in the Ely Surveys of 1221 and 1277 appear in like manner to be represented by the *Hundredarii* and *libere tenentes* therein described; both facts going far to prove the statement with which I started that at the time of D. B. there were a large number of *libere tenentes* who, though not expressly named therein, are none the less included in it.

§ 2. *The meaning of the word "Wara."*

I come now to the word *Wara*, one acre of which I said was really two acres. In the Survey of 1277 of Wilburton Manor already referred to, there are, as we have seen, recorded 15½ *plenæ terræ*, each of 12 acres of *wara*. Not only does it appear over and over again through all the Wilburton Court and Compotus Rolls extending from Edw. I. down to a Crown Survey taken in Queen Elizabeth's reign (at a time when the Manor was granted to Sir John Jolles), that a *plena terra* consisted of 24 statute acres in the open fields, but there is one other MS.

that I referred to, viz. Add. MSS. 6165 at the British Museum, which contains at pages 281 and 277 a copy of a return of an Inquisitio in the reign of Edw. III. of the lands, goods, and chattels of the then Bishop of Ely. It includes among others the return of the Bishop's possessions at Wilburton, and in it is the following entry:

Et sunt ibidem xiii nativi et dim. quorum quilibet eorum tenet xxiiii acras terræ.

The remaining two *plenæ terræ* that made up the fifteen and a half of 1277 were, as appears by the contemporaneous rolls, in the hands of the Lord, and were *ad firmam.* We have therefore the entry in the Survey of Edw. I.'s reign of 1277 showing that a *plena terra* was 12 acres of *wara,* and we have the return of Edw. III. in 1355 showing that it consisted of 24 acres, statute measure, of *terra,* confirmed by the contemporaneous and subsequent Court Rolls. The same entries are also made in regard to Stretham and Lyndon. In Stretham the *plena terra* in 1277 is stated to be 12 acres of *wara;* and in the MS. of 1355 the *nativi* are said to hold 24 acres of *terra.* In Lyndon Manor the Survey of 1277 states the *plena terra* to be *decem acræ de wara;* and in the MS. of 1355 the *nativi* are recorded as holding *viginti acras terræ,* and so in regard to other manors.

The next question is what was *wara,* and what is there in the word to indicate that the expression "an acre of *wara*" should be the form of expressing, not one acre of the size of two statute acres, but two statute acres, and probably one in one place, and the other in some other place.

There is a term made use of in old documents to express a fallow, viz. *ad warectum.* I have never found a satisfactory explanation given of its derivation. Kennet in his *Glossary,* speaking of it and calling it Summerland in Kent, goes on to say that Sir E. Coke "poorly fancies a fallow field to be warectum "quasi vere novo victum vel subactum." He himself however

gives a poorer explanation in deriving it from the word *carectum*, which he calls a plough. In all humility I venture to offer *wara* as the parent of the expression *ad warectum*, i.e. *wara acta*. In Cocheris, *Origine des noms de lieu*, p. 32, *vaura* is described as *terra inculta—mauvais bois*. Mr Isaac Taylor in a letter to me says, "The Keltic word *war* for woods is I "believe connected with the Sanskrit *vara* (broad) related to "the Greek *εὐρύς*." In Du Cange, Vol. III. p. 1217, *waria* is rendered as *Pascuum Commune*, and allusion is made to "Octava pars magni prati, *quod est in guaria* et duas partes "alterius prati *in eadem Waria*." In *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. II. p. 589, a distinction is drawn between *terra culta* and *terra de Warnoth*. There appears to have been in old times a rent called "*libera Wara*" of such a kind that if it was not paid on the day it was due then it was doubled; and Warland seems to have been the land out of which such a rent issued. In Cowell's *Interpreter*[1] is the following:

Warnoth is an ancient custom whereby if any tenant holding of the Castle of Dover failed in paying his rent at the day he should forfeit double, and for the second failure treble. Inter *Record. de recept. sac. Trin.* 33 Ed. I. Linc. 46 coram rege.

If then Wara was originally what I think it must have been, namely, land in its natural state, uncultivated scrub or prairie land, it is very easy to see how one acre of it in ancient times when first brought into cultivation should come to mean two. Wara is to be broken up under a system of free or enforced labour, and an apportionment has to be made of the result of co-aration almost certain to be under a two course shift. If the share of each we will say is to be the produce of twelve acres, then each should have the produce of one twelve acres in the first year of cropping, and the produce of another but different twelve acres the following year, or the produce of

[1] As augmented by Manley, etc. London, 1701, F°.

twenty-four acres in all. As centuries passed away, the once undivided ownership of twelve acres of the common *wara* would crystallize into the special and divided ownership of twenty-four acres in the open fields, and the terms of grants of land during the progress of the change would in most cases be no longer expressed by acres of *wara*, but rather in the terms of the grant made by Sir Roger de Amory, recorded in *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. I. p. 525, who gave to the nuns of Godstow XXV *acras unoquoque anno ad seminandum in Blechesdona et totidem ad waretandum*, a grant which would now be called simply a grant of fifty acres of land. In some cases, as in the Surveys of the Ely Manors, the use of the word might be retained with all its ancient significance, while in actual practice, as for instance in the Court Rolls, the meaning would be expressed by stating the actual acres; and such was the fact at Wilburton, where a *plena terra* and a *virgata* are spoken of as containing not twelve acres of *wara*, but twenty-four acres (meaning twenty-four statute acres) throughout all the Court Rolls.

In some such way an explanation of the custom of *warnoth* and the rent called *libera wara* issuing out of Warland suggests itself—the rent might have been reserved on the understanding that nothing was to be paid in regard to the uncultivated part or fallow, except that if it was not paid at a time when it became due, being the time also probably when the land would cease to lie uncultivated and fallow, it should be double the amount.

This word *wara* I imagine has no connection with any other word idem sonans or any of its forms implying defence, or with the taxation implied by the word *wardpenny*, though possibly the taxation of land might be governed in some measure by the fact whether it lay *ad seminandum* or *ad warectum*, and that again might be further qualified by the fact, if *ad warectum*, whether it also lay at the same time *in communi* or not. In the returns of the Manor of Littleberri in Essex in the Add.

MSS. 6165, already quoted, we find this entry in regard to the Demesne land:

Et sunt ibidem ccxl acræ terræ arabilis quæ valent per annum xl s. pretio per acram ii d. quando seminantur et quando non seminantur valoris per annum xx s. pretio per acram i d. Item sunt ibidem ccxl acræ terræ arabilis quorum quelibet acra valet ii d. quando seminantur et quando non seminantur nihil valet quia jacet in communi.

Again, in the *Liber Niger* of Peterboro, we have the entry in regard to the Manor of Estona

In Estona sunt iii hidæ ad in waran,

as distinguished from other manors which were *ad Geldum regis.* The entry may imply that the *wara* was not cultivated and lay *in communi,* and therefore was not *ad Geldum.*

I think *wara* must have been so common and well understood as to have given rise, as I have said, to the term *ad warectum.* From it also would come the French word *Guarenne* which more nearly retains the original significance of the word than does our word *warren,* which has a much more restricted meaning unless coupled with the word *free* as in *free warren.* Thus coupled, the legal right that it signifies is one extending over lands not only of the grantee of the right but over that of his neighbours, in fact over all of what I would suggest was once *wara,* or supposed to be so.

However this may be, it is to be found in several places in Domesday Book, and though it may, as has been suggested, in some cases mean a 'weir' (derivable from another word *wara* implying defence), it cannot possibly have that meaning in a majority of the entries. In fol. 97, col. 2, of *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* (p. 40, ed. Hamilton), we have the entry

Et de his xx hidis jacet warra de una hida et dimidio in Hestitona de manerio Cestreforde Hanc terram tenuit comes Alanus et est appreciata in Exexa.

In the county of Warwick (warawick ?) we have in Domesday (col. 242 b)

Robertus de Sladford tenet de rege vii hidas in wara,

and at 243 b

de Goisfrido de Wirce tenet Robertus v hidas in wara.

In Exon Domesday

Godwin habet unam mansionem que vocatur wereia,

and

Recald habet unam mansionem que vocatur wera hanc possit arare cum vii carucis.

In all these cases and in others I think the word *wara* and *wera* implied unsown and uncultivated land.

The word *wara* or its Celtic root *war* might I think also have been the root of many names of places here and on the continent: for instance Canterbury *Kantii wara bury* (see Taylor's *Words and Places*); Worcester (*Huicii-wara-castrum*); Warboys in Huntingdonshire is the *War de busc* of D. B., and there are a host of names in D. B. beginning with some form of a prefix *wara* which may or may not be the word *wara* of the Ely Surveys. In our own county Wetherley Hundred is *Werleia* (ley of the Wara?), Wratworth in Orwell is *Wara teuorde*, Wetheringset in Suffolk is *Warine gesette* (wara cultivated by tenants?); Wratting in our county is *Waratinga*, and then there is *Warageby* in *Waragehone* wapentake in the county of Lincoln, and so on ad infinitum. Mr Seebohm gives in his book the word *esch* as signifying spring cultivation, besides the word *gesette*, and at page 113 of Thomas Wright's Glossary in the Treatise *de utensilibus* of Alexander Neckham of the 12th century, with interlineations of the same date in Norman English, the word *Veracta* in the expression *veracta renovare* is rendered *varez*. These words bear a close resemblance to names of places on the Continent. Mr Taylor in a letter to me says, "I have come upon a cluster of Flemish village names, "the ancient forms of which explain their origin and strongly "support your explanation of the holdings in the Isle of Ely. "A document of the year 1280 shows that there was a region

"called Franc warese = Franc waras, and a place called Ville en "Warex, and in the same district we have the existing villages "of Waresch, Wares, Waeirs, Warex and Wareix": he however goes on to say, "The *war* must here mean people, inhabitants." Among many other names on the Continent I will merely add Waragehem in Frisia and Waretz in Galicia.

I here append a table showing the number of acres which a *plena terra* and *virgata* respectively contained in the Manors surveyed in the MSS. of 1221 and 1277.

	Manor	Plena terra	Virgata		Manor	Plena terra	Virgata
1	Ely	36	36	28	Hadstock	20	
2	Littleport	24	24	29	Littleberri		30
3	Stretham	24	24	30	Rettendom	30	30
4	Doddington	12	12	31	Tyringdon		80
5	Wisbech	34	34	32	Walpole	30	
6	Leverington		60	33	Walton	24	24
7	Tyd		32	34	Tilney		
8	Elm		30?	35	Hecham		40
9	Broken			36	Emneth		
10	Welles	circ. 80	circ. 80	37	Pulham	20	20
11	Somersham	20	20	38	Dereham	24	24
12	Coln	15	15	39	Schypedham	16	16
13	Erheth	15	15?	40	Brigham	40	40
14	Bluntisham	15	15?	41	Feltwell	20	20
15	Fenton		24	42	Northwold	48	48
16	Pidley		24	43	Clemesford	32	32
17	Willingham	15	30	44	Werthyrst	30	30
18	Ditton	15	30	45	Ratletene	20	20
19	Balsham	20	20	46	Walsoken	40	80
20	Shelford	18	36	47	Berking	20	20
21	Triplow	15	30	48	Wetheryngset	20	20
22	Hardwick	20	20	49	Brandon	40	40
23	Gransden	36	36	50	Bromford		
24	Kelshall		60	51	Thorp	16	16
25	Hatfield		40	52	Wilburton	24	24
26	Hateridge		40	53	Lyndon	20	20
27	Haddam		30	54	Downham (Cambs.)	14	
				55	Merch	12	

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 20, 23, 24, 35, 40 are stated in either the Surveys of 1221 or 1277 to be half the quantity of acres of wara, so I have amplified them into statute acres in the above list. Coln in the Survey has *virgata operabilis* described as 15 acres. At

Leverington almost all the holders of land are called *censuarii;* there are only three *operarii,* of whom two hold each half a virgate, which would be 30 acres, and the other 15 acres *de nova terra.* The Censuarii are stated as holding fractions of virgates with additions of acres; thus the first on the list holds $\frac{1}{8}$ of a virgate, the second $\frac{1}{8} + 3.3.0$, and the third $\frac{1}{8} + 17$ acres $+ 3\frac{1}{2}$ acres $+ 1$ rod, and the fifth $\frac{1}{8} + 17$ acres $+ \frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{8} + 17 + 10 + 3\frac{1}{2} + 1$ rod and so on.

By the kindness of Archdeacon Chapman and by the permission of the Dean of Ely, I am able to add to the above list the like information as to seven other Manors, taken from an old manuscript of the reign of Edw. II. entitled *Extenta manerii,* and now in the muniment room of the Dean and Chapter of Ely: it contains surveys of seven only of the Manors which fell to the share of the Prior and Convent when Bishop Hervey made his division, and there is no mention of the Manors in the Isle of Ely.

Name	Plena terra	Virgata
Swaffham		30
West Wratting		18
Newton		24
Hawkston		24
Meldreth		40
Melbourne		40

All the above virgates are stated to be by the perch of sixteen feet and therefore they presumably must be somewhat less than statute acres. In these Manors the land is set out in *prima cultura, secunda cultura,* and *tertia cultura,* and so it was all in three course shifts. The *tertia cultura* in Swaffham is in the *summa* or total alluded to as the *predictus aschfelde,* but the word is used there for the first and only time in the survey; the prefix *asch* may or may not be the same as *esch* referred to in Mr Seebohm's book at pages 378 and 379 as

being in use in Bavaria and Westphalia. The virgate in West Wratting is so very small that there must have been an abnormal amount of unreclaimed land in this parish. The modern acreage is 3500 acres, and according to Domesday there was *terra ad carucam* for only sixteen ploughs—if we then reckon each plough to answer for 90 acres, being the *terra ad carucam* for five virgates, it would make the ploughed land of the place 1440 acres, leaving 2060 acres of pasture or unreclaimed land. In the Extent of 1318 of the Manor of West Wratting there is an entry as follows:

Galfridus dat domino per annum pro messuagio suo largiendo supra communem de Schrub,

and allusion is made more than once to a *bercaria in le Schrub*, an expression which seems to indicate the nature of the land not under plough as being exactly what Cocheris describes the word *Vaura* to mean, viz. *terra inculta* and *mauvais bois*. The probability that West Wratting owes its old Domesday name of *Waratinga* to this marked feature of superabundance of *wara* is thus much strengthened by the further information derived from the old manuscript belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Ely and the casual allusions in it to *le Schrub*.

In conclusion I have to express my surprise that the two MSS. (of 1221 and 1277) have been so entirely neglected. That of 1221 seems to have escaped notice altogether; and the only reference to that of 1277 in modern times seems to have been made by Agard three hundred years ago, and even then his attention to it was confined to a cursory inspection of the surveys of three Manors. Both of them (but more especially the MS. of 1277) are well worthy of the trouble and careful analysis that have been bestowed on the *Liber Niger* of Peterborough, the *Domesday of St Paul*, and the *Registrum Beatæ Mariæ Wigornensis*.

III. On the supposed Roman camp at Whitley near Alston, and on the Maiden Way as a Roman road. Communicated by Professor Hughes.

[November 10, 1884.]

In a paper read on May 26 of the present year I asked the Society to reconsider the evidence upon which certain roads and earthworks in this neighbourhood had been assigned to the Romans. Following up this line of enquiry I have been examining some earthworks and a road at the northern end of the Pennine range, which have been hitherto called Roman.

Whitley camp is situated on a small spur running out towards the valley about two miles N.N.W. of Alston, at an elevation of something over 1000 feet above the sea. It will be found marked "Roman Station" and drawn as an almost rectangular enclosure with a single rampart in the extreme S.W. corner of the Ordnance map quarter sheet 106 S.E. It is more accurately drawn on the maps of larger scale. Roman altars have been found close to it and Roman pottery is not uncommon in the surface soil about it. A supposed Roman road runs into the district which it commands. So it has been called Roman[1]. But the characters of a Roman camp are well

[1] See Maughan, *Arch. Journ.* Vol. xi. p. 1.

known and, although differences might be expected in the mode of entrenchment adopted by troops of such different races as were pressed into the service of the Romans, there is a remarkable uniformity of plan in all proved Roman camps. They are the camps of an aggressive people holding their own in the enemy's territory. Theirs was a system which could be readily carried out by advancing forces, quite irrespective of the natural features of the ground.

All known British camps also have their own method of construction, a selection of strong positions and an arrangement of the entrenchments so as to take advantage of the natural features. They are essentially the camps of native tribes well acquainted with the strong places and acting on the defensive.

So we always find them occupying the ends of spurs or the tops of hills. Where there was no probability of attack, as along the top of a precipice or very steep slope, there they made no raised entrenchment or only a slight bank as sufficient to form a cover for the defenders.

I had no opportunity of digging into the fosse at Whitley camp, but the form was enough to prove that it was a British camp. It is true that it approaches a rectangular form, but this is due to the geological features of the ground. A terrace of Carboniferous sandstone gives a nearly even front on the S.E. On the S.W. and N.E. denudation by torrents from the mountain behind has cut down the two sides. Behind it is accessible. The ground slopes down to it and, though swampy, does not present an easily defended line; so we find here seven irregular earthworks just such as would make it difficult to take the place by a rush. Following these round to the W. and N. we find them reduced to four, while the steeper face next the valley was considered sufficiently strengthened by two.

As in New Zealand or Africa our troops have frequently to storm and temporarily occupy such places, so the Romans are

known to have taken British strongholds. The camp of Parcymeirch near Abergele in N. Wales is very similar to that of Whitley near Alston. I excavated in the Welsh camp and in a few hours found that the Romans had been there;—a piece of a mortarium and other common Roman pottery occurred in the top layer. In the lower layers in the bottom of the first fosse were the rude British implements, picks formed of red deer antler which perhaps they had used in making the camp.

So we have to choose between two explanations:

(1) That this is a Roman camp of a form of which we have no other authentic example, or,

(2) That it is a British camp occupied by the Romans—a combination of circumstances of which we have proof elsewhere.

Having then found reason for thinking that the supposed Roman camp might be British, it was with some distrust that we enquired into the evidence on which it had been considered that the old track known as the Maiden Way near Alston was constructed by the Romans. That the Romans marched into that country is clear, but I do not think we can call a road *Roman* simply because they may have walked along it, unless they paved it or raised it or drained it or did something to it. They must have often marched along preexisting roads or open downs. Now this supposed Roman road is drawn crossing the splendid highway constructed by Macadam from Alston to Kendal; so we can fix our position exactly. Several tracks of exactly the same general character are here visible—mere trampled out cattle tracks; one of these is supposed to coincide in direction with the Maiden Way. This I examined, following it by the aid of the six inch ordnance map. After crossing Macadam's road it is supposed to run over the peaty ground on the West. But there had been much digging and quarrying along this line, and a torrent had torn away all the soil along the broken ground immediately adjoining the high road and

had exposed a section, through the peat and surface wash, down to the undisturbed drift or rock. Had there been any road-making there we must have seen traces of it. We cannot safely infer because we see no mark over a peaty surface that there was never any road that way, for peat forms rapidly in such a climate over any road. But here was a clear section through the peat across this very line of road and no trace of paving or metalling or raising a road or of digging trenches along it.

So I would ask what evidence is there that a Roman road ran that way at all. The track now seen is only like any modern driftway and if that is not the mediæval and modern driftway—where is it? There must have been a route for cattle and pack horses somewhere along there—where was it?

I have already called attention to the ancient driftway along Mynydd Epynt in Carmarthenshire, for which there were special regulations founded on ancient custom, so that within the memory of man, cattle used to be taken that way in preference to the great turnpike roads. Some of these drift-ways may date back to British times, and if this part of the Maiden Way was a British track perhaps the Romans followed them along it; but there does not seem to be sufficient evidence as yet to show that they made a road of their own across that part of the range.

IV. On the Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis. Communicated by the Rev. Bryan Walker, M.A., LL.D.

[November 10, 1884.]

The *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* was published in 1876 by Mr Hamilton, but seems only to be known to a very few of those who are interested in the antiquities of the county, and is deserving of far more attention than it has hitherto received.

The MS. from which it has been printed is one of those in the Cottonian Collection in the British Museum, and is in the same volume, Tiberius A. VI, as the well-known *Inquisitio Eliensis*, printed in the 3rd volume of Sir Henry Ellis's edition of the Domesday Book. It is strange that it was overlooked at the time of that publication; but (as Mr Hamilton, in his preface, informs us) Sir Henry Ellis gives the explanation that he employed an amanuensis to copy from the Cottonian MSS. all that related to Domesday, and took for granted that he had done so. The carelessness of the transcriber has very little excuse, for the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* is not only in the same volume with the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, but follows it immediately, without any other matter being interposed.

We have, therefore, to thank Mr Hamilton for bringing to light a record which contains for Cambridgeshire the same complete details, including the enumeration of the live stock of each manor, which the Domesday itself only gives for the three counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, and which are also found in the record of the manors of the Abbey of Ely contained in the *Inquisitio Eliensis*.

It would almost appear that Webb had seen this *Inquisitio*, for he quotes in 1756 some particulars as to the Manor of Wimpole, for which his authority remained unknown, until the passage was found, *verbatim* as Webb cited it, in the newly-discovered document.

One of the most noteworthy features of the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* is that it gives the lands in the county according to the townships or vills: and moreover states first of all for each vill what is, and if it has varied, what was in the Confessor's time, its total hidage. This affords us a most valuable check on the account of our county in Domesday; wherein we have the lands tabulated, whatever be their location, under the names of the various tenants-in-capite. We find here (in the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*) the total hidage of a township given in those numerous cases where its lands were divided into several manors or holdings; whereas this important statement is in Domesday only made in the comparatively few instances where such subdivision had not taken place. This enables us to correct a number of mistakes in our County Domesday, where lands are assigned to their proper owner and superior lord, but referred to a wrong vill. This error occurs very commonly in Domesday; for the scribe when cataloguing the lands of a tenant, usually inserted a rubric when he passed to a new vill; but sometimes, as we now see, had forgotten to do so, and so made a holding erroneously appear to lie in the same vill as the one preceding it.

Thus from the newly-discovered *Inquisitio* we see, for instance, that in Domesday there is a great confusion between the lands of Meldreth and Melbourn, and that really those manors or vills were each of 10 hides, which also is proved by the figures when the holdings are re-assigned and added together. So also we find that the lands in Steeple and Guilden Morden are divided in quite a different way from what we had gathered from Domesday.

The whole Hundred of Staine is in confusion in Domesday: but the *Inquisitio* enables us to rearrange the items, and we find, as it states, that there were five equal vills in the Hundred, each of 10 hides, counting Great and Little Wilbraham together, but keeping the two Swaffhams separate.

Many smaller corrections of the same sort will be found in the list which accompanies this paper, and need not be mentioned further at present.

These totals given by the *Inquisitio*, when compared with the items in Domesday and in the *Inquisitio* itself, show us that occasionally the two records vary slightly: that usually the *Inquisitio* is more correct in its details than the Domesday: but by no means invariably. These variances of detail are also all set down in the list herewith.

In a few cases comparison of parallel entries in the two documents, where one is in acres and the other in hides or virgates, or in fractions of hides or virgates, enables us to estimate the acreage of the hide; with the result of corroborating the view I have already stated more than once at our meetings, that the hide in Cambridgeshire was normally, though with exceptions, 120 acres. And to avoid all misconception, I mean 120 acres cultivated in any one year in corn-crop, with another 60 acres lying idle, in dead fallow or *warecta:* which 60 of *warecta* would be cultivated in the next year, and then form part of the taxable hide; whilst, of course, 60 acres, which had borne two corn-crops in succession, would go into *warecta*, and the third 60 be sown in barley or oats after wheat.

By the comparisons, to which I have just adverted, I make the hide to be 120 acres at Balsham, Quy, Swaffham Bulbeck, Barrington, Orwell, Pampisford: but 100 acres at Burch, or Borough Green, 96 at Babraham, and 80 at Isleham[1].

[1] The hide in Domesday has no necessary connection with the *terra ad unam carucam:* though, possibly, when Danegeld was first levied, the arable component of the hide had been one such *terra*. The Domesday hides

I may perhaps mention that with these additions to my list, I have now, either by internal evidence or by comparison of the three Cambridgeshire records of the reign of William the Conqueror, brought out the result that in 23 vills of Cambridgeshire the hide was 120 acres; in two or perhaps three, 100; in one apparently 98; in two, 96; and in two, 80. With a little assumption[1] I think a great many more could be assigned as 120; and a large proportion of the Hundred Rolls' hides are 120: but I do not like to make assumptions, and I do not like to apply the measurements of 1279 to the solution of arithmetical questions of 1086. But, taking only what I can prove accurately, I think there can be no doubt that, as Mr Seebohm says for England generally, so I can prove for Cambridge specially, the Domesday hide was *normally* 120 acres of land sown with corn.

The names of villages in the *Inquisitio* are frequently spelled very differently from the spelling of the same in Domesday: as instances we find,

Wood Ditton in	*Inq. C. C.*	Duntuna,	in *Dom.*	Ditone:
Horseheath	„	Horseda	„	Horsei:
Wendy	„	Wendeie	„	Wandrie:
Wilbraham	„	Wilburgham	„	Witborgham, Witborham:
Badlingham	„	Belincgesham	„	Bellingeham:
Foulmire	„	Fulemere	„	Fugelesmara:
Hawkston	„	Hauextona	„	Havochestun:
Shelford	„	Scelforda	„	Escelforde:
Sawston	„	Salsintona	„	Salsitone:
Comberton	„	Sommertona	„	Cumbertone:
Shepreth	„	Sepeia	„	Esceprid.

are more often different from, than equal to, the *terræ ad carucam:* and the actual teams are very frequently identical in number with neither; showing, in case of an excess, that the teams had work other than agricultural.

[1] I refer particularly to Mr Seebohm's theory that a *normal* villain holding was a virgate or quarter hide: which fits in with many of the Domesday accounts: Balsham, for instance. I do not, however, find Seebohm's normal *bordar* of 5 acres to fit in to the Cambs. Domesday.

It is to be regretted that the MS. is somewhat imperfect, one leaf being lost from the middle of it, on which were entered portions of the Hundreds of Stow and Papworth; and two leaves at least from the end, so that we have little account of Northstow Hundred, and none at all of the Hundred of Chesterton and the two Hundreds in the Isle of Ely.

The Royal Manors are found in Domesday registered with the others; but are seldom referred to in this *Inquisitio:* never, indeed, when a whole vill was in the Royal Demesne; and usually without full details when the King held part of a vill.

Universally, when the assessment in Saxon and Norman times varied, we find the items making up the total of a vill to accord with the Saxon hides; showing that these had been reckoned on measurement; and the Norman hidage is almost always less than the Saxon, showing a depreciation of value, or the introduction of Beneficial Hidation. This feature is particularly to be noticed in the Hundred of Cheveley.

The *Inquisitio* by transposing the Domesday entry of a half-*caruca* into *terra* 4 *bobus*, or vice versa, strengthens the proof that eight oxen went to the team. This occurs in the entries under Abington and Whaddon (Ern. H.), Over (P. H.), Isleham and Burwell (St. H.), Wratworth (Weth. H.). In Radfield Hundred the *Inquisitio* presents us with some entries which, on comparison with Domesday, lead us to infer that in this district, at any rate, *pratum bovis* = one acre; for in Burch *pratum* 4 *bobus* of the *Inquisitio* replaces 4 acres of Domesday: in Weslai *prati* 2 *acræ* of *Inquisitio* = *prat. duobus bobus* of Domesday, and also in Weslai *pratum duobus bobus* of *Inquisitio* = 2 *acræ* of Domesday. But it is also to be noticed that in Carleton 1 *car. prat.* stands instead of 2 *acres* in the Domesday[1].

[1] Mr Seebohm would probably say the *caruca* = the tenant's team for a small plough of his own drawn by two oxen: for he seems to think they

In Bassingbourne and Melbourne the *Inquisitio* mentions 10 *sol.* as the total content of the vill; and afterwards proceeds to apportion holdings *de his x hidis.* This reminds us of the Kentish term *solin*[1], used as equal to *hida* in the Domesday of that county, as *carucata* is invariably in the Domesday of Lincolnshire, and also in the Domesday of Hunts.[2] used instead of *hida* to designate those hides that are untaxed in the demesne of tenants-in-capite.

We have another curious usage, viz. *Consul* instead of *Comes*, found four times in this record, viz. Consul Walleui (Wallef or Waltheof) in Arrington; Consul Alan, for Earl Alan of Richmond and Brittany, in Wimpole, Orwell, and Whitwell.

The *Inquisitio* always distinguishes the plough-teams in a manor into *carucæ in dominio* and *carucæ villanis:* thereby restricting the vagueness of the expression *carucæ hominum* in Domesday. I infer from this expression that *cottarii* did not usually contribute oxen to the tenants' teams, which did the whole ploughing of the tenants' land, and worked in conjunction with the lord's teams on the demesne: and in fact that *cottarii* had rarely any arable land; being often designated "de hortis suis"; and, when their land is specified in acres, rarely possessing more than an acre each, which also seems to be merged in the total acreage of the demesne. There is only one instance in Cambridgeshire of *cottarii* having as much as nine acres each, viz. in Shepreth: and only three instances where they have five each, viz. in Barrington, Orwell, and Abington. There are, however, a very large number of cases where they and *bordarii* have one acre each, or are described as "de hortis suis."

only yoked 8 oxen to the great manorial plough, and worked their own land with teams of 2 or 4 oxen. (pp. 48, 74, 85.)

[1] Solin, or Sullung is also an expression found occasionally in the Domesday of Sussex, Berks, and Essex. *Suhl* in Anglo-Saxon = a plough. Cf. sulcus: furlong = furrow-long.

[2] *Inq. Eli.* has *hund.* for *hid.* in Meldreth and Wratting.

Bordarii, on the other hand, have not seldom allotments of 10, 15 or 20 acres, or have a virgate now and then, or even a whole team, and necessarily land enough to maintain the team. See entries in Wimpole, Gransden, Fordham, Hinton, Duxford, Horseheath.

Moreover, in many parts of Cambridgeshire, the Domesday account of the holdings of *villani*, *bordarii* and *sochemanni* (if there be any), together with the land stated to be in demesne, adds up exactly to the total of the manor: leaving nothing for the *cottarii* and *servi*: this being notably the case in the Isle of Ely. And the Huntingdonshire Domesday confirms this inference; being, I think I may say invariably, or with the rarest exceptions, in this form:

terræ ad carucam *x*, in dominio *y*, et *a* villani et *b* bordarii habent *z*; no *cottarii* being mentioned in this connection. Sometimes too all the tenants' *carucæ* are given to the *villani*, and the *bordarii* set down separately.

In Cambridgeshire *bordarii* seem to have varied in their *status*, sometimes approximating to the *villani*, but more usually to the *cottarii*, and often the Domesday mentions so many *bordarii* who are set down in the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* as *cottarii*, or *vice versa*.

The Domesday presented us with a few instances of renders of ploughshares, and the *Inquisitio* adds five more.

The accompanying analysis (Table I.) shows the names of the manors as given in the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, and the Domesday spelling of the same names; the hides in each manor according to the *Inquisitio*, and, under the head of notes, such corrections and explanations as a comparison of Domesday book supplied.

APPENDIX.

TABLE I.

Chesterton Hundred.

Omitted entirely, having been entered in the pages lost after fol. 118 of the MS.

Cheveley Hundred (Caveleie).

Inquisitio.	*Domesday.*	*Hides in I. C. C.*	*Notes as to Hides in Domesday, etc.*
Caveleio (*Cheveley*)	Chauelai	Not given	A Royal Manor, and therefore omitted in the *Inq. C. C.*, except as to 1½ h. + 20 a. of Earl Alan. From *D.* we see that it was of 10 hides.
Curtelinge (*Kirtling*)	Chertelinge	10, modo 6	So also in *D.*
Duntuna (*Wood Ditton*)	Ditone	10, modo 1	So also in *D.*
Dittona (*Little Ditton*)	Ditone	5, modo 4	"Se def. pro 5, modo pro 3," *D.*
Esselie (*Exning*)	Esselie	3½, modo 2	So also in *D.*
Seuerlai (*Silverley*)	Severlai	6½, modo 4	So also in *D.*
Sextuna (*Saxon Street in Ditton*)	Sextone	5, modo 3	So also in *D.*

Chilford Hundred (Childeforda, *Inq.*: Cildeford, *D.*).

Abintona (*Great and Little Abington*)	Abintone	6	So also in *D.*
Abintona	Abintone alia	5	So also in *D.*
Bathburgeham (*Babraham*)	Badburgh, Badburgham	7	The parcels in *D.* amount to 5½ h. + 5 v. + 24 a.: and in *Inq.* to 5 h. + 7 v. + 24 a.: showing the Hide to be 96 acres in Babraham. *Inq.* omits ½ v. of Abb. de Ely in *D.*: gives to Alan h. − v. instead of h. − ½ v.; and to Harduin de Scalers 3 v. instead of ½ h.: thus leaving the total unchanged. 4 bob. *D.* = ½ car. (*Inq.*).

Bercheham (*Barham, hamlet of Linton*)	Bercheham	5	The *Inq.* items make up only 4 h. – ½ v., for the *Inq.* omits a virgate which *D.* assigns to Alan, and alters another holding of Alan from 3 h. – ½ v. to 2½ h. – v. So the *D.* parcels only make 4 h. + 3 v.: and the record is erroneous.
Campes (*Camps*)	Campas	5	
Hildrichesham (*Hildersham*)	Hildricesham	5	"Se def. pro 5," *D.*
Horseda (*Horseheath*)	Horsei	5	
Lintona (*Great and Little Linton*)	Lintone	3 + 4 v.	
Lintona (*Great and Little Linton*)	Lintone alia	2½	So also in *D.*
Pampeswrda (*Pampisford*)	Pampesuuorde	5 + 22 a.	The *Inq.* corrects *D.* by giving to Harduin ½ v. instead of v. Thus the total of *Inq.* accords with its parcels, viz. 3 h. + 7½ v. + 15 a.; the hide being 120 a.
Wicham (*West Wickham*)	Wicheham	5	The *Inq.* omits a ½ v. held by a *sochemannus* under Ric. fil. Gislebert. Adding this the items make up the total.

TWO HUNDREDS OF ELY.

Omitted entirely; probably entered on the missing pages after fol. 113 of the MS.

ERMINGFORD HUNDRED (Herningeforda, *Inq.*: Erningford, *D.*).

Abintona (*Abington Pigotts*)	Abintone	5, modo 4	4 bob. *Inq.* = ½ car. *D.*
Basingeburna (*Bassingbourne*)	Basingborne	10 sol., modo 8	The *Inq.* subsequently assigns parcels *de his x hidis.* h. + 2½ v. (*D.*) = 1½ h. + ½ v. (*Inq.*) ∴ h. = 4 v.
Cloptona (*Clopton*)	Cloptune	5, modo 4	
Crauedena (*Croydon*)	Crauuedene	10, modo 8	2½ v. (*D.*) = (½ h. + ½ v.) (*Inq.*) ∴ h. = 4 v.
Hateleia (*Hatley*)	Hatelai, Atelai	5, modo 4	(1 + 3 v.) (*D.*) = (1½ h. + v.) (*Inq.*) ∴ h. = 4 v.
Litlingetona (*Litlington*)	Lidlintone, Lidtingtone	5, modo 4	The parcels both in *D.* and in *Inq.* add to 5 h. + v. Probably the land of Wills. Camerarius and Otho Aurifaber should be IIII h. et dim. dimid. virg. minus instead of IIII h. et dim. et dimid. virg., as it is stated in both texts.

Inquisitio.	*Domesday.*	*Hides in I. C. C.*	*Notes as to Hides in Domesday, etc.*
Meldeburna (*Melbourne*)	Melleburne, Melleborne	10 sol., modo 8	The *Inq.* subsequently assigns parcels *de his x hidis.* $2\frac{1}{2}$ v. (*D.*) = ($\frac{1}{2}$ h. + $\frac{1}{2}$ v.) (*Inq.*) ∴ h. = 4 v.
Melreda (*Meldreth*)	Melrede	10, modo 8	The *Inq.* shows that *D.* has made a great confusion between the lands of Melbourne and Meldreth; having, first, put into Meldreth 5 h. + $1\frac{3}{4}$ v. of Wido, which properly belong to Melbourne; also giving h. + v. to Durand, the tenant under Harduin; and so we arrive at the 10 hides, at which the *Inq.* sets Melbourne. In Meldreth, however, the *Inq.* in its turn, makes a mistake, giving Wido 4 h. + v.; but if we correct this, according to *D.*, to 3 h. + v., the *Inq.* total of 10 hides is again verified.
Morduna } (*Guilden and Steeple* Mordune } *Morden*)	Mordune alia Mordune	5, modo 4 10, modo 8	The *D.* does not distinguish between the two Mordens at all accurately: but the *Inq.* shows the 5 hide and the 10 hide Manor to be thus constituted: in the 10 hide Manor, 8 h. of the Bishop of Winchester, h. + $\frac{1}{4}$ v. of Earl Roger, h. − $\frac{1}{4}$ v. of Harduin de Scalers: and in the 5 hide Manor, $3\frac{1}{2}$ h. of Picot, $\frac{1}{2}$ h. + $\frac{1}{2}$ v. of Earl Roger, 3 v. of Goisfrid de Mandevile, $\frac{1}{2}$ v. of Harduin de Scalers. 3 v. (*D.*) = ($\frac{1}{2}$ h. + v.) (*Inq.*) ∴ h. = 4 v.
Sceningeie (*Shingay*)	Scelgei	5, modo 4	"Pro 5 hid. se def." *D.*
Tadeslaue (*Tadlow*)	Tadelai	5, modo 4	
Wadona (*Whaddon*)	Wadone, Wadune	10, modo 8	$\frac{1}{2}$ car. *Inq.* = 4 bob. *D.* The *D.* gives Earl Alan's land as 2 h. + v., the *Inq.* as 2 h. + $1\frac{1}{2}$ v.: and the latter evidently is correct, making up the total of 10 hides. (1 + 3 v.) (*D.*) = $1\frac{1}{2}$ h. + v. (*C. C.*) ∴ h. = 4 v.
Wendeie (*Wendy*)	Wandrie, Wandei	5, modo 4	

Flendish Hundred (Flamenodic, *Inq.*: Flammiding, Flamiding, Flammindic, Flamidinc, *D.*).

Fuleburna (*Fulbourne*)	Fuleberne	25	
Hintona (*Cherry Hinton*)	Hintone	7	So also in *D.*
Horningesele (*Horningsey*)	Horningesie	7	So also in *D.*
Teuersham (*Teversham*)	Teuresham, Teuersham	7	The *Inq.* gives h. + 8 a. to the Abb. de Ely, the *D.* h. only: and the total accords with *D.*

Northstow Hundred.

Lolleswrda (*Lolworth*)	Lolesuuorde	9, modo 5	So also *D.* The *Inq.* adds "has IX hidas tenet Rob. de Picoto vicecomite."
Matingeleia (*Madingley*)	Madingelie	15 et modo	The *Inq.* adds: "sed non est tamen nisi X, et modo pro VII et dimid." The MS. breaks off in the middle of the account of Madingley in fol. 113 b, col. 2. The *Domesday* items make 12 hides: so the account of the vill. is a conundrum, which I cannot solve.
Ramtona (*Rampton*)	Rantone	6, modo 4½	So also in *D.*
Stantona (*Long Stanton*)	Stantone, Stantune	12, modo 9	
			There is no account of Bece (*Waterbeach*), Draitone (*Dry Drayton*, which *Domesday* placed partly in this Hundred and partly in Chesterton Hundred), Epintone (*Impington*), Gretone (*Girton*), Hochintone (*Oakington*), Middletone (*Milton*), Utbech (*Landbeach*).

Papworth Hundred.

(*Fen Drayton*)	Draitone	10	The details mutilated, as the *Inq.* has lost at least one leaf between fol. 111 and fol. 112: but "de his X hid." occurs 4 times in the fragment about Fen Drayton still existent.
Oura (*Over*)	Ovre, Oure	15, modo 10	4 bob. *Inq.* = ½ car. *D.*

PAPWORTH HUNDRED (*continued*).

Inquisitio.	*Domesday.*	*Hides in I. C. C.*	*Notes as to Hides in Domesday, etc.*
Wiuelingeham (*Willingham*)	Vivelingham, Wiuelingham	7½, modo 5	"Pro 7 hid. se def." *D.* The *Inq.* parcels make 7½.
			Through the mutilation of the MS. we have no account of Bochesuuorde (*Boxworth*), Cheneppewelle (*Knapwell*), Contone or Cunitone (*Conington*), Elesworde (*Elsworth*), Gravelei (*Graveley*), Papeuuorde (*Papworth*), and Svavesye (*Swavesey*).

RADFIELD HUNDRED (Radesfelda, *Inq.*: Radefelle, *D.*).

Belesham (*Balsham*)	Belesham	10	The parcels in *D.* and *Inq.* amount to 9 h. + 120 a.; shewing the hide to be 120 a.
Burch (*Borough Green*) et Westlai (*Westley Waterless*)	Burch } et Weslai }	10	Prat. 2 bob. *Inq.* = prat. 2 a. *D.* Prat. 4 bob. *Inq.* = prat. 4 a. *D.* The items both in *D.* and the *Inq.* make up 9 h. + 3 v. + 25 a.: therefore in Burch and Westley the hide seems to be 100 a.
Carletona (*Carleton*)	Carletone, Carlentone	10	Prat. 1 car. *Inq.* = prat. 2 a. *D.* The *D.* appears to be twice in error, omitting 20 a. from the land of the Abb. de Cluniaco, and 4½ a. of the Countess Judith. The *Inq.* parcels amount to 9½ h. + v. + 31 a.: but both in *D.* and in the *Inq.* a parcel of ½ h. − 3 a. of Harduin is said to be made up of 88 a. + 8 a. So that the entries have evidently been made carelessly, and no conclusion can be drawn as to the hide in this vill.
Dullingeham (*Dullingham*)	Dvllingeham, Dullingham, Dulingham	10	1½ hides given to Wihomarc under Earl Alan belong to Weston.
Stiuechesuuorda (*Stetchworth*)	Stwicesworde, Stiuicesworde, Sticesuuorde	10	*Inq.* and *D.* agree in giving items which only amount to 9 h. + 3 v.: but there is a note in the *Inq.* that "of the six hides which the Abbot of Wandregesili holds (i.e. in Dullingham) there is a virgate, which is rated with those 10 hides, which the Abbot of Ely holds."

Westona (*Weston*)	Westone	10	This total can be made out by adding Wihomarc's 1½ hides, erroneously given to Carleton.
Wrattinga (*West Wratting*)	Waratinge	10	

STAINES HUNDRED (Stane, *Inq.*: Stanes, *D.*).

Bodichesham (*Bottisham*)	Bodichessham	10	So also in *D.*
Choeie et Stoua (*Stow-cum-Quy*)	Coeia	10	The *Inq.* shows that the Domesday scribes, by omitting rubrics, have made great confusion in the lands appertaining to Quy, the Swaffhams and the Wilbrahams.
Suafham (*Swaffham Bulbeck*)	Suafham, Svafam	10	
Suafham (*Swaffham Prior*)	Suafham, Svafam	10	When corrected they stand thus: *Quy-cum-Stow.* 3 h. + v., assigned by *D.* to Picot in Quy: 4½ h. + 10 a. „ „ „ Quy: h., which *D.* gives to Odo under Alan in Swaffham: ½ h. + 20 a., which *D.* puts down as ½ h. + 30 a., and gives to Rainald under Alberic de Ver in Wilbraham. Total: 9 h. + 3 v. + 30 a.; making the hide 120 a. *Swaffham Bulbeck.* 7½ h. + 10 a. of Hugo de Bolebec: h. + 3 v. of Goisfrid under Earl Alan: ½ h. + 20 a. of Alberic de Ver. Total: 9 h. + 3 v. + 30 a.; making again the hide 120 a. *Swaffham Prior.* 8 h. of the Abbot of Ely: 2 h. + 3 v. of Harduin under the Abbot: 3 h. + v. of Earl Alan: 3 v. of Hugo under Walter Gifard: v. of Harduin de Scalers. Total: 8 h. + 8 v., or 10 hides.

STAINES HUNDRED (*continued*).

Inquisitio.	*Domesday.*	*Hides in I. C. C.*	*Notes as to Hides in Domesday, etc.*
II Wilburgeham (*Great and Little Wilbraham*)	Wiborgham, Witborham	10	*Wilbraham, Great and Little.* 4 h. of Earl Alan, placed by *D.* in Swaffham: 4 h. of Alberic de Ver, placed by *D.* in Wilbraham, but the hidage not stated. 2 h. of the King, mentioned in *D.*, but omitted from the *Inq.*

STAPLEHOW HUNDRED.

Belincgesham (*Badlingham*)	Bellingeham	3½	So also in *D.*
Burunelle (*Burwell*)	Burewelle, Buruuelle, Buruuella	15, modo 10	½ car. *Inq.* = 4 bob. *D.* The *Inq.* shows that a half hide specified in *D.* as within the Hundred, but not assigned to any vill., belongs to Burwell.
Cypeham (*Chippenham*)	Chipeham	10, modo 5	So also in *D.*
Esselinga (*Exning*)	Essellinge, Esselinge	15, modo 10	
Forham, Fordam (*Fordham*)	Fordeham, Forham		Omitted from the *Inq.* in part, i.e. as to the Royal Manor.
Gyselham (*Isleham*)	Gisleham	4	½ car. *Inq.* = 4 bob. *D.* The items both in *D.* and the *Inq.* add to 3 h. + 80 a.: and, according to the Hundred Rolls, the hide in Isleham was only 80 acres. There was in Isleham a Royal Manor; but this, as usual, is not mentioned in the *Inq.*
Kenet (*Kennet*)	Chenet	3½, modo 2½	
Saham (*Soham*)	Saham	11½ or 11	The *Inq.* shows that 6 h. + 40 a., which *D.* describes as "in brevi suo," must be included in the other Royal holding, which *D.* sets at 9½ hides, and the *Inq.* at 9½ hides less 6 acres. The *Inq.* gives the total at 11½ hides, but afterwards three times speaks of parcels "de his XI hidis," and the parcels add to 11.
Sneilenuelle (*Snailwell*)	Snellewelle	5	So also in *D.*
Wich (*Wicken*)	Wicham	7, modo 5	So also in *D.*

Stow or Long Stow Hundred (Stouue, *Inq.*: Stov, *D.*).

Brunna (*Bourne*)	Brune, Brunam	20	The entry is incomplete in the *Inq.*, occurring at the end of fol. 111, between which and fol. 112 a leaf or more is missing.
Eueresdona (*Eversden*)	Euresdone, Aueresdone, Auresdone	8 + 40 a., modo 6	The *Inq.* parcels add up to 8 h. + v. + 10 a.: whence v. = 30 a.: h. = 120 a.
Grantedena (*Gransden*)	Gratedene	5	So also in *D.*
Kingestona (*Kingston*)	Chingestone	8 + 40 a., modo 6 + ½ virg.	The virgate seems to be 30 acres in Kingston, for ½ of v. as stated in *Domesday* is replaced by 20 acres in the *Inq.* There seems to be ½ v. short in the reckoning, possibly the *duo milites* under Harduin had 1½ v., as they have arable land for 3 boves: this correction would make the total 6½ h. + 5½ v. + 55 a., which with the hide 120 a. is 8 h. + 40 a.
Tosta (*Toft*) et Harduie (*Hardwick*)	Tosth Harduic	8 + 40 a., modo 6	The *Inq.* speaks only of Toft, but evidently includes the holdings in Hardwick: and the amount is 7½ h. + 2 v. + 40 a., as stated in the *Inq.*
			Through the loss of part of the MS. at this point there is no mention of Caldecote, Caustone (*Caxton*), Crocheston (*Croxton*), Gamelinge (*Gamlingay*), Hatelai (*Hatley St George*), Hectislai (*Eltisley*), or Stov (*Long Stow*).

Triplow Hundred (Tripelaue, Tippelaue, *Inq.*: Trepeslav, Trepelav, *D.*).

Foxtona (*Foxton*)	Foxetune	10	One hide, in Foulmire according to *D.*, is placed by the *Inq.* in Foxton: so that the parcels add to 9½ h. + 60 a.; showing a hide of 120 a.
Fulemere (*Foulmire*)	Fuglemœre, Fugelesmara	10	So also in *D.*
Hauextona (*Hawkston-cum-Newton*)	Havochestun, Hauochestone	10	
Herlestona (*Harston*)	Herlestone	10	The parcels both in *D.* and the *Inq.* exceed ten hides by half a virgate.

Triplow Hundred (*continued*).

Inquisitio.	*Domesday.*	*Hides in I. C. C.*	*Notes as to Hides in Domesday, etc.*
Scelforda (*Shelford*)	Escelforde, Escelford	20	The Abbot of Ely's is given as 9 h. + 24 a. in *D.*: 9 h. + 29 a. in the *Inquisitio Com. Cant.*: and 9 h. + 14 a. in the *Inquisitio Eliensis*. None of these can be right, if the hide is 120 a. in Shelford, as proved in my communication on the *Domesday* of Cambridgeshire: and we need 9 h. + 17 a.
Stapleford (*Stapleford*)	Stapleforde	10	So also in *D.*
Tippelaue (*Triplow*)	Trepeslau, Trepeslai	8	The *Inq.* enables us to see that the 6½ hides, assigned by *D.* to the Abb. de Ely, includes the one hide which Harduin holds under the Abbot: both Inquisitiones giving to the Abbot personally only 5½. In my tabulation of *Domesday*, printed as an Appendix to Vol. v. of the *Communications*, the last entry in Triplow, a half hide of Judith's tenant, should belong to Trumpington. Then the parcels of Triplow accord with the hidage given, if Harduin's 2 a. be supposed to be taken out of the Abbot's land.
Trumpintona (*Trumpington*)	Trumpintone, Trumpinton	12	The *D.* omits a virgate of a "burgensis de Grenteburga." The *Inq.* gives this: and so makes up the total of 12 hides.

Wetherley Hundred.

Barentona (*Barrington*)	Barentone, Barenton	10	The *Inq.* affords a correction, 7 h. + 1½ v. instead of 7 h. + 2½ v., in the lands of Gernon. Thus the parcels make 9 h. + 2 v. + 60 a., or 10 hides, the hide being 120 a.
Bertona (*Barton*)	Bertone	7	*D.* gives to W. de Cahainges 1½ virgates in Barton, but the *Inq.* shows that they should be in Comberton: and so the total of 7 hides for Barton is correct.
Erlingetona (*Arrington*)	Erningtune, Erningtone	4	"Homo Consulis Walleui" here mentioned.
Grenteseta (*Grantchester*)	Grantesete	6?	The parcels add up to 7 hides; and are identical in *D.* and the *Inq.*
Harletona (*Harlton*)	Herletone	5	

Heslingefelda (*Haslingfield*)	Haslingefelde	20	This Manor, again, has the hide = 120 acres, as we see from addition of the parcels: viz. 4½ h. + v. of Sæifrid under Picot: h. + ½ v. of Robert the priest under Earl Alan: ½ h. of Earl Alan, quod pertinet ad Sauesham (Swavesey): 5 h. of Roger de Sumereio under Goisf. de Mandevile: h. + v. + 3 a. of Hunfrid under Wido de Rainbuedcurt (omitted in *Domesday*): 12 a. of Robt. under Earl Alan: 7 h. + v. of King William (omitted in the *Inq.*). 19 h. + 3½ v. + 15 a. = 20 hides, if the virgate be 30 a., and the hide 120 a.
Oreuuella (*Orwell*)	Orduuelle, Ordeuuelle, Oreduuelle	4	"Picot tenet de Consule Alano," occurs. Here we have another remarkable confirmation of the ordinary measure of the hide being 120 acres. The *Inq.* has plainly confused two small holdings, stating that Radulf de Bans holds ½ virgate which had belonged to the Convent of Chatteris. *D.* shows that Radulf held ¼ virgate under Wido, and that the Convent of Chatteris had also ¼ virgate; so that the *Inquisitio* scribe had omitted half of each entry, and tacked on the latter part of the Chatteris entry to the commencement of the entry relating to Radulf's holding. Hence, correcting, we have in Orwell: h. + 1½ v. of Earl Roger: 3½ v. of Durand under Harduin de Scalers: 1½ v. of Sigar under Goisf. de Mandevile: 3¼ v. + 5 a. of Picot the Sheriff under Earl Alan: v. of Walter fil. Alberici under Walter Giffard: v. of Robert Gernon: ¼ v. of Radulf under Wido: ¼ v. of the Convent of Chatteris. h. + 11½ v. + ½ v. + 5 a. = 4 h., if the hide be 120 a.

Inquisitio.	*Domesday.*	*Hides in I. C. C.*	*Notes as to Hides in Domesday, etc.*
Sepeia (*Shepreth*)	Esceprid, Escepride	5	
Sommertona (*Comberton*)	Cumbertone	6	The *Inq.*, as already under Barton, shows the 1½ virgates of Will. de Cahainges to be in Comberton. Two Royal holdings are also given in *D.* which are omitted from the *Inq.* Thus we have: 2½ h. + ½ v. of King William: 2 h. + 2 a. of 2 milites under Picot: h. – 20 a. of Erchenger Pistor: 1½ v. of Will. de Cahainges, or Kahannes. 5½ h. + 2 v. – 18 a. Comparing the Saxon holdings corresponding to Erchenger's h. – 20 a., we find them to be 4 v.; which seems to lead to the inference that the virgate in Comberton was 20 a., and the hide 100 or 5 virgates. This would also give a solution of the land in demesne which *D.* gives ½ h. – 20 a. and the *Inq.* as v. + 10 a.: but this equation is also solved by the values h. = 120 a., v. = 30 a.; and these are the values of the hide and virgate in Comberton in the Hundred Rolls, the virgate being 4 times set at 30 a. On the whole it seems probable Erchenger had h. – 2 a., though both *Inq.* and *D.* give him h. – 20 a.
Winepola (*Wimpole*)	Winepole, Winepol	4	"tenet Consul Alan" occurs. The *Inq.* gives, as *D.* also does, h. + 1½ v. for the holding of Hunfrid under Eudo. This is erroneously put as h. + ½ v. in my *Domesday* Tables.
Wretewurda (*Wratworth*)	Werateuuorde, Warateuuorde	4	½ car. *Inq.* = 4 bob. *D.* The correction of the *D.* 3 v., of Radulf under Picot, into v., as stated in *Inq.*, makes the total = 4 h.
Wurteuuella (*Whitwell*)	Witeuuella, Witeuuelle	4	"tenet Consul Alanus" occurs.

Dochesurd (*Duxford*)	Dochesuuorde, Dodesuuorde	20	
Hestitona (*Hinxton*)	Hestitone, Histetone	20	In Hinxton *D.* seems to reckon a hide twice, once as part of Picot's holding, and again as Royal Demesne, mentioning in the latter case that Picot holds it "sub manu Regis."
Iclintona (*Icklington*) (.Clintona, with a space before the c)	Hichelintone, Inchelintone	20	In this Manor the holdings of several of the villains are specified, as they are almost universally in the *Domesday* of Middlesex: thus, "XI villani unusquisque de ½ hid. et unus 1 virg. et unus 1 hid.," the holdings of the other 17 out of the 30 noted being not given.
Salsintona (*Sawston*)	Salsitone, Salsiton	8	
Witlesforda (*Whittlesford*)	Witelesforde	12	In *Whittlesford D.* gives a virgate to Harduin de Scalers, of which the *Inq.* makes no mention. Girard has ½ virg. in each document, and there is an obscure reference to 1½ virgate besides, which the *Inq.* seems to give to a *sochus* and the *D.* to make land of Alan. Hence we have the 12 hides, thus: 11 h. + v. of Judith (*D.* and *Inq.*): 1½ v. of Earl Alan (*D.*) or his sokeman (*Inq.*): v. of Harduin de Scalers (*D*): ½ v. of Girard under Earl Alan (*D.* + *Inq.*).

END OF TABLE I.

TABLE II.

Borders and Cottars apparently of one acre each:

15 bord. de 15 a. in Fordham:
12 bord. de 12 a. in Hinxton:
9 bord. de 9 a. in Dullingham:
5 cott. de 5 a. in Morden:
5 bord. de 5 a. in Stetchworth:
5 bord. de 5 a. in Westley:
4 bord. de 4 a. in Shelford:
3 bord. de 3 a. in Wratting:
3 cott. de 3 a. in Morden:
2 bord. de 2 a. in Hinxton:
2 bord. de 2 a. in Shelford:
2 bord. de 2 a. in Carleton.

Others apparently of smaller holdings:

3 cott. de 1 a. in Barrington:
but it may be quisque de 1 a.:
21 bord. de 20 a. in Cherry Hinton.

Others apparently with larger holdings:

1 bord. de 1½ a. in Trumpington:
5 cott. quisque de 5 a. in Barrington:
4 cott. ,, 5 a. in Orwell:
3 bord. ,, ,,
3 bord. de 5 a. in Eversden:
4 bord. quisque de 5 a. in Bourne:
2 bord. ,, 5 a. in Eversden:
9 bord. ,, 5 a. in Lolsworth:
4 bord. ,, 5 a. in Madingley:
12 bord. ,, 5 a. in Stanton:
3 cott. quisque de 5 a. in Abington Pigotts:
3 bord. ,, 5 a. in Bassingbourne:
4 cott. ,, 9 a. in Shepreth:
12 bord. ,, 10 a. in Balsham:
3 bord. ,, 10 a. in Gransden:
1 bord. de 15 a. in Wimpole:
3 bord. de 20 a. in Hatley:
2 bord. de 2 car. in Horseheath:
5 bord. et 3 virgæ (de virg.?) in Duxford.

Also:

1 cott. de suo horto in Harston:
15 cott. de suis hortis in Harston:
1 cott. de suo horto in Histon:
15 cott. de suis hortis in Histon:
5 cott. de suis ortis in Trumpington:
8 bord. nihil ten. nisi hortos in Soham:
10 cott. de suis ortis in Bassingbourne:
5 cott. ,, ,, Whaddon:
15 cott. ,, ,, Whaddon:
14 bord. de suis hortis in Horningsey:
3 bord. carent tram. in Soham.

Renders of ploughshares:

de past. 1 soc. in Duxford:
,, ,, Duxford:
,, 5 soc. in Abington:
iiii socci de marisca in Cherry Hinton;
past. ad pec. ville et iiii socci in Trumpington.

V. On the Domesday geldable Hide, what it probably was and what it certainly was not; with an explanation of the Domesday terms terra ad carucam, carucata, and virgata from information contained in certain MSS. of the 13th century, including the Hundred Rolls.

Communicated by O. C. Pell, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

[February 9, 1885.]

What I have ventured to put forward in this paper is founded on a comparison between the statements contained in *Domesday Book*, the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, and those contained in certain MSS. of the 13th century. These MSS. are enumerated below, with the letters by which they are referred to in the Tables annexed to this paper.

DBK. Domesday Bk. &c. as printed by authority of Parliament in 4 vols.

EL. A *Liber Eliensis* of the year 1221, being Tiberius B. II. in the Cottonian MSS.

L.E. Another *Liber Eliensis* of the year 1277, being Claudius C.XI. in the Cottonian MSS., of which another copy is in Caius College Library, though mutilated in some places. See Appendix post.

H.R. The *Hundred Rolls*. Printed in 2 vols.

E.M. Another MS. (in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Ely) of the reign of Ed. II., called *Extenta Manerii*, but relating to seven manors only.

D.P. The *Domesday of St Paul*, edited by the late Archdeacon Hale for the Camden Society.

P.G. The *Cartulary of St Peter's, Gloucester*, in the Rolls Series.

R.C. The *Cartulary of Ramsey Abbey*, at the Record Office, now in course of publication in the Rolls Series, but of which only the first volume is as yet printed.

R.M. *Ramsey* MS. being a Cottonian MS., Galba E·X.

Exon D. The Exon Domesday. Printed in 1816 by Order of Parliament and containing the original returns of the Domesday Commissioners from which portions of Domesday Book itself for the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire was compiled.

Some of these MSS. give the size of the virgate of the manor, in those manors to which they relate; and some of them give in addition the area of the lord's demesne farm in each manor, and the number of ploughs at work on such demesne.

It is obvious therefore that these MSS., written as they are "on the same lines" as D.Bk. (but going minutely into detail), give the clue to solve many doubtful points, as to the meaning of such words as *hida, carucata, terra ad carucam*, and *virgata*, and they are somewhat of a key to the Survey of 1086.

For the sake of easy reference I have arranged the contents of this paper under the following heads:

I. The Domesday geldable "Hida," "Terra ad carucam" or "carucata."

II. The areal "Hida," "Terra ad carucam" or "carucata" of the Lord and his men.

III. "Virgatæ."

IV. "Villanus."

V. The "Anglicus Numerus, "or numbers "juxta estima-

tionem Anglorum" in relation to the Domesday geldable "hida," "terra ad carucam" or "carucata."

I. *The Domesday geldable "hida," "terra ad carucam" or "carucata."*

Domesday Book was a survey made of all the geldated lands and manors comprised in it, with a view to the taxation thereof. It is only natural to suppose then that the terms made use of in reference to the lands on which the taxation was laid must have been of a kind so certain and so sure, that when any portion of the Survey was sent to the king's officers, it would carry on the face of it the information required, without the need of a local interpreter to explain the meaning. Moreover, as the geldable Domesday hide, *terra ad carucam* or *carucata*, was the unit of assessment in D.Bk., there is, apparently, no more ground for saying that it varied in extent or contained an uncertain number of acres, than for saying that the pound of an income-tax schedule might as a unit of assessment contain 20 shillings in one county and 20 pence in another.

Supposing then that the Domesday geldable hide, &c. had one and the same meaning all over England, for the purposes of the taxation of land producing profit, it could not include any other land than *terra lucrabilis*, i.e. arable land, *pratum*, pieces of *silva*, and *pastura* appropriated from the waste, and therefore taxed.

This appears from the fact that manors in D.Bk. "defend themselves" for so many hides, plus in some cases small numbers of acres; a mode of expression which certainly does not apply to large extents of forests and wastes. Eyton and others must, I think, be wrong, when they include a whole county in the hidation of it, and go so far as to talk of hides of many hundreds or even thousands of acres. They seem to have deemed it necessary to include the whole of the land in the

several counties in the geldation contained in D.Bk. whereas we have distinct evidence (in the county of Huntingdon for instance) that a considerable portion (of arable land even) was *extra hydam.* In Devonshire too and Cornwall a very large proportion of the arable was *extra hydam*, and not (as has been suggested) included in hides of an abnormal size. It is also to be remarked that the entirety of the lands of manors is given in some manors in Yorkshire, and it is clear that generally only the *terræ* are geldated. At the same time appropriated pieces of *wara* or pasture land were certainly taxed, which is sufficiently plain in the entries in regard to Cottenham and other places in the Hundred Rolls and D.Bk. Also in D.Bk. itself (Tom. I. fol. 93a, Somerset) at Hamitone of 21 hides Baldwinus is said to have 1 hide *in communi pastura.*

Cottenham was hidated at the time of the Hundred Rolls and D.Bk. at twenty-seven hides; these hides are identified in the Hundred Rolls, and separated into hides of arable land and hides of pasture, &c. Thus the eleven hides of the Abbot and Convent of Croyland are described as *ut in terris pratis pasturis et mariscis*; and the Hundred Rolls go on to say, *unde dictus Abbas et Conventus tenent in dominio de dictis undecim hidis duas hidas arabiles, et quinque hidas in pratis, pasturis et mariscis pertinentibus ad predictam villam.*

These hides of pasture were no doubt Cottenham Common, but were very different from the fens and marshes which adjoined it, being most probably *terra ad carucam* as yet unploughed.

All the uncertainty in regard to this matter of size of D.Bk. hides has arisen from the fact that (from the time of Agard down to the present time) antiquaries, having stumbled upon allusions in old documents to *virgates* of sizes varying in different places, have multiplied such virgate by four, and then called the resulting number of acres a Domesday hide, in such county or place; but apart from this, they have never a reason

for what, in the absence of any, must be nothing more than an arbitrary division of land.

Moreover few of them in former times (as far as I know) had the opportunity of closely comparing the statements in D.Bk. with such old documents and with Court Rolls of the same time.

I think, however, it can be proved that the Domesday geldable hide, *terra ad carucam*, or *carucate* had a fixed and certain meaning; and that the perfectly true statements as to the varying size of the virgates of the manor are the very means by which the unvarying size of the geldable hide in D.Bk. may be tested and confirmed.

The geldable *hida*, *terra ad carucam*, or *carucata* then had in D.Bk. the meaning of *terra lucrabilis* (other than unappropriated *wara*) of a certain fixed amount, as will fully appear by the Tables annexed to this paper.

An acre of arable land however being very like a gun, and having as it were two barrels or parts, the one being *ad seminandum*, and the other *ad warectandum*, it is most important, for purposes of calculation, to observe, that in very many manors, particularly in the county of Kent, this land *ad warectandum* (in other words, the idle shift) was *extra hidam* and not geldated. Under what circumstances, and why this should have been the case, it is hard to say, unless the reason is to be found in the fact that in those manors the fallow lay in common, "jacet in communi" (see the suggestion in regard to Littleberri Manor contained in Note B to Table I.): but the fact is undoubted; and an acre of such land (with the sown land geldated and the fallow not) is in the Ely MSS., in some manors, called half an acre of *wara;* which word, in my last paper, I submitted might be the source from which the term *ad warectum* is derived. This state of things seems in the Domesday of St Paul to be referred to by the use of the expression *una hida in solanda*, i.e. the geldated hide of 120 acres plus the fallow. See Appendix post, p. 162.

The land of one plough, in ancient times, was called, very probably, "hida"; containing, as it did, what was necessary for one or more families. In the Anglo-Saxon translation of Bede, in regard to the Isle of Ely, six hundred *familiæ* is rendered six hundred *hide lands;* and it is therefore quite possible that the sustenance of each family, alluded to by Bede, was a virgate of the homines, comprised with others in one plough land or hide. Moreover, if the virgates of the homines, in those manors which are not included in D.Bk. in the Isle of Ely, are added to those that are, 600 would be a very near approximation to the number of such virgates all told. The area of only one *solung* or plough land of 240 acres might consist of 12 virgates of 20 acres each; and each of them might, with propriety, be called one of the hide lands or hida; each virgate having allotted to it a mansio and the plant necessary to cultivate. But, however that may be, the taxed hida, *terra ad carucam*, or *carucata* in D.Bk. appears to be 120 acres of profitable land.

The opinion that the taxed *hida* in D.Bk. meant, as I have just stated, 120 acres is somewhat supported by several distinct statements of later date; for instance, in Cambridgeshire, there is the case of Oakington, where the hide, in the *Placita apud Cantabrigiam* 18 Ed. I. is said to contain 120 acres; and again, at page 561 of the Hundred Rolls, at Shepreth, W. de la Haye is stated to hold one hide, *which contains one hundred and twenty acres.* In other counties also we find the same, for instance in the MS. of 1277, at Rattendon, in Essex, the parson is said to hold half a hide, *which contains sixty acres:* and further we have in the Inquisitio of Runwell Manor, in the Domesday of St Paul (Hale, p. 69), the positive assertion that a hide was 120 acres, made in the face of false measurements running thus:

Manerium istud, secundum juratores continet viii hidas, et hida continet sexcies viginti acras; set antiqua inquisitio dicit, quod non consuevit continere nisi quatuor viginti; *quia post modo exquisitæ* (searched out?) *sunt terræ, et mensuratæ.*

It is proper however to remark that this entry probably refers to the areal and not to the geldable hide, as in the Cottonian MS. Galba E. X there is at Bierne mention of a *hida*, not however the D.Bk. geldable hide, "d CCC. *acris*." On careful examination, moreover, it will appear that the scribe has miswritten the entry: it should run, *hida* de CC. *acris:* as we learn, from independent sources that this identical hide was 240 acres by the greater hundred, i.e. *una hida in solanda*, the idle shift not being geldated, and the whole amounting in area to 288. See below (p. 87) on the "Anglicus numerus."

The Domesday geldable hide of 120 acres was the kernel of Fleta's carucate, which seems to have been composed of the sown land, linked with its twin brother, the land *ad warectandum*, and sometimes *extra hydam*. This sum total of land *ad geldum*, and land *extra hydam*, appears to have been, in two shift manors, 240 acres, and, in three course manors, 180 acres. The carucate of 120 acres *ad seminandum* + 120 or + 80 acres *ad warectandum* was the Kentish *solin* or *sulung:* which was nothing more than a carucate, consisting of the geldable hide with its idle shift very often *extra hidam*.

As an authority for this there is the statement, quoted in the second folio of D.Bk. of Kent: *In communi terra sunt* CCCC *acræ et dimid', quæ fiunt* II *solinos et dimid':* i.e. 400 ($1\frac{1}{2}$) or 600 acres: also in a charter quoted in a note to the General Introduction to D.Bk. fol. XLIX, we read, *Terram trium aratrorum* (or *carucarum*) *quam Cantiani Anglice dicunt* three swolinges.

By the introduction of the three-course system a greater amount of land was obtained *ad seminandum*, at the expense of the land *ad warectandum:* and though, apparently, the area of the real Domesday hide, for taxational purposes, never varied, as has been supposed, yet, by the introduction of the three-course system (supposing the fallow to be *extra hidam*), there might become, in the same area, more geldable hides, and consequently more carucates: the latter however being smaller than

before. A greater number of geldable hides also, of course, would arise out of the same area, if the fallow land was hidated, as at Tillingham[1]. The prominent part that this change of cropping had in fixing the number of Domesday hides in areas of *wara* will be shewn further on (see p. 96).

II. *The areal "Hida," "Terra ad carucam," or "carucata" of the Lords and their men.*

The description of most manors in Cambridgeshire, and other counties, in D.Bk., begins with a statement shewing the number of hides, car. or carucatæ, at which the whole manor was taxed. This statement is followed by another, giving the number of such hides, &c., as were *in dominio*: it is plain therefore that, after deducting the area of such of these hides of the demesne as were geldated, and not *extra hidam*, and the geldated silva, pratum, pastura, &c., the remaining hides, &c., or rather their area, must have been held by the homines of the Lord, freely and servilely.

If we thus know the number of hides, ad geldum, left for the homines, after such of the Lord's hides in demesne as are *infra hidam*, are allowed for, we can thus find the area of the whole of their holdings, which must, as far as the *terra ad carucam* is concerned, be so many hides of 120 acres, in some cases, but in some others the total of so many imaginary plots of 120 acres each *ad geldum*, plus an equal number of imaginary plots of 120 acres *extra hydam* and *ad warectandum*, in a two-course manor, and of 60 acres in a three-course manor, in other words so many plots of 120 acres, or 240 acres each, in the one case, and 180 each in the other.

As each *terra ad carucam* represented a certain number of virgates, it follows that if the number of plough lands or *terræ ad carucas* of the tenants given in D.Bk. is multiplied by the

[1] See Table I., Note B, p. 109.

number of virgates one of them contained, the result will shew the total number and size of the virgates, into which the whole area of the imaginary plots of 120, 240, or 180 acres each, worked by the homines, were divided. The foregoing and following remarks must however be considered in connection with the system of counting referred to (p. 87) under the heading of "Anglicus numerus."

The areal *terra ad carucam* of D.Bk. was thus the area of the land under the plough in any one manor, expressed in D.Bk. by a statement of the number of *terræ*, into which it was divided, such *terræ* being however sometimes called *carucatæ*. D.Bk. in Cambridgeshire not only gives the number of ploughs, but subdivides such statement into lord's ploughs and tenants' ploughs: such last mentioned ploughs being generally, in that and other counties, an association of two or more virgates of the manor to work one *terra*. It is proper to remark here that D.Bk. very often uses the word "villanus" to mean his estate and not merely his person, as we have repeated instances of the mention of halves of villani. So also very often there is, in the same manor, a double statement in D.Bk.: the one statement treating each virgate as a single *terra*, and the other treating the association of the oxen of two or more virgates, for purposes of work, as one *terra*, as in Cambridgeshire and elsewhere. It requires therefore some attention in each case to ascertain whether single estates or persons are meant, and whether single virgates are called *terræ* and *carucatæ*, or whether an association of two or more virgates is so meant.

The area covered, even by the tenants' associated ploughs (weighted as they would be by the additional work that they were bound by their *servitia* and *consuetudines* to do on the lord's demesne), would be (as it is necessary to remember, and as I endeavoured to shew in my former paper) less than the area covered by the lord's ploughs thus assisted. The *terra ad carucam* of the whole manor (being the area covered by the

lord's ploughs, thus assisted, plus the *terra ad carucam* covered by the tenants' ploughs) would therefore, as regards any one plough, be the mesne of all the ploughs, demesne and servile. For instance, the lord of some manor might have an area of 960 acres, covered by six ploughs, each taking 160 acres: and the homines of the same manor might also have an area of 960 acres covered by 12 associated ploughs (4 virgatarii forming one plough) each taking 80 acres: the two sets covering together 1920 acres (all in open fields with the acres and roods intermixed), being a mesne of 120 acres to each plough, demesne and associated. The *terra* in such a manor would be expressed in D.Bk. as *terra ad carucam* for 18 ploughs; or, if each virgate of the homines was treated *per se* as a *terra*, then as *terra* for 54 ploughs; or it might be expressed in both ways. See Table I., No. 70, 79.

That this is so must be obvious; but further, in some Inquisitions of Manors the assistance rendered by the *carucæ adjutrices* of the villani is itself estimated by *carucæ*. It is so estimated in the Inquisitions of Manors contained in the Ramsey Chartulary, at the Record Office: for instance in that of Slepe (St Ives) (Rolls Series, page 282) after setting out the several *culturæ* of the demesne, it continues thus:

quæ quidem culturæ coli possunt sufficienter cum tribus carucis propriis, et consuetudine carucarum villæ, et duabus precariis, quæ consuetudo ad valentiam trium carucarum æstimatur.

In the Tables to this paper are shewn in detail a few out of the many cases that are to be found in every county (the survey of which is in D.Bk.), and they seem fully to support these views.

They are cases of manors which appear to be unembarrassed with hides of appropriated pasture as in Cottenham: and if reference is made to such manors in the extracts from D.Bk. contained in Table III. post, it will be noticed that the terms *caruca, carucata* and *terra ad carucam* are of constant occur-

rence; but, if careful discrimination does not attend the user of these words, the same mystery and ambiguity will follow, which have baffled attempts to estimate the areas referred to in D.Bk.

The words *caruca, carucata, terra ad carucam*, undoubtedly mean the land of one plough: but as I have shewn *ploughs are not all of the same strength*. There would be the smallest plough or *caruca* of all, consisting of one ox as at Trewallern in Cornwall, D.Bk. 123ª, Table III. (post) No. 129, where two of such *carucæ* joined together and worked one *caruca* consisting (as appears by the Exon D. p. 214) of the two oxen.

There would be the plough of one virgate consisting of two oxen, which is repeatedly alluded to in D.Bk. as a *caruca;* for instance at Derbei, D.Bk. Tom. I. fol. 269, *in una quaque hida sunt* VI *caruc' terræ*, meaning that in each hide of 120 acres there were six virgates of 20 acres: so also (at D.Bk. Tom. I. fol. 235 b) we read, that in Medeltone in Leicestershire, *Ibi sunt* VII *hidæ et una carucata terræ et una bovata. In unaquaque hida sunt* XIIII *carucatæ terræ et dimidium*; the explanation being that the hides were in areas *juxta estimationem Anglorum*, i.e. by the greater hundred, viz. 144 acres, giving virgates of about 10ª, and if the land was *wara*, then 288 acres, giving virgates of 20ª. There would be the associated ploughs or *carucæ* of the homines (containing 1, 2, 3, 4 or more virgates), making up *terræ* of 60, 72, 80, 90, 96, 108 &c., which very often are meant when the word *carucata* is used in regard to the *terræ* of the homines. There would be the libera carucata or the terra free from services on the lord's land. There would be the supposed *carucata* of the whole manor of 120ª, which common standard D.Bk. calls a *hida, terra ad carucam*, or *carucata, ad geldum*, and uses for the purposes of taxation, and which is the subject of this paper. There would be the lord's *carucata* often double the size of the *terra* of the homines, but varying according to the amount of help received from the *carucæ adjutrices* of the homines, and depending, amongst other things, upon how far such services

had been commuted for money payments. Lastly, there would be the pattern plough of the whole manor indicated by Fleta's carucate, consisting of 160 acres in a two-course manor, and 180 in a three-course manor. Every one of the foregoing *carucatæ* from the one ox plough of Trewallern to Fleta's carucate, is to be found in D.Bk.

The consideration of this fact may help to throw light on the word *hida*. If the supposed original and well known meaning most often attached to the word *hida*, viz. the land of one plough, be accepted, then all the foregoing remarks might, in substance, if not in name, apply as fully to the word *hida* as to the word *caruca* and *carucata*; and the *familia* of Bede (as suggested in the beginning of the paper) might rightly be construed *hida*, and *hide land*, and would be the same as the *carucata* or virgate of Derbei and Medeltune. Further we should have the *hide*, or *terra*, of the associated plough of two or more virgates (as it, and the word *carucata*, are in fact used in D.Bk. itself, in regard to Manors in some counties (see the Tables): we should have a libera hida answering to the libera carucata, and we should also have the subject of this paper, viz., the average standard and uniform geldable *hida* or *terra ad carucam* or *carucata* of D.Bk. viz. 120 acres for taxational purposes, the lord's hide, and the sown land and idle shift, or Fleta's carucate.

Upon a close examination of D.Bk. this supposition is found to be true in fact. In the Manorial surveys of most counties, contained in D.Bk., the taxable area (expressed by a certain number of geldable *hidæ*, *car.*, or *terræ ad car.*,) is placed first and then such area is subdivided into or spread over *terræ ad car.*: thus in Bedfordshire "*Ammetelle pro* V *hidis se defendit Terra est* VIII *car.*", and in Nottinghamshire Werchesope, "*Habet Elfi* III *car. terrae ad geldum Terra* VI *car.*" But in very many manors in the counties of Dorset, Middlesex, Surrey, Sussex, York and in Wiltshire and perhaps elsewhere, the fore-

going formula is reversed and the actual number of *terræ* into which the whole area is divided is placed first under the name of *hidæ* or *carucatæ* and the number of taxable areas of 120 acres each is placed second under the terms "*terra ad x car.*," or "*hanc possunt arare x car.*," such *car.* implying uniform areas of 120 acres each. For instance in Dorsetshire "*Pidere geldavit pro* X *hidis terra est* VI *car.*," Tables II. and III. No. 167. So also in York. Rodreham "*Habet Acun* I *manerium de* V *carucat.: ad geldum ubi possunt ere* III *car.* If Pidere had been in Cambridgeshire it would have been returned thus: *Pidere se defendit pro* VI *hidis terra est* X *car.* But further, this supposition is proved in another way, namely by the discovery of cases in D.Bk. where the word *hida* is *in the same survey* used in more than one sense. The survey of the Manor of Pavton in Cornwall is a case in point, Tables II. and III. No. 134. In this survey we find the word *hida* used as meaning, 1st the geldable hide or area of 120 acres, 2ndly the lord's hide or car., and 3rdly the virgates or car. of the villains. The actual survey runs thus in the Exon D. (see my Table III. No. 134). "*In ea sunt* XLIIII *hid.: et reddidit gildum pro* VIII *hidis has possunt arare insimul* LX *car. De his habet episcopus in dominio* I *hid. et* III *car. et villani habent* XLIII $\frac{\text{hid.}}{\text{carr.}}$ *et* XL *car.*" The solution is this. There were 8 (*Anglico numero*) geldable hides of 120 + 24 (*extra hidam*) or a total of 1152 acres, 192 of which would be extra hidam. See post, *Anglicus numerus.* There were 44 *hidæ* or *car.*, i.e. 1 lord's hide or car. of 120 acres in demesne and 43 hides, car., or virgates of 24 acres belonging to the villains: but from the statement "*has possunt arare* LX *car.*" we are made aware that the total area must have been larger than the above, and on examination the manor is found to be in a three course. Working this out, we find that 1152 + 576 = 1728 (3 × 576) and that this, divided by 72 *car.* (i.e. 60 *Anglico numero*) gives as the virgate 24 as before. If from

the above area of 1728 there is deducted 180 (the lord's geldable hide of 120 plus 60 idle shift), there remains 1548 and if this is divided by 43 it gives 36 as the villains' *terra* (24 + 12 idle shift). The peculiar entry "XLIII $\frac{\textit{hid.}}{\textit{carr.}}$ *et* XL *car.*" shews (if not indicating an erasure see Nos. 79 and 288 Table III.) that "hid." and "carr." meant the same thing: moreover, if the total area of 1728 is reduced one-sixth, as it would be reduced (see post, "Anglicus numerus") by the D.Bk. authorities, it would appear as 1440 (960 + 480) and when this is divided by the LX car. (*has possunt arare* LX *car.*) the virgate of the manor of 24 again appears: see also in the Tables the cases of Fuleham, Hesa, Enefelde, &c. in Middlesex, Nos. 214, 223, 224, Borne in Sussex, No. 306, and Newintone in Wiltshire, No. 321, and Liscarret in Cornwall, No. 135. There is a case in Surrey which shews that an area, which had been expressed *tempore Regis Edwardi* in Hides (meaning thereby virgates), is converted in D.Bk. into the uniform hide of 120 for taxational purposes. The case is that of Estreham, which is entered in D.Bk. as follows: "Estreham tunc se defendit pro V hid. et modo similiter pro I hid. et I virg. terræ." It will be noticed that 6 (i.e. 5 Anglico numero) hides or virgates of 24 = 1 hid. of 120 + 1 virg. = 144 and the sixth part being taken off as extra hidam (see post), there remains the geldable area of 120 acres or 5 virgates of 24 acres.

Terræ (in the Tables I. and II. attached to this paper) of the size of 45, 54, 64, 90, 108, 180, 216 point to the conclusion that the manors in which they appear were already in a three-course shift at the time of D.Bk.

In those few cases in which there were hides of appropriated pasture, as at Cottenham, the area was most probably of *wara*, i.e. 240; speaking generally however only the *terra ad carucam* was taxed; and even perhaps Cottenham common might, as *terra ad carucam* unbroken, be looked on as such. It

necessarily follows from these facts, and the fact, if true, that the D.Bk. geldable hide, *terra ad carucam*, or carucate, was a fixed quantity of 120 acres, that Eyton and others have erred largely in regard to the geldable hide, that Kemble's so-called hide of 40 acres was nothing more than half a *terra ad carucam*, and that the so-called "Gheld acre," which is said to be in area five acres, is a myth. (See Eyton on the Domesday of Dorset, pp. 14, 15, etc., and Kemble, Saxons in England, Appendix B, p. 490, and the case of Poleham in Dorset, on which he founds the above statement, post No. 168 in Tables II. and III.)

III. *Virgatæ.*

The MS. of 1277, so far as regards Wilburton Manor, shows the tenants of that manor as holding *plenæ terræ* or virgates of 12 acres of *wara*, i.e. 12 acres originally fallow + 12 acres sown, (see Appendix post, p. 162); and I give here a transcript from the Crown Survey of the Manor of Wilburton, of Elizabeth's reign, shewing the contents of such a virgate, and how it might be made up by (in addition to its arable land) small pieces of pratum lying in the open fields, in some manors, and larger pieces of pastura in others.

CUSTUMARII.

Oliverus Morden tenet per copiam dat die anno regni Unam messuagium et unam virgatam terræ nuper Roberti Cokin; viz:—

Domus Mans. iii spac. unum horreum iii spac. unum stabulum i spac. et le Backside continent per estim*ationem* ..... iii roda.

Terra arabilis in communibus campis de Wilburton vocatis Hall pond field fur close Field Whitecross field et Grunti fen field per estimationem ..... xxii ac.

Pratum jacens in les doles per est ..... ii ac.

Other virgates at Wilburton have, some a few more roods of pratum, and more arable, containing from 22 to 25 acres *in toto*; but on an average on the whole 22½ arable, plus 1½ of pratum, or 24 acres in all. The Compotus Rolls and Court

Rolls (as far back as Ed. I.), of the Manor of Wilburton are in my possession, and fully confirm the Elizabethan entry.

These virgates, so often alluded to in old MSS., have apparently been (from the time of Agard to the present time) a source of some confusion. They have been supposed to be the virgates, or quarters of the Domesday geldable hide, whereas they undoubtedly were the portion allotted in the open fields of any one particular manor (but lying dispersedly in acre and rood strips) to the homines of the Lord long before the time of D.Bk. The component parts of a virgate being intermixed with those of other virgates, each was bound by necessity to follow the course of cropping (two, three or more) in vogue for the time being in a manor. The fact that the open fields consisted of unenclosed acre, or rood, strips independent of each other may give a clue to the question why the size of the virgates should vary in different manors. These are all as a rule found to consist of ten or twelve acres or a multiple of ten or twelve acres. They are either 10, 15, 20, 30, 40, 60 acres, or 12, 18, 24, 36, 48, 72 acres. The Angli had one method of counting (differing from that of their neighbours) by which 120 by the common hundred only made 100 by their system. This system is found even in D.Bk. itself, viz. Tom. I. foll. 336ᵃ, "*Hic numerus anglice computatur* 1 *centum pro* CXX": and again in the same folio, "CC *anglico numero* CCXL." When the land was first occupied by Angli, Jutes, and others, these acre and rood strips, existing perhaps long before their advent, would be distributed among the crowd of adventurers: what more natural than that they should have then been distributed according to the system of counting used by the new owners. In some settlements the men would receive 10, 20, or 30 acres; the Angli and their cousins would take 12, 24, or 36 acres. It might even be that in some cases the system of counting found on the spot would be used. At any rate if this surmise is correct (and there are good grounds for accepting it as correct)

the size of the virgate, if well ascertained, may be somewhat of a clue to the problem, how, after the destruction, or absorption of the ancient population, our villages were respectively repeopled and by whom. When D.Bk. was made it was absolutely necessary to adopt one or other of the two systems as the basis of it; and 120 acres for the geldable hide, &c., and 15, 20 or 30 acres, &c., for the geldable virgate seems to have been adopted for the purposes of taxation; the two systems being made to fit to one common standard by the process alluded to in this paper (post p. 87 ff.). There appears to be some confirmation of this view in an entry in the Hundred Rolls: at page 561 at Shippere, in the county of Cambridge, William de la Haye is said to hold a hide, *quæ continet sexies viginti acras de terræ et prati*; this statement is immediately followed by another, running thus: *Villani ejusdem quilibet eorum tenet dimidium virgatæ terræ custumariæ, quæ continet* XVIII *acras.* Unless this statement, that the hide contained 120 acres, had happened to have been placed so closely to the further statement that a virgate was 36 acres, the entry might, and probably before now would have been quoted as an authority that the area of the Domesday geldable hide at Shepreth was four times the amount of 36, i.e. 144 acres, as has been incautiously done in regard to similar entries in the Hundred Rolls.

The Hundred Rolls of Huntingdonshire state a hide, i.e. a *terra ad car.* to consist, in certain manors, of a certain number of virgates; and they also state that a virgate in the respective manors contained respectively such and such a number of acres: but the latter virgates are in actual area no more the virgates of the Domesday geldable hide than the virgate of Shippere, of 36 acres, could be in area the virgate of a geldable hide of 120 acres: because the areal virgate of 36 contained six acres which was *extra hidam* altogether. (See below, p. 89.) There is another case in the Hundred Rolls, viz., that of Shelford Magna in Cambridgeshire: the entries in regard

to which are here placed in juxtaposition with the entries in regard to the same manor in L.E. 1277.

(*Hundred Rolls*, 1279.)		(*M.S. L.E.* 1277.)	
Magna Shelford.		Magna Shelford.	
De Servis.		De dimidiis virgatis.	
Nicholas Dilkes	15		18
William Almer	15		18
Robert King	15		18
Richard Bode	15		18
John Wray	15		18
Hereward Samar	15		18
Suneman ad Pot	15		18
William Blize	15		18
Henry Godfrey	15		18
Richard Hochele	15		18
William King	15		18
William Samar	15		18
Thom: fil Walt:	15		18
John Samar	15		18
Aliis Servis.		De tenentibus Novem acras.	
Albertus Molendinus	7½		9
Abel Faukes	7½		9
John Lessy	7½		9
William Lessy	7½		9
Adam Rolf	7½		9
Richard Hug	7½		9
John Turburn	7½		9
Folkes	7½		9
Richard De Bery	7½		9
John Chauter	7½		9
William Rolf	7½		9

The explanation is simple enough—both statements are true—because the H.R. statement is only that of the Domesday geldable land, and so a full virgate of 36ª answers thus to the 30ª of Domesday, and contains 30ª of taxed land plus 6ª *extra hidam*. But, nevertheless, one of two antiquaries (calculating from the size of the virgate of the manor) would make the Domesday geldable hide to be 120ª and the other would make it 144. Each would calculate according to which of the two MSS. they respectively got hold of. This shews the danger

of error that may arise from taking the area of a virgate of the manor as the area of the taxed virgate of the D.Bk. hide, or vice versâ, and may also explain perhaps the use of the term *plena terra*, as meaning a *terra* containing not only the geldable land but the land *extra hidam*.

I have a very strong suspicion that all virgates were, originally, ten acres of *wara*, i.e. ten acres in each of the two fields of a manor—the sown and the fallow; these ten acres being either on the common way of counting, or *juxta estimationem Anglorum*, viz. ten or twelve acres; and that a virgate of thirty indicates that the allotment of ten acres, or twelve acres in each of the three fields, was made at a time when the land was already in a three-course shift.

I find no indication of the virgate itself being altered in size; neither do I see how such an alteration could be made, after once the land was allotted out, and had passed into the hands of the holders. An alteration in the holdings of men in *quantity* is a very different thing from changing the mode of cultivation on them. We know, perfectly well, that the change of cultivation has been made in scores of manors, and that the size of the virgate has come down to recent times unchanged. At any rate the repeated assertion, that the virgate of a Domesday geldable hide was always 30 acres is a statement of what certainly is a fallacy. That 30 acres was a virgate of the Domesday geldable hide is true only in those cases where the virgate of the manor was 30 or 36 acres: but the virgate of the Domesday hide was as often as not 20 or 24; and six of 20[s] and five of 24[s] are just as often to be met with as 4 of thirty. But though the area of one virgate might not be altered, their component parts might be re-arranged; for instance, the component parts of three virgates might be so re-arranged on a change of cropping as to form two virgates: thus taking three virgates of 20 acres in a two course shift, on the manor going into a three course they might be arranged thus (20 + 10) +

(20 + 10) = 2 virgates of 30. So also 2 virgates of 24 might become 3 of 16 (see the *libere tenentes* of Aylington 2 H.R. 656 and No. 73 in Tables I. and III. *post*). This would be especially easy in those cases where the villani held half virgates. Many false calculations as to the geldable unit of D.Bk. have been made on the assumption that the virgate of D.Bk. was 30 acres in all cases. The tables shew that, in a statement in D.Bk. of a virgate standing *per se*, such for instance as 1 h. + 1 v., the meaning is 120^{a} + 1 virgate of the manor, i.e. not necessarily 1 h. + 30^{a}, but possibly 1 h. + 20, as at Hardwick, No. 25, or as at Wilburton (No. 43) 3 (h. + 24) = 432 acres. (See also Escelforde, No. 19.)

If a virgate of 30^{a} is the indication of a three-course system of cultivation, the views as to when that system was introduced into England must somewhat change; as a *terra* of 60^{a} might just as well be 3 virgates of 20^{a} as two of 30^{a}, so the virgate of 30^{a} itself might be 10^{a} + 10^{a} + 10^{a} in its original allotment. From the above remarks it is plain that great caution is necessary before we accept as conclusive of the matter the statement in MSS. (such as D.Bk., H.R., and R.C.), that a virgate is 30 acres, &c., in area. In very many cases these MSS. speak only of the taxed land, there being an addition of one-fifth at least, (see post, Anglicus numerus), and if of *wara* a considerable deal more (a third or a half) to be made before we arrive at the total area contained in the virgate. There are instances to be found in the MSS. which give the virgate as 30, but which manifestly speak only of the geldated part of a virgate, in area 60^{a}, and if Anglico numero, as well as of wara, a *plena terra* of 30^{a} + 6^{a} + 36^{a} or 72^{a}: it is worthy of remark that the paging of the MS. R.C. is itself "Anglico numero."

There is a virgate of 32^{a} to be found occasionally in MSS., which, at first sight, appears not to support the theory of virgates being multiples of ten, or twelve; but on examination this is not so, as such virgate represents the sown or geldated portion only of an areal virgate of 48 (a virgate

of *wara* by the greater hundred, i.e. 40 Anglico numero). The manor having gone from a two to a three course, 32 becomes the sown portion, and (if the fallow lies in common—"jacet in communi" and therefore untaxed) the sum total of the taxed land in such areal virgate. Broughton in the Ramsey Chartulary in the Rolls Series, p. 333, is a case in point. The entries are as follows: "In villa de Broughtone sunt septem hydæ et dimidia virgata terræ extra hydam" (meaning in effect seven hides with seven half virgates extra hydam) "Sex autem virgatæ et dimidia terræ faciunt hydam; et triginta et duæ acræ faciunt virgatam." The total area was therefore 192 + 96 = 288 (a hide of wara or "solanda" by the greater hundred as at Bierne, No. 76, ante, p. 71). In the Cottonian MS. Vespasian E. II. fol. 660, containing the survey of Chatteriz, which shows a virgate of 32, there is contained this odd entry: "Nescimus quot acræ seminantur." See also the cases in Tables I. and III., Nos. 3, 24, 87, 106, 111, and the note to the small "ready reckoner" immediately preceding Table I.

The Hundred Rolls of Huntingdonshire, and the R.C. call the actual area of a terra of the manor a hide; but it is not necessary (after the proofs I have given) to go into that subject further than to repeat that this terra is not the Domesday geldable hide. The terra contains sown, and idle shift; and unless the latter for some reason has been geldated it remains "extra hidam." In those cases, where it is still "extra hidam," it will be found that the virgates of sown land, i.e. the geldated virgates, are generally half the number, or size, or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the number, or size, of the virgates of the villani, containing, as the latter do, sown land, and idle shift, the area of the latter varying of course as the manor was in a 2 or 3 course shift.

To those who take the trouble to work out the areas of arable land, contained in D.Bk., and compare them with those of the surveys, contained in the MSS. of the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries, it will be very plain that there was but little

change during those centuries in most manors; and it is surprising how very often there appears to be no change at all. Wilburton is by no means an exception or anything like an exception; and it is not too much to say that (speaking of that manor and of scores of others), of the same land that was under the plough at the time of Domesday there is less of it now in that state than there was then.

IV. "*Villanus.*"

The word "villanus" in D.Bk. does not necessarily imply a reference to *one person* only. It very often means an estate of one or more villani worked by one plough, such villani being in the MSS. called "socii" and "participes." Thus in Belesham, Table III., No. 1, it evidently meant in area the estate of 4 villani at least associated together in one plough; and there are to be found in D.Bk. repeated instances of halves of villani (Burewelle, Table III., No. 2, Grantesete, No. 21, for instance) where the word must have meant estates, and not persons. There are some cases in which it may be that the number only refers to the land "infra hidam," and other cases, as in the Ely manors, where it seems to mean the estate of libere tenentes in one plough, leaving the great body of the "operarii" entirely unnoticed, except so far as is indicated by the number of ploughs. In other cases the estates of the operarii only are noticed, leaving the libere tenentes entirely unnoticed except by the number of car. otherwise unfilled: this fact is made quite clear by a comparison between the details of some of the Manors in Cambs., Hunts. and Bucks. contained in the Hundred Rolls and in D.Bk. respectively: for instance, Lechamstead, 18 hides D.Bk. 144^{b}, and 2 H.R. p. 338; Acle, 3 hides D.Bk. 147^{b}, and 2 H.R. p. 339; Mortune, 5 hides D.Bk. 153^{a}, H.R. p. 341; Stratford, 8 hides D.Bk. 149^{b}, 2 H.R. 342, &c.; and see a very curious case, Saltreyea, or Saltrede, 7½ hides + ½ v. D.Bk. 204^{b}, No. 84, Table III., and 2 H.R. p. 659. The population of the country at the time of D.Bk. has in consequence been greatly underestimated

(to the extent I should say of at least one-third), and though of course it is only natural to expect to find in the Tables that the number of virgates, as worked out, should approximately agree with the number of "villani" as stated in D.Bk., it must not, in those cases where they do not so tally, be hastily assumed that the calculation is falsely made.

V. *The "Anglicus Numerus," or numbers "Iuxta estimationem Anglorum" in relation to the Domesday geldable "hida," "terra ad carucam" or "carucata."*

In order to explain this well it is needful to recall to mind how the MSS. called Domesday Bk., and the H.R., and the succeeding MSS. (such as The Domesday of St Paul, the Ely MSS. and the Ramsey Chartulary) differ in character, though agreeing in substance. Domesday and H.R. were MSS. dealing generally with areas of land liable to taxation: the other MSS. deal generally with actual areas of taxable, and untaxable, land in possession of the Lords and their men. Again, a document like the Domesday Bk. was a "Schedule" for the purposes of an assessment on the whole country, so we must naturally think of it as formed on one and the same plan of counting throughout the whole, or that at least it would have been the aim of the Norman King's Officers to form it so. The later MSS. on the other hand deal with the actual areas (the "plenæ terræ") belonging to their Lords, and of necessity speak of such areas according to their actual contents in the common Norman numbers of the day. The difficulty[1] thus presented to

[1] A like difficulty appears in the treaty of peace between Alfred and Guthrum the Dane, and was dealt with perhaps in the like way. See 2 Vol. Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, pp. 481—483: "De Weregildis, Twelfhindi hominis est twelf-hund scillinga, i.e. duodecies c sol, qui faciunt libras XXV. Twihindi hominis wera est twa-hund, scilicet ducenti sol' ex V scil' denariis qui faciunt IIII lib. et XL. d." See post p. 96. The A.-Saxon scilling was 4 peninga. In Ina's laws, sec. v. (Thorpe, 1 vol. p. 140) an ox's tail is valued at 1 scill. of 4 peninga: so in sec. XI. of the Conqueror's laws, p. 472. See the Justinian Code, l. x. tit. 70, p. 5, and Cod. Theod. l. XII. tit. 7, p. 563, as to the division of the libra of gold into 72 sol.

the King's Officers (or it may be to the juratores of the original returns) by this matter of counting, is seen at a glance in the following table of areas, shewn both in numbers of the common counting now in use, and also in numbers of the counting expressed by the words "Anglico numero," or "juxta æstimationem Anglorum."

Actual areas of acres stated in the Tables. Common Counting.		The like areas but expressed "Iuxta estimationem Anglorum."	
Bovate	6	5	Bovate
do	8	$6\frac{2}{3}$	do.
do.	9	$7\frac{1}{2}$	do.
do.	10	$8\frac{1}{3}$	do.
do.	12	10	do.
do.	15	$12\frac{1}{2}$	do.
do.	16	$13\frac{1}{3}$	do.
do.	18	15	do.
do.	20	$16\frac{2}{3}$	do.
Bovate of wara or Common Virgate	24	20	Common Virgate or Bovate of wara
do.	30	25	do.
do.	32	$26\frac{2}{3}$	do.
do.	36	30	do.
Virgate of wara or terra	48	40	Terra or Virgate of wara
do.	54	45	do.
do.	60	50	do.
do.	72	60	do.
Terra	75	$62\frac{1}{2}$	Terra
do.	90	75	do.
do.	96	80	do.
do.	108	90	do.
Domesday geldable hide, terra [ad car., or carucate	120	100	Note! The geldable hide, terra ad car., or carucate, is reached, not by expanding 100 up to 120, but by shrinking 144 to 120
Terra	144	120	Terra
do.	160	$133\frac{1}{3}$	do.
do.	180	150	do.
do.	192	160	do.
do.	216	180	do.
do. of wara	240	200	do. of wara
do. „	288	240	do. „

All these numbers are to be met with in working out the Tables I. and II. and a case of a virgate of 26⅔ is to be found in Picotsfee 1st column of 2 H.R. p. 468.

The Norman King's Officers charged (as no doubt they were) with the task of forming (from the primary returns sent to them from all parts of the country) an assessment, which would be of one uniform standard (coinciding with the new division of the libra introduced from the continent, ante p. 87 and post p. 96), and one too that should be equal, (fear, favour, or affection having their field of action, if any, in the drawing up of the primary returns in the country) had to consider how these two points should be reached[1]. They seem in very many cases, and presumably in all, to have gone towards their object in one of two ways. In some cases they appear to have stated the number of hides, terræ ad car., or carucatæ, or areas, at one sixth less of the actual number, 6 hides or car. being reckoned as 5: this course they pursued more especially where the areas could be reduced without leaving fractions, or where one or more persons occupied substantial blocks "extra hidam," as at Chyllelesla, No. 68. In other cases they treated as "extra hidam" the sixth part in each individual area in cultivation: thus 144 acres would be for the purposes of taxation reduced to 120, the virgate of 36 to 30, the hide of wara of 288 to 240, and so on; the surplus acreage was actually placed "extra hidam" (see Wardebusc in Hunts. in Table I., No. 101, and R.C., Rolls

[1] In the Inquisitio of Broctune (contained in the R.C., Rolls Series, p. 334) is the following passage: "Thomas Cocus de Wystowe tenet unam "virgatam terræ, pro qua facit homagium, et sectam curiæ de Broughtone; "et dat sex solidos per annum, quæ etiam solebat dare *hydagium*, auxilium "vice comitis, et pontagium. Quæ servitia, a tempore Johannis Russel, "tunc temporis firmarii de Broughtone, qui eandem virgatam terræ, *ob "favorem Henrici Pyncernæ, fraudulenter posuit extra hidam, omnia "hactenus detinentur.*" Though the Danish Ora contained 20 denarii of 24 units there are many places in D.Bk. where the word denarii is used to mean the old Saxon peninga of 20 units; see end of note p. 96.

Series, p. 308). They thus (if acting honestly) would arrive at an equal, and at the same time an uniform, assessment. There are distinct proofs of the King's Officers thus acting in D.Bk. itself: some of the cases I have met with I have put in the Tables; but if it was possible to compare D.Bk. with the original returns in England, or with succeeding manuscripts such as H.R., L.E., or R.C., I have no fear but that many more would be found. Of instances of the first method of reduction there is that of Cliftun in Yorkshire, D.Bk. Tom. I. folio 313ᵃ. being the last in the tables. The exact entry is: "In Cliftun supra dicto "manerio adjacet soca horum Fuleforde una carucata et tres "bovatæ Aseri quatuor carucatæ Chetelsthorp quatuor carucatæ "Languelt una carucata et dimidium Chelchefeld duo carucatæ "et duo bovatæ Morebi una carucata. Distone quatuor carucatæ. "Hi tria fuerunt maneria tamen sunt in soca de Cliftun. Simul "ad geldum quindecim carucatæ una bovata minus et—octo caru- "catæ possunt ere." If, for the purposes of simplicity, we add a bovate to each side of the equation we shall then have 18 carucatæ in area reduced by the King's Officers to 15 carucatæ ad geldum. The details of this Manor which was in a 3 course are these:

		Actual Area.
VIII Car. "Anglico numero"	1152	8 × 144
Idle shift	576	
	1728 acres	

1728 acres are 18 carucates of 96 (12 bovates of 8ᵃ)

	Explanation of taxation	
VIII Car. ad geldum	960	8 × 120
Idle shift "extra hidam"	480	
	1440 acres	

1440 acres are 18 carucates of 80 (12 bovates of $6\frac{2}{3}$). A bovate of $6\frac{2}{3}$ "Anglico numero" equals 8ᵃ and 80 "Anglico numero" is 96, and 18 of 80 equals 15 of 96. In most counties (except Dorset, Middlesex, Sussex, Surrey, York and Wiltshire) the entry would have run VIII "hid." or "car." ad geldum terra est ad XVIII car. See note to Dorset in Table II.

So too at Chillelesla, No. 68, in Hertfordshire, the actual total area was 6 areas of 120 acres of wara, and so amounting altogether to 1440. The King's Officers have reduced this in D.Bk. to 5 hides of geldable land, i.e. 600 acres: the process being as follows: half goes off as untaxed fallow in a two course manor, the areas being areas of wara, and the fallow "jacens in communi," then the remaining 720 is reduced one-sixth by reducing the number of geldable hides from 6 to 5: this sixth remained in the Lord's demesne entirely untaxed.

The following are of the other method. Wilburton is a case of this description, Tables I. and III., No. 43: the actual area all told was, as appears from the details of it contained in the MS. L.E., (see a translation of it post in the Appendix), p. 162, and shewn at p. 22 in my last paper, 864[a]. made up thus at the time of D.Bk.:

Lord's arable (including Lord's pratum of 39[a]) . .	423
Cottagers 1[a] each	9
Libere tenentes	108
4 Sochmanni	24
Operarii	300
	864

On reference to the primary return, Table III. No. 43, contained in the Inquisitio Eliensis, Ellis D.Bk. Tom. IV. page 506, it appears that "VI car. ibi est terra," divided into "quatuor car. in dominio," and "quatuor car. hominum." These six car. of the Inquisitio Eliensis of 120, "juxta estimationem Anglorum" 6 (144) exactly equal 864 ac.; or, as D.Bk. puts it, 3 Lord's car. of 144 (120, "Anglico numero,") plus 4 average car. of 108 acres to tenants exactly make the 864[a]. The 8 ploughs of the Lord and men of the Inquisitio Eliensis have an average terra of 108 acres each over the manor. If a sixth part is taken off a terra of 108 it becomes 90, and that is just to what the King's Officers have in D.Bk. reduced the terra of the car. of 108, belonging to the libere tenentes (the IX vill. quisque de X acris). But the case does not end there; the holdings of

the homines were holdings of "wara", i.e. the fallow was not taxed; the manor was in a three course shift, and the actual acreage of the tenants' car. (4 car. of 108) was 432: so the King's Officers take off a third for fallow, which they make "extra hidam": deducting this 144 from 864 there remains 720 acres, off which they take a sixth as at Cliftun, and elsewhere, and the total is reduced to 600, or 5 hides of 120, at which it stands ad geldum. The Lord's III. hidæ et I. virg. is really 3 (120 + 24) not 360 + 24. There are other cases like this in D.Bk.

In the case of Broctune in Hunts, D.Bk. Tom. I. fol. 204*, Table III. No. 74, there are 9 hides ad geldum. The Lord pays on the Lord's land (4 hides) as we learn from D.Bk. that he had 4 car. This leaves tenants' land on which the gheld of five more hides was to be paid. The H.R. (taking the geldable virgate of D.Bk.) says it is thirty acres, which of course it must be if we accept the theory that the Domesday geldable hide, or carucate, is 120 acres, and six would go to an areal carucate of 180 in a three course shift. But as regards the actual areas the R.C., Rolls Series, p. 333, says this: "Sex autem virgatæ et dimidia terræ faciunt hydam; et triginta et duæ acra faciunt virgatam." The two statements are both right, if the geldable Domesday hide was 120 acres; and it is explained thus (see also ante, p. 85). Six areal virgates of 48 give 288, i.e. a hide of wara "juxta æstimationem Anglorum." The sum total of 5 hides of wara "Anglico numero" would be 1440. The King's Officers take off one half for fallow which reduces it to 720; they then take off the sixth, which reduces it further to 600, which are 5 hides of 120 ad geldum. The singular way in which quadraginta et octo is turned in R.C. into triginta et duæ et dimidium shews that the manor had gone into a three course between the time of D.Bk. and the R.C. Before leaving this case I may say that I have a suspicion that H.R. and D.Bk. also sometimes for convenience sake transposed numbers, thus 30 of 32 = 32 of 30.

The last case that I will allude to is that of Ellingtune in Huntingdonshire, Tom. I. fol. 204^b, Table III., No. 94. Leaving out 1 hide which the King had taken for forest and another that the milites had, there were 8 hides "ad geldum"; of these the Lord had 2, leaving 6 to the men: the actual area of the homines was 864. The R.C. says that 6 areal virgates of 24 went to a hide; the H.R. (not following D.Bk. but being equally right) say 5, reducing 6 to 5 instead of reducing 24 to 20. The facts were that off every virgate the King's Officers take and place "extra hidam" a sixth, i.e. 4 ac. making the virgate, 20 acres, of which there would be of course six in the geldable hide of 120. It will be noticed in this case and at Broctune that the number of hides is not reduced, but the amount of acreage put "extra hidam" reduces the whole to the same extent. Moreover the 5 of 24 of the H.R. = the 6 of 20 of D.Bk.

There are several other cases to be found in the Tables, but it is not necessary to go into detail any further than is to be found in the Tables themselves.

I cannot refrain from inserting here a passage which alludes to the method of counting to be found in East Anglia even at the present day. It is to be found in the 3rd Edition of the *Life of Frank Buckland*, at p. 309, and is as follows: "The crab fishers of Cromer have a peculiar arithmetic, thus two crabs are counted as one. The two crabs being called a cast, six score crabs are called a hundred. At Cromer, therefore, a hundred crabs means 240": but our forefathers were more advanced than that when they made a hide of wara, "Anglico numero," to equal 288 acres.

It is proper I should mention that I have not attempted (except where it appears necessary) to shew in every case in the tables the actual acreage of the arable areas, by adding on the sixth put "extra hidam" by the King's Officers: if I had it would greatly have increased the size of this communication,

already I fear, too long. I have therefore contented myself with working the cases out in taxed acres. For instance, in Barrington (D.Bk. 193ᵃ), Tables I. and II., No. 6, I have given in the tables (for purposes of shewing this) the D.Bk. entry, according to taxed acres, and also according to actual acres. The H.R. give the virgate as 40. D.Bk. also gives 40 acres as terra for 6 boves: there is no real discrepancy between the two entries. If a fifth is added to 40 it makes the actual area 48 as the size of the areal virgate; this again has to be reconciled with the statement as to Barrington, contained at folio 200ᵇ D.Bk., which says, that 20 acres is "terra" for 3 boves: all the statements are reconciled as shewn in the table. The area was one of wara probably in a 3 course shift, and if so the taxed, i.e. sown part of the virgate, was 32, the actual area 48. The taxed part of the bovate was $6\frac{2}{3}$ and the actual area 8ᵃ, so that there were 3 taxed bovates in 20 taxed acres and 3 areal bovates in 24ᵃ. But it must be clearly understood that this reduction of the sixth part is not in the nature of an assessment, but that a sixth part in actual acres was put "extra hidam," and that this sixth part might, as at Wardebusc, Tables I. and III., No. 101, and R.C., Rolls Series, p. 308, be held independently by a third person, or it might be taken entirely of the lord's dominium, as at Enefelde in Middlesex, Tables II. and III., No. 224. Moreover, in some cases in MSS., the definite names of "sexacra" and "sexlond" was given to this sixth part, thus in the Domesday of St Paul (Hale, page 46) there will be found an entry shewing that Ralf fil leflede held "1 acram sexacram extra hidam," and in the same page "2 sexacras extra hidam;" so too, at page 49, there is a list of persons who hold eight acres of "sexacras," and another in regard to "sexlond." It is worthy of remark, however, that at page LXVII of the same book Archdeacon Hale has yielded to the mistaken suggestion of a friend and has confessed to an error of transcription where there has been no error at all.

Though the idea that any other land was geldated in D.Bk. beyond arable land, or special pieces of pasture, &c., evidently has no sounder basis than that the unit of assessment varied: yet the tenants sometimes paid a different hidage towards the King to that which they paid towards the Lord, as the MSS. express it, "isti homines adquietant erga Regem v hidas," *Chronicon Peterburgense*, p. 161: and sometimes the Lord would have a portion of his demesne "ad geldum," and the rest "extra hidam": of this class there are several in the Tables being principally in the county of Huntingdon.

As I think it is probable that "ready reckoners" must have been in use in Anglo-Saxon days, and that with the assistance of one properly constructed (dealing with two course and three course shifts, and the two systems of counting) D.Bk. might easily be read, I have placed one (imperfect as it is in only reaching to one hide of wara) immediately before Table I.: it will help to explain the principles on which this paper is based, if it does nothing else.

There are added to this paper three Tables: Table I. contains (in certain counties) only manors of which I have ascertained what was the actual area of the virgate of the terræ of such manors from some one of the MSS. denoted, and referred to in the Tables under letters EL, LE &c., as explained at the beginning of this paper: Table II. contains manors in every other county in England (in D.Bk.), but of which I have had, as a rule, no MS. to refer to for ascertaining the actual area of a virgate therein; but the areas are worked out on the same principle as those in Table I., and I think they must be generally correct: Table III. contains a short extract from D.Bk. in regard to each manor to be found in Tables I. and II., sufficient for reference, and for understanding such Tables, without entailing on the reader the time and trouble of a visit to some Public Library to make the reference for himself.

A "READY RECKONER."

Anglico Numero, same taxation												Norman Numbers, same taxation							
Wara, 3 course				Wara, 2 course				Simple				Simple	Wara, 2 course			Wara, 3 course			F means fallow; S means surplusage; Wara means fallow untaxed.
Total	Extra hidam F	Extra hidam S	Infr. hid. D.Bk.	Total	Extra hidam F	Extra hidam S	Infr. hid. D.Bk.	Total	Extr. hid.	Infr. hid. D.Bk.		Inf. hid. D.Bk.	Infr. hid. D.Bk.	Extr. hid. F	Total	Infr. hid. D.Bk.	Extr. hid. F	Total	
24	8	2⅔	13⅓	24	12	2	10	12	2	10	Bovate	10	10	10	20	13⅓	6⅔	20	Note. If the surplusage arising from the Anglicus numerus is taken off by reducing the number of areal hides or car. (for instance, where 6 hides or car. are reduced to 5) there would of course be no further reduction in the individual areas; consequently there would be five virgates of 24 in every 120 instead of 6 of 20+4ª ex. hi.: so too in the same event the numbers marked * would be developed: see remarks, ante, pp. 84, 85, on the abnormal virgate of 32: and so on in regard to all the virgates and areas expressed in *twelves*, or fractions of twelves.
24	*8	0	*16																
36	12	4	20	36	18	3	15	18	3	15	,,	15	15	15	30	20	10	30	
48	16	5⅓	26⅔	48	24	4	20	24	4	20	Virgate	20	20	20	40	26⅔	13⅓	40	
48	*16	0	*32																
72	24	8	40	72	36	6	30	36	6	30	,,	30	30	30	60	40	20	60	
96	32	10⅔	53⅓	96	48	8	40	48	8	40	,,	40	40	40	80	53⅓	26⅔	80	
96	*32	0	*64																
144	48	16	80	144	72	12	60	72	12	60	Terra	60	60	60	120	80	40	120	
192	64	21⅓	106⅔	192	96	16	80	96	16	80	,,	80	80	80	160	106⅔	53⅓	160	
192	*64	0	*128																
216	72	24	120	216	108	18	90	108	18	90	,,	90	90	90	180	120	60	180	
288	96	32	160	288	144	24	120	144	24	120	,,	120	120	120	240	160	80	240	

As in primitive Anglo-Saxon matters of account 72 scillinga of 4* peninga each of 20 units (=240 denarii of 24) went to one libra or pound the division of their pound would coincide with that of their hide of Wara and one acre would answer for one penig. Owing to the diversity in the way of accounting throughout the different kingdoms Alfred and Guthrum (see * note at page 87 ante) appear to have so stated their account of "weregilds" that 1 scilling should equal 5 denarii (=6 pen.), 1 scilling Mercian=4 denarii (or 4⅓ Mercian sceatta), and 1 thrymsa=about 3 denarii. An uniform libra would thus consist of 240 denarii or 48 Wessex scillinga, 250 Mercian sceatta, 60 Mercian scillinga, or 80 thrymsas. See 2 Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*, &c. 481—483. Moreover, allowing 20 grains in 4 A.-S. sceatta to the original penig, the divisions of the A.-S. libra would coincide with the old *customary* (Apothecaries) weight; thus 5760 grains=288 peninga=24 scillinga=1 libra: 6 smaller peninga equalling 1 solidus of 5 denarii, and 6 of the larger peninga of 2⅔ equalling the 12 denarii of the Norman shilling. As to the solidi of 5 and 12 denarii, respectively, see sec. XXXIV. 3 of Leges Regis Henrici Primi, 1 vol. of Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*, &c. p. 537, "erga hundretum xxx *sol ex* v*d*, *qui faciunt* v *manē*, *ut sol den* xii *computetur*," and sec. LXXVI. 4 "cujus halsfang sunt cxx sol *qui faciunt hodie sol* L," page 581. From the paragraph in Alfred's treaty headed "De eodem in Mercennorum Laga," 2 Thorpe, p. 484, it appears that the original Mercian penny contained only 20 grains or units, 4 such pennies going to a shilling of account, and 72 shillings to one libra. The Roman lentes or units would also appear to be *about* one-sixth less than our units. *Ten acres* in D.Bk. are often taxed at 12ᵈ, being 3 *scillinga of 4 peninga* (=1 den. per acre). See Papesuuorde, f. 199ᵃ D.Bk., and many other places.

TABLE I.

TABLE I.

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk	MS. (see ante)	Name	Hides in Domesday			Area of tenants' land			Tenants' Terræ		Tenants' Virgates							No. in Tab. III.	
			No.	Lord's	Tenant	Infr. hid.	Extr hid.	Total	No. in D. Bk.	Area of each	No. in each terra	Total No.	Size of ditto	Size in MS.	No. in one hide	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.		
Folio		CAMBS.			(Of 120)														
190b	LE	Belesham	9	5	4	480	480	960	12	80	4	*48	20	20	6	20	20	1	* See Note A at end of this Table.
192b	RC	Burwell	10 (1 ÷ 1 v)	*3 h + *40a	*6⅓	800	400 + 240	1440	12	120	3⅓	40	36	*30 =	4 6	30 20	6 4 + 12	2	* By the greater hundred. The real virgate was 24, but the manor was in a 3 course, and it had become 36, so the 42½ villains of D.Bk. means 42 (1½ virgates). The two Churches had two virgates. See H.R. p. 409, i.e. *40.
194a	HR	Abintone	5	2½	2½	300		300	5	60	2	10	30	30	4	30		3	
200a	HR	Barton	3½	3	½	60	30	90	3	30	1	3	30	30	6	20	10	4	
194a	HR	Badburgeham	*2½ + 24a	*½ + 24a	*2	240	48	288	3	96	4	12	24	24 =	5 6	24 20	4	5	* By greater hundred, but the sixth "extra hidam." 4 car. of 96. Gone into a 3 course. 18 villani of 16.
	HR	Barrenton Pre D.Bk.	1½	1	½ *½	80 80	80 16+96	160 192	2 2	80 96	2 2	4 4	40 48	40 *40	6 6	20 20	20 28	6	See ante. * By greater hundred.
193a		3 course	2	1	1	120	8+64	192	2	96	3	6	32	*40 or	3⅔ 6	32 20	16 12		
200b	HR	Brune	13	5	4+4	960		960	10 1	90 60	3) 2)	32	30	30	4	30		7	
195b		Burch	5	3	2	240		240	4	60	2½	10	24		5	24		8	See Inq. Com. Cant. p. 20. Each virg. had 1a added. See Note A.
202a	HR	Carlton	3	1½	1½	180	180	360	6	60	2	12	30	30	4	30	30	9	
189b	HR	Chingeston	1+3 v	1	⅔	90		90	1	90	3	3	30	30	4	30		10	Inq. C. C. ½ virg. = 20.
191b	HR	Cottenham	10	6	4	480		480	6	80	4	24	20	20	6	20		11	H.R. p. 409, 2 hides = 240.
202a	HR	Crochestune	6	3	3	360		360	6	60	2	12	30	30	4	30		12	
189b	HR	Cumbertone	2½	1½	1	120		120	2	60	2	4	30	30	4	30		13	
191b	LE	Dodinton	*5	2½	2½	300		300	5	60	5	25	12	12	5	12 + 12		14	The acreage no doubt by the greater hundred as the virgate is 12a, and the sochmanni had the surplus "ex hi."
192a	LE	Dunham	*4	*2½	*1½	180	72 + 180	432	4	108	9	36	12	14	20	6	6	15	* Anglico numero. 2a additional

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A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk	MS. (see ante)	Name	Hides in Domesday: No.	Lord's	Tenant	Area of tenants' land: Infr. hid.	Extr hid.	Total	Tenants' Terræ: No. in D. Bk.	Area of each	Tenants' Virgates: No. in each terra	Total No.	Size of ditto	Size in MS.	No. in one hide	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.	No. in Tab. III.	
Folio		CAMBS.			(Of 120)														
190[b]	LE	Belesham	9	5	4	480	480	960	12	80	4	*48	20	20	6	20	20	1	* See Note A at end of this Table.
192[b]	RC	Burwell	10 (1 + 1 v)	*3 h + *40[a]	*6⅔	800	400 + 240	1440	12	120	3½	40	36	*30 =	4 6	30 20	6 4 + 12	2	* By the greater hundred. The real virgate was 24, but the manor was in a 3 course, and it had become 36, so the 42½ villains of D.Bk. means 42 (1½ virgates). The two Churches had two virgates. See H.R. p. 499, i.e. *40.
194[a]	HR	Abintone	5	2½	2½	300		300	5	60	2	10	30	30	4	30		3	
200[a]	HR	Barton	3½	3	½	60	30	90	3	30	1	3	30	30	6	20	10	4	
194[a]	HR	Badburgeham	*2½ + 24[a]	*½ + 24[a]	*2	240	48	288	3	96	4	12	24	24 =	5 6	24 20	4	5	* By greater hundred, but the sixth "extra hidam." 4 car. of 96. Gone into a 3 course. 18 villani of 16.
	HR	Barrenton	1⅓	1	⅓	80	80	160	2	80	2	4	40	40	6	20	20	6	See ante. * By greater hundred.
		Pre D.Bk.			*⅓	80	16 + 96	192	2	96	2	4	48	*40	6	20	28		
193[a]		3 course	2	1	1	120	8 + 64	192	2	96	3	6	32	*40 or	3⅔ 6	32 20	16 12		
200[b]	HR	Brune	13	5	4+4	960		960	10	90	3	32	30	30	4	30		7	
									1	60	2								
195[b]		Burch	5	3	2	240		240	4	60	2½	10	24		5	24		8	See Inq. Com. Cant. p. 20. Each virg. had 1[a] added. See Note A.
202[a]	HR	Carlton	3	1½	1½	180	180	360	6	60	2	12	30	30	4	30	30	9	
189[b]	HR	Chingeston	1 + 3 v	1	¾	90		90	1	90	3	3	30	30	4	30		10	Inq. C. C. ¼ virg. = 20.
191[b]	HR	Cottenham	10	6	4	480		480	6	80	4	24	20	20	6	20		11	H.R. p. 409, 2 hides = 240.
202[a]	HR	Crochestune	6	3	3	360		360	6	60	2	12	30	30	4	30		12	
189[b]	HR	Cumbertone	2½	1½	1	120		120	2	60	2	4	30	30	4	30		13	
191[b]	LE	Dodinton	*5	2½	2½	300		300	5	60	5	25	12	12	5	12		14	The acreage no doubt by the greater hundred as the virgate is 12[a], and the sochmanni had the surplus "ex hi."
																12			

		ESSEX																	
12b	DP	Belcham	5	2	3	360	360	720	12	60	2	24	30	30	4	30	30	48	
12b	DP	Chingeforda	6	*2+2	2	240		240	4	60	2	8	30	30	4	30	30	49	* There was 1 hide boscus, see MS., and P. de Valoniis 1 hide, see D.Bk.
18b	DP	Berlinga	2 +1½ v	1 +1½ v	1	120		120	2	60	2	4	30	30	4	30	30	50	
12b	DP	Ædulvesnasa	27	7	*20	2400	2400	4800	20	120	4	160	30	30	4	30	30	51	* See MS. The 2½, or 20 virg., of the Prebend of Snetting is included in the 20 hides. All the remaining 140 virgates appear in the MS. In the seven hides of the Lord was one of boscus. See Note C.
									10	240	8								
12b	DP	Nasestocha	4+100	2⅔	2	240		240	4	60	3	12	20	20	6	20		52	
12b	DP	Tillingham	20	14	*6	720		720	10	72	2	20	36	30	4	30	6	53	* 6 hidæ "trium solandarum," i.e. 3×240=720, see Note B. The 14 hides of the Lord included the area of 3 Prebends, afterwards endowed, and some hides of pasture. 60, by the greater hundred, is 72 by the lesser, as a plough land; and the virgate of 30 is 36; 10 terræ of 60, i.e. 2 virgates of 30 (both by the greater hundred) =720 by the lesser.
12b	DP	Wicham	2+4 v or 3(h−v)	1+3 v	1+1 v	144		144	3	48	2	6	24	24	5	24		54	
				2	1	120		120	3	40	2	6	20	24	6	20	4		144−24=120 taxed area.
		GLOUCESTERSHIRE																	
165b	PG	Aldersorde	*11	*3	*8	960	192	1152	13	72	1½	24	48	48	3	40	8	55	All the Gloucester virgates seem to be 20, or 40, Anglico numero.
									2	108	2¼								
165b	PG	Bocheland	*10	*4 3 car	*6	720	144	864	12	72	2	24	36	36	4	30	6	56	* By greater hundred 3 car. of 192 =576=480 by greater hundred.
165b	PG	Frowcester	*5	*3⅓	*1⅔	200	40	240	1	24	1	10	24	24	6	20	4	57	* Anglico numero. Lord's car. 4 of 120.
									6	36	1½								
165b	PG	Boxwell	*5 720	*1 144	*4	480	96	576	12	48	1	12	48	48	3	40	8	58	* By greater hundred. The Lord had 2 car. of 72.
165b	PG	Hamme	*7 1008	*3½ 3 car	*3½	420	84	504	7	72	1½	10½	48	48	3	40	8	59	* By greater hundred. Lord 3 car. of 168. Villains held ½ virg.
165b	PG	Duntesburn	5	3	2	240		240	5	48	2	10	24	24	5	24		60	
165b	PG	Ledene	4	2	2	240	240	480	8	60	1	8	60	*50	4	30	30	61	* By the greater hundred.
165b	PG	Amenel	*2		*2	240	48	288	3	96	2	6	48	48	3	40	8	62	* Anglico numero.

TABLE I. (*continued*).

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk	MS. (see ante)	Name	Hides in Domesday			Area of tenants' land			Tenants' Terræ		Tenants' Virgates							No. in Tab. III.	
			No.	Lord's	Tenant	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.	Total	No. in D. Bk.	Area of each	No. in each terra	Total No.	Size of ditto	Size in MS.	No. in one hide	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.		
Folio		CAMBS. (*continued*)			(Of 120)														
202[a]	HR	Trumpington	2	1	1	120		120	2	60	2	4	30	30	4	30		36	
191[a]	LE	Triplow	*5½	3	2½	300		300	5	60	2	10	30	30	4	30		37	* Sic, Hamilton's Inq. Com. Cant. p. 106. There are just 24 half virg. in H.R. 543, =12 virg.
193[b]	HR	Waratenorde	2+⅜ v	1+⅜ v	1	120		120	2	60	2	4	30	30	4	30		38	
190[b]	EM	Waratinge	4½	3	*1½	180	36	216	3	72	4	12	18	18	8	15	3	39	* Anglico numero. 6 villains of 36 =12 of 18.
194[b]	HR	Winepol	*2+ *2½ v	*2	*2½ v	100	20	120	1½	80	2	3	40	40	3	40		40	* Anglico numero, i.e. 48, the sixth part being "extra hidam."
195[b]		Wicham	5	3	2	240	240	480	8	60	1½	12	40		6	20	20	41	
191[b]	HR	Wivelingham	7	4	3	360		360	4	60	2	12	30	30	4	30		42	
									1	120	4								
192[a]	LE	Wilburton	*5	3 (1+1 v) 360 +72	*2	240	144 + 48	432	4	108	4½	18	24	24	9	13½	10½	43	See the details of this Manor ante, p. 91. * Anglico numero.
201[b]	HR	Teversham	3½	2	1½	180		180	2½	72	3	7½	24	24	5	24		44	
		BEDFORD-SHIRE																	
210[b]	RC	Barthona	11	3	8	960		960	9	108	4½	40½	24	24	5	24		45	12[a] over "extra hidam." Stolen by John de Roches. The villains' estate was 2 virg.
210[b]	RC	Cranfield	10	2	*8	960		1152	*10	96	2	24	48	48	5	24		46	
210[b]	RC	Schytlington	10	2	*8	960	192	1152	12	96	2	24	48	48	5	24		47	* "juxta estimationem Anglorum"

		ESSEX																	
12b	DP	Belcham	5	2	3	360	360	720	12	60	2	24	30	30	4	30	30	48	
12b	DP	Chingeforda	6	*2+2	2	240		240	4	60	2	8	30	30	4	30	30	49	* There was 1 hide boscus, see MS., and P. de Valoniis 1 hide, see D.Bk.
13b	DP	Berlinga	2 +1½ v	1 +1½ v	1	120		120	2	60	2	4	30	30	4	30	30	50	
12b	DP	Ædulvesnasa	27	7	*20	2400	2400	4800	20 10	120 240	4 8	160	30	30	4	30	30	51	* See MS. The 2½, or 20 virg., of the Prebend of Snetting is included in the 20 hides. All the remaining 140 virgates appear in the MS. In the seven hides of the Lord was one of boscus. See Note C.
12b	DP	Nasestocha	4+100	2½	2	240		240	4	60	3	12	20	20	6	20		52	
12b	DP	Tillingham	20	14	*6	720		720	10	72	2	20	36	30	4	30	6	53	* 6 hidæ "trium solandarum," i.e. 3×240=720, see Note B. The 14 hides of the Lord included the area of 3 Prebends, afterwards endowed, and some hides of pasture. 60, by the greater hundred, is 72 by the lesser, as a plough land; and the virgate of 30 is 36; 10 terræ of 60, i.e. 2 virgates of 30 (both by the greater hundred)=720 by the lesser.
12b	DP	Wicham	2+4 v	1+3 v	1+1 v	144		144	3	48	2	6	24	24	5	24		54	
			or 3(h−v)	2	1	120		120	3	40	2	6	20	24	6	20	4		144−24=120 taxed area.
		GLOUCESTER-SHIRE																	
165b	PG	Aldersorde	*11	*3	*8	960	192	1152	13 2	72 108	1½ 2¼	24	48	48	3	40	8	55	All the Gloucester virgates seem to be 20, or 40, Anglico numero.
165b	PG	Bocheland	*10	*4 3 car	*6	720	144	864	12	72	2	24	36	36	4	30	6	56	* By greater hundred 3 car. of 192 =576=480 by greater hundred.
165b	PG	Frowcester	*5	*3½	*1⅓	200	40	240	1 6	24 36	1 1½	10	24	24	6	20	4	57	* Anglico numero. Lord's car. 4 of 120.
165b	PG	Boxwell	*5 720	*1 144	*4	480	96	576	12	48	1	12	48	48	3	40	8	58	* By greater hundred. The Lord had 2 car. of 72.
165b	PG	Hamme	*7 1008	*3½ 3 car	*3½	420	84	504	7	72	1½	10½	48	48	3	40	8	59	* By greater hundred. Lord 3 car. of 168. Villains held ½ virg.
165b	PG	Duntesburn	5	3	2	240		240	5	48	2	10	24	24	5	24		60	
165b	PG	Ledene	4	2	2	240	240	480	8	60	1	8	60	*50	4	30	30	61	* By the greater hundred.
165b	PG	Amenel	*2		*2	240	48	288	3	96	2	6	48	48	3	40	8	62	* Anglico numero.

TABLE I. (*continued*).

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk	MS. (see ante)	Name	Hides in Domesday: No.	Hides in Domesday: Lord's	Hides in Domesday: Tenant	Area of tenants' land: Infr. hid.	Area of tenants' land: Extr. hid.	Area of tenants' land: Total	Tenants' Terræ: No. in D. Bk.	Tenants' Terræ: Area of each	Tenants' Virgates: No. in each terra	Tenants' Virgates: Total No.	Tenants' Virgates: Size of ditto	Tenants' Virgates: Size in MS.	Tenants' Virgates: No. in one hide	Tenants' Virgates: Infr. hid.	Tenants' Virgates: Extr. hid.	No. in Tab. III.	
Folio		GLOUCESTERS. (*continued*)			(Of 120)														
165b	PG	Culne	4	*2	*2	240	48+288	576	12	48	1	12	48	48	5	24	24	63	* Anglico numero, 3 Lord's car. of 192.
		HERTS.																	
364a	DP	Canesforde	10	5	5	600		600	5	120	4	20	30	30	4	30		64	
136a	DP	Cadendon	10	4	6	720		720	6	120	4	24	30	30	4	30		65	
136a	DP	Erdeley	6	3	3	360		360	5	60	2	10	30	30	4	30		66	The seventh plough took 60a of the demesne.
									2	30	1								
136a	DP	Sandun	*10 1440	5 600	7	840		840	14	60	1	14	60	60	2	60		67	* By greater hundred 10=12, like Chyllelesla. I put the actual acreage: 60a over and above his 600 was in the Lord's hands, being the land of the 14th plough of the homines. 2 vill. to each virg.
135a	LE	Chyllelesla	5 1440	2 720	3	360	360	720	6	120	2	12	60	60	4	30	30	68	The Lord had 720 also: his hides of wara were 2+1 (taken off by officers, see ante).
135a	LE	Haddam	4	2	2	240	240	480	8	60	2	16	30	30	4	30	30	69	
135a	LE	Hatfelda	40 (120) 4800	20 (160) 3200	20 (80) 1600	1600		1600	20	80	2	40	40	40	3	40		70	
		HUNTS. Note below																	On the quantities being compared in D.Bk., H.R. and R.C., they will be found to agree in many of the manors.
205a	HR 638	Alwalton	5	*1 288 i.e. 96 ad geld + 192 ex hi	4	480 + 24 Rector		504	7	72	3	21	24	†25	5	24		71	* Greater hundred, and wara. 1a of land added to each virg. The Lord's 2 car. consisted of 6 average car. of 72, i.e. 2 of 144. Total, 11 car. of 72. See note A.†

205[a]	HR 644	Adone	*5 720	*1½ 216	*3½ 504	420	84	504	7	72	3	21	21	24 i.e.	5 6	24 20	4	72	* Anglico numero, Lord's car. of 72 + 2 car. of 108. Total, 12 car. of 60 + 10 of 72. The Rector and the libere tenentes had the seventh car. unnoticed in D.Bk.
204[b]	HR 656	Adelintune	*10 1200 +240	4 car (432) ex hi	*7 *3	1008 192	240	1008 432	14 6	72 72	3 3	28 +14 18	24 24	24 24	5 5	24	240	73	* Anglico numero, in a 3 course. The Lord 4 car. of 108. There were 28 estates of villains of 1½ virg. each, and the libere tenentes are entirely unnoticed except in the number of the villain car., i.e. 20 of 72.
204[a]	HR	Broughton 2 course	9	4	*5	600	720 + 120	1440	10	**144	3	30	48	48	6	20	28	74	* Anglico numero. ** The R.C. says that the half virgate, i.e. 16[a] in these hides of wara are "extra hidam." 5×288=1440, and in a 3 course. Note. There are 30 virgates of 30 in the taxed land, see H.R. 600 and R.C. 335, quantities tally.
	HR 600	3 course	9	4	*5	900	540	1440	10	144	3	30	48	30	4	30	18		
	RC 335	do.	areal			900	540	1440	10	144	4½ i.e.	45 28½ 16½	32 32 32	32	6	20	12		
204[a]	LE	Bluntisham	6½ 780	3½	3	360		360	3	120	8	24	15	15	4	30		75	A villain's holding was two virg.
204[b]	HR 630	Bierne	*4 960 + 192	*1 240 + 48	*2	240	240 +96 or	576 576	6 3	96 96 +96	2 4	12 12	48 48	48 48	6 5	20 24	28 24	76	* Anglico numero, and hides of wara. The Knights had the other hide, minus ½ a virgate which the seventh plough of the homines took (see extract from R.M., Table III.). At time of H.R. the tenants' 2 hides were in a 3 course, 3×192.
204[b]	HR 630	Breninctune	4	1½ 160	2½	320	160	480	6	80	2	12	40	40	4½	26⅔	13⅓	77	
206[a]	HR 636 670	Caldecote	*3½	*1½	*2	288		288	4	72	3	12	24	25	5	24		78	See Note A. There was 1[a] added to each virg. * Anglico numero, and see H.R. pp. 636, 670, and note to "ready reckoner," ante.
205[b]	HR 621	Chenebalton	*10 2400	800 ex hi 5 (160)	10	1200	1200	2400	5 20	160 80	4 2	60	40	40	6	20	20	79	* Hides of wara each villain had ½ virg. Total, 120½ virg. Grand total, 20 car. of 160.
205[a]	HR 654	Chesterton	4½	1½	1½	180		180	3	60	2	6	30	30	4	30		80	3 car. of land to libere tenentes, otherwise unnoticed.

Note. There are repeated entries in D.Bk. of the following kind: In dominio sunt (x) car. "preterea predictas hidas," "exceptis his hidis," "extra hidas." The meaning of such entries is disclosed by the R.C. for instance at Slepe (post, No. 87). R.C. at p. 282, speaking of the dominium, states, "coli possunt sufficientur cum tribus carucis propriis et consuetudine carucarum villæ et duabus precariis carucis quæ consuetudo ad valentiam trium carucarum estimatur." The meaning being evidently that over and above the help derived from the tenants' hides or ploughs, the Lord had three ploughs of his own. The demesne was therefore at Slepe worked by strength equal to eight ploughs.

TABLE I. (*continued*).

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk	MS. (see ante)	Names	Hides in Domesday: No.	Hides in Domesday: Lord's	Hides in Domesday: Tenant	Area of tenants' land: Infr. hid.	Area of tenants' land: Extr. hid.	Area of tenants' land: Total	Tenants' Terræ: No. in D. Bk.	Tenants' Terræ: Area of each	Tenants' Virgates: No. in each terra	Tenants' Virgates: Total No.	Tenants' Virgates: Size of ditto	Tenants' Virgates: Size in MS.	Tenants' Virgates: No. in one hide	Tenants' Virgates: Infr. hid.	Tenants' Virgates: Extr. hid.	No. in Tab. III.	
Folio		HUNTS. (*continued*)			(Of 120)														
204b	HR 601	Houghton	(*7)	*4 480	(*5)	(600)													* Anglico numero. 4 hides of wara in demesne, of which the libere tenentes had the 480 of taxed land, leaving the Lord 4 car. of 144 ex. hi. The 10 bordarii had 10 virgates of 24 "ex. hi." Compare R.C. pp. 272, 363.
	RC 363	cum	*14	+480 +96	*10	1200	240	1440	15 +3	80 80	4 4	72	20	20	6	20	20	81	
204b	HR 601	Witton	(*7)	(4 × 144) ex hi	(*5)	(600)		or	20	72	3	60	24	20	6	20	4		
205a	HR 646	Newetone	5	*1 288	4	480		480	5	96	4	20	24	26	5	24		82	See Note A. 2a of land to each virgate. * Anglico numero, and wara. Total, 8 car. of 96.
204a	HR 603 RC 320	Riptune	*10 1440	2 car + 2 ex hi 480	8	960		960	12	80	4	48	20	20	6	20		83	* Anglico numero. 18 car. of 80. Villain meant villains' estate, there were also libere tenentes.
204b	HR 659	Sautre	7½ + ½ v 38 virg 912	*2 288 4 car	3 1½	360 216		360 216	5 3	72 72	3 3	15 9	24	25	5	24		84	See Note A. 1a of assart to each virgate. * Ang. num. See p. 659, H.R., which shows the other 3 car. to have belonged to libere tenentes, &c. Total, 12 car. of 72+2 virg. of assart (1 to Lord, 1 to tenants). Lord, 2 car of 144 = 4 of 72.
204a	HR 598	Stivekel	7	2 car + 2 ex hi 480	*2	*240		240	6	40	2	12	20	20	6	*20		85	* Domesday and H.R. taxable numbers. Knights had three hides. The Lord 2 of wara.
204a	RC 392	,,	**7	2 car + 2 ex hi 576	**2	**240	** 48	288	6	48	2	12	24	24	6	**20	4	86	** Anglico numero. Actual area, i.e. in cultivation. Knights had 3 of 144, or 4½ of 96. Total, 10 of (81 + 1 of 48 = 1008. Lord 2 of wara. 24 car. of 80, or 20 of 96. 3 homines had 4 hides, probably the land
204a	HR 608	Slepe	16 1080	5½ 540	10½	1280		1280	16 20	80 64	5 4	80 80	16	16	7½	16		87	

205[a]	HR 648	Sybiston	*2½ 360	1 60(+60 ex hi)	1	120	or	120 180	1 2	120 90	4 3	4 6	30 30	30	4	30		88	* Anglico numero. The libere tenentes unnoticed had 1 hide, i.e. two car. of 60. Total, 4 car. of 90.
204[a]	RC 340	Upwode	10	2+ (3 car ex hi)	8	960		960	16	60	2	32	30	30	4	30		89	The consuetudo villæ=3 car. 1½ car. to villains, 2 to libere tenentes.
207[b]	HR 634	Wasinglei	*2½ 360	1 car 60+60	240	240		240	4	60	2½	10	24 30	25 30	5 4	24 30		90	1[a] added to each virgate. See Note A.
204[a]	HR 605 LE	Colne	6	4	2	240	or	240 240	5 8	48 30	3 2	15 16	16 15	16 15				91	The MS. L.E. gives 15 to virgate and Inquisitio Eliensis 8 car.
206[b]	HR 652	Conington	9	2½	6½	780		780	13	60	2	26	30	30	4	30		92	
203[b]	HR 658	Denton	5 5	1 1	4 2	480 240		480 240	5 5	96 48	4 2	20 10	24 24	25	5	24		93	See note A. An acre to each virgate. I am not sure of this case. Probably there were some hides of pasture as D.Bk. says (unless it is a misprint) that there was terra for 2 car.
204[b]	HR 630	Ellington	10	2+1	7	840		840	14	60	3	30+ 12	20	20	or 5 6	24 20		94	Ramsey Chartulary says six virgates (Anglico numero?), H.R. say five. There would be six also in 144. Knights 1 hide and libere tenentes 1 hide=12 virg.
	RC 268				or	840	168	1008	14	72	3	30+ 12	24	24	6	20	4		
205[a]	HR 639	Fletton	5	*1½ 216	3½	420		420	6	72	3	18	24	25	5	24		95	1[a] of land added to each virgate. See Note A. * Anglico numero.
205[a]	HR	Glatton	8 960[a]	2 288	672[a]	672		672	14	48	2	28	24	24	5	24		96	Lord's two hides "juxta estimationem Anglorum."
203[b]	HR 631	Gidding	*5 720+ 360	*1½ 200+ 160	*1½	200 +40	120	360	3	120	4	12	30	30	6	20	10	97	* Anglico numero, 3 course wara. The libere tenentes had the odd (*1½) 360 in 2 (car. of 180) unnoticed in D.Bk. except by the car.
204[a]	HR 602	Halliwell	8	*3	6	720		720	6	120	8	48	15	15				98	* The consuetudo villæ=1 car. The six car. included a lot of *libera terra*, besides the villains' land. Compare Ramsey Chartulary, p. 295 with H.R. 602, there were only 26 villani of 15[a] (Ang. numero), this must have been so as appears in H.R.
	RC 295	,,				720		720	8	90	5	40	18	18					
205[a]	HR 643	Wodestun	*5 720	½ + 120	4½	528		528	4 3	96 48	4 2	16 6	24	25	5	24		99	* Anglico numero, 1[a] of land "ex hi." to each virg. See Note A. The Lord had 2 car. of 96, i.e., 72 ad. geld.+120 ex. hi. Libere tenentes 6 virg.

TABLE I. (*concluded*).

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk	MS. (see ante)	Name	Hides in Domesday: No.	Hides in Domesday: Lord's	Hides in Domesday: Tenant	Area of tenants' land: Infr. hid.	Area of tenants' land: Extr. hid.	Area of tenants' land: Total	Tenants' Terræ: No. in D. Bk.	Tenants' Terræ: Area of each	Tenants' Virgates: No. in each terra	Tenants' Virgates: Total No.	Tenants' Virgates: Size of ditto	Tenants' Virgates: Size in MS.	Tenants' Virgates: No. in one hide	Tenants' Virgates: Infr. hid.	Tenants' Virgates: Extr. hid.	No. in Tab. III.	
Folio		HUNTS. *(continued)*			(Of 120)														
204a	RC 352	Wistow	9 1080 + 360 ex hi	¾ + 3 car præter 2 in dnio	8¼	990		990	11	90	3	33	30	30	6	20	10	100	The Lord had 3 car. Consuetudine villæ + 2 of his own = 5 of 90. The tenants 11 of 90, total 16 of 90.
204b	HR 601 RC 305	Wardebusc	*10 (12) 2880 i.e. 1200 + 1200 + (480 ⅓)	4 480 + 480 + 360	6	720	360	1080	12	90	3	36	30	30	6	20	10	101	* Anglico numero, and hides of wara in a 3 course, so the sixth part of the 2880 was put extra hidam: actual proof of this appears in the R.C., which says, in the year 1251, "In villa de Wardeboys sunt decem hydæ terræ preter dominium Abbatis et decem virgatæ et dimidia virgata terræ "extra hydam," 10 (1½ virg.) = 15 virg. = 450 "ex. hi." "quas quidem decem virgatas et dimidiam terræ persona liberi acremanni et cotarii tenent," 24 ("20) car. extra, 3 car. in dominio equal 27 car. Lord 11 of 120 or 7 of 180 + 60e over. Comp. H.R. 601 and R.C. 330, quantities tally.
		libere tenentes unnoticed in D.Bk. except by no. of car.					480	480	4	120	4	16	30	30	4		30		
		NORFOLK																	
213b	LE	Brugcham	4	3	1	120	120	240	3	80	2	*6	40	40	12	10	10	102	* 12 (½ virg).

213b	LE	Dereham	5	3	*2	240	96 + 240	576	8	72	3	24	24	24	12	10	14	103	* Anglico numero.
213b	LE	Nordualde	*6	*4	*2	240	288 +48	576	3	96 +96	4	12	48	48	12	10	14	104	* Anglico numero. Lord's car. 4 of 288, in 1277 2 "bonæ carucæ" took 488 acres.
213b	LE	Pulham	15	4 3×160	11	1320		1320	15 1	80 120	4 6	66	20	20	6	20		105	
213b	LE	Thorp	3	1¼	1¼	160	80	240	7½	32	1⅓	10	24	16	7½	16	8	106	
212b		Waltona	4	2	*2	240	96 + 240	576	3	192	8	24	24	24	12	10	14	107	The actual area was (480, Anglico numero) 576.
212b		Feltwell	*6 1440	2⅔ 768	2⅓	280	280 + 112	672	7	96	4	28	24		6	20	28	108	* The MS. in Trinity Coll. O. 2. 1, gives the hides as five: the calculation is added to show that the size of the virgates tallies with the numbers of five, and that the officers neglected to take off the sixth hide.
	LE	,,	5 1200	640	280	280	280	560	7	80	4	28	20	20	6	20	20		
		SUFFOLK																	There are just 12 plenæ terræ in LE.
381b	LE	Brandon	5	3	2	240	240	480	3	80 +80	4	12	40	40	6	20	20	109	
382b	LE	Berkyngs	7	*2	5	600	600	1200	15	80	2	30	40	40	6	20	20	110	* 3 car. of 160=480=2 hides 240+240 idle shift.
381b	LE	Glamesford	8	4	*4	480	96	576	5 2	96 48	3 1½	18	32	32	3	40	8	111	* Anglico numero: see note 10 "Ready Reckoner."
381b	LE	Herthyrst	5	2	3	360	180 or	540 540	6 5	90 108	3 3	18 15	30 36	30	6	20	10	112	
381b	LE	Rattesdane	6	3	3	360	or	360 360	3 12	120 30	6 1½	18 18	20	20	6	20		113	
384b	LE	Hecham	11	3	6	720	720	1440	14 2	80 160	2 4	36	40	40	6	20	20	114	* Lord's car. 3 of 180, i.e. 3×(120+60).
384b	LE	Weringheseta	*4	2	2	240		240	3	80	4	12	20	20	6	20		115	* Includes Peverel's hide.
		SURREY																	
34a	DP	Barnes	6	3	3	360		360	4	90	3	12	30	30	4	30		116	Like Dorset return.

TABLE I.

Note A. The Survey of 1277, and of Domesday, tally exactly with each other, and with that of 1221.

Every one of the 48 virgates of Domesday (and just the number of 48) also appears in the later MSS.: and the names of the persons then holding them are given. They are as follows; among the operarii, 34 virgates, or plenæ terræ, with the names given: 13 dimidia, with the names given: among the "libere tenentes," two held by Nichol (quae fuerunt operabiles tempore Nigel Ep.). Among the "censuarii," Hovel, Thomas, and Goselinus, each one, Goselinus, and Emma, together one, Gode, Walterus, and Elyas, together half one, and Edmer, for the privilege of driving pigs, from Balsham to Somersham, and back, the remaining one; making just 48 in all. Here is one of the many instances which shew how very wide of the mark the calculations as to the population have been. Each terra, on an average, must have contained 4 virgates, and each virgate, at least, one operarius.

Balsham also shews, that the hide included only terra lucrabilis (as defined in the paper). The acreage of the whole parish is over four thousand acres; the terra lucrabilis of Domesday only 1920; but with the ways, pratum &c. possibly amounting to 2400. The Survey of the Parish also shews, that a virgate, as a rule, never varied, though the holders of virgates might receive an addition to their land: at the time of the Surveys of 1221, and 1277, each of the holders of virgates had received an addition of two, or three, acres of "debile dominicum"; but the original virgate of 20^{a}, was not changed thereby from 20 acres to 22, or 23 acres, but remained, and is recorded as, the same. In many other Manors the virgates are to be identified in the later MSS., as at Balsham. Notably in the Manor of Ædulvesnasa in Essex (consisting of the manors of Thorp Horlock and Waleton).

Note B. Tillingham. "Cum sex hidis trium solandarum." This is one of the cases, referred to in the paper, as supporting the theory, that in some manors, the whole, and in others a portion of the fallow land was taxed, as well as the cropped land.

At Tillingham, it appears, that, though the bulk of the fallow land of the Manor was not taxed, yet there were, in the same manor, three "solandæ," which held six hides. Three solandæ, (or Kentish sulungs of 240 acres, i.e. 120 sown + 120 idle shift), amount to 720 acres, being also the amount of the acreage of six hides of 120 acres each; so, it is evident, that the 360 of fallow land was taxed, as well as the 360 of cropped land.

Again we learn, by Hale's book, p. 93, that Sutton defended itself against the King for three hides, "preterea solanda de Chesewick, quæ per se habet duas hidas."

On the other hand, at Draiton, a Manor in which all the other fallow land was untaxed, we find, at page 99, that it defended itself against the King for eight hides, "Cum una hida de solande." Taking the solanda to be 120 + 120 acres, and noting the fact, that the Manor was rated at 10 hides in D.Bk., it would appear, that the quantity of land was the same, both at the time of D.Bk., and in 1222, but that, at some time, in the interval, fallow land, to the amount of 120 acres, ceased to be taxable.

In the absence of any other reason for this variety of taxation of the same quantities of land, one may, possibly, be found, in the entry (referred to at page 36 in my last paper) contained in No. 6165 of the Ad. MSS. at the British Museum. The extract is from an extent of the Manor of Littleberri, in Essex, taken at the instance of the Crown.

"Et sunt ibidem CCXL acræ terræ arabilis quæ valet per annum XL^{s} pr: per Ac: 11^{d} quando seiantur, et quando non seiantur, valet per annum XX pr. per ac. 1^{d}. Item sunt ibidem CCXL acræ terræ arabilis, quarum quælibet acra valet 11^{d}, quando seiantur, et quando non seiantur, nihil valet, quia jacet in communi."

The MS. is speaking of the Lord's land on the open fields; therefore if the Lord's land therein, when not sown, lay "in communi" he would not be taxed on his fallow: on the other hand if the tenants had no right of common over the fallow but it lay "in

separali" for the Lord's fold, then their fallow would be "wara" and "extra hidam." Similar entries are to be found in other MSS.

In many other cases the same variety of taxation existed, and, in estimating the quantities under plough, that fact has to be borne in mind, and calculations made accordingly.

I may add that, in many of the surveys contained in the MS. L.E. at Caius College and, if I remember right, in the copy at the British Museum, in the margin there is drawn a hand pointing to an entry recording the fact whether, or not, the sheep of the operarii had a right to lie in the Lord's fold: very often they had no such right (see Appendix, post p. 164). Sheep walks, or the rights to fold on the fallow, were granted (since D.Bk. I believe) to different persons, and were, generally, in the nature of common appurtenant to particular farms. I cannot help thinking that these entries had reference to the fact whether the land was wara or not.

Note C. I have in this note worked out a comparison (between D.Bk., and the survey of 1222 contained in the Domesday of St Paul, page 38 of Hale's Book) for the Manor of Adulvesnasa; because it is a manor referred to in Mr Seebohm's Book, and because the details tally so very closely at both periods.

Adulvesnasa, *D.Bk. fol.* 136, *Essex.*

"XXVII *hidæ* VI. *car. in dominio. Inter homines* LX. *car. modo* XXI. *Silva* CCC. *porc. Past.* CCC. *ov.*"

Ædulvesnasse. Statement in Domesday of St Paul, A.D. 1222.

"*Se defendit pro* XXVII. *hidis* (*cum duabus hidis et dimid. de prebenda de Snetting*)."

From this it appears, that the hidage of 1189 tallied with that of 1222, (including the two prebends of Snetting), which had been created, or endowed, in the interval out of the 20 hides.

Details, as per D.P. in 1222.

There are XXVII hides to account for: there was a hide of boscus, pastura, and pratum, as per D.Bk., and D.P.; this leaves XXVI hides to account for: thus:—

VI car in dominio of D.Bk. = 6 hides. These hides appear in D.P., in Hale's Book, as under

Thorpe demesne .	180	(1 car*) *i.e.* 120 + 60	= 1 hide
Waleton demesne .	720	(3 car*) *i.e.* 360 + 360	= 3 hides
Tenants of Thorpe dem.	246	(2 car ?) *i.e.* 240 + 120 (96)	= 2 hides.
Tenants of Waleton dem.	90		
		6 car	6 hides

There is left 20 hides to account for. Of these, Snetting prebend has $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There is left $17\frac{1}{2}$ hides to account for thus:

virg. = 30	Thorpe hydarii,	41 virg.	= 1230
	Kirkly „	44 virg. + 7ª	= 1327
	Horlock, „	42 virg. + 8ª	= 1268
Includes virg. of Akermanni	Waleton „	12 virg. + 15ª	= 375
			4200
	$17\frac{1}{2}$ hides *i.e.* $17\frac{1}{2} \times 120 + 120$		= 4200
	Snetting prebend $2\frac{1}{2} \times 120 + 120$		= 600
			4800 worked

before D.Bk., by 60 ploughs, giving a terra of 80ª, but, at the time of D.Bk., by 30 ploughs (see above); giving 10 terræ of 240 + 20 of 120.

The theory of the paper being, that the Domesday arable hide had, sometimes, an idle shift "extra hidam;" and that, originally, that idle shift was equal to the hide, *i.e.* 120 + 120, if this was so, each hide (plus idle shift) would, the virgate being 30, contain eight virgates. Each virgate would originally have a mansio. In a case, therefore of nine hides, with their idle shift, we should look for 72 mansiones in these nine hides. A confirmation of this view is to be found at LXXV of Hale's Domesday of St Paul: speaking of the hydarii of Thorp, he says, "the holders of the nine hides possessed also among them 72 messuages, or dwelling houses," quoting from a MS. I. 95.

At Thorp Kirkby, Horlock, and Waleton, there were 140 virgates, which, taking four virgates (of 30) in a hide, would give 35 hides, if none of their areas were "extra hidam": but if half of them were idle shift, and "extra hidam" then $17\frac{1}{2}$ hides would be just the

* *Sic* by the MS.

quantity of taxed hides, as per D.Bk. and MS. The fallow, or idle shift, was sometimes hidated, and sometimes "extra hidam": in such last cases, practically it worked out thus: there was a hide taxed, and a hide (speaking areally) "extra hidam"; in all 240, or 180, as the case might be.

Hale states, at page XIV., that the actual extent of the land much exceeded the quantity at which it was rated: this is just what it should be according to the theory of the paper if correct.

Setting off the cases, where there would be no idle shift, (such as hidated boscus, pastura &c.), as against cases, where the idle shift was "extra hidam," and was still 120, (and not as in a three-course Manor 60), we should expect there to be, in the Domesday of St Paul Manors, $\frac{1}{3}$ in amount "extra hidam," as in a three-course Manor, and it seems that is just what there was, according to Hale; see page XIV. of his Book.

There were 24,000 acres, and 16,000 of them taxed; leaving just one-third, or 8000 acres "extra hidam." Ellis and others must, I think, have greatly under-estimated the land under plough and the population.

TABLE II.

TABLE II.

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk	Exon. D.	Name	Hides in Domesday			Area of tenants' land			Tenants' Terræ		Tenants' Virgates						No. in Tab. III.	
			No.	Lord's	Tenant	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.	Total	No. in D. Bk.	Area of each	No. in each terra	Total No.	Size of ditto	No. in one hide	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.		
Folio		BUCKINGHAMSHIRE			(Of 120)													
143b		Suneborn	4½	3 + 3 v	3 v	90		90	1½	60	2	3	30	4	30		117	Lord had 3 virg. of tenants.
152b		Hibestanes	*2	*½	*1½	180	36	216	3	72	2	6	36	4	30	6	118	* Anglico numero.
								or	2	108	3	6	36	4	30	6		
151a		Merstone	3	1	2	240		240	4	60	1½	6	40	3	40		119	
								or	3	80	2	6	40	3	40			
151b		Radcliffe	*5	*3¾	*1¼	150	30	180	5	36	1	5	36	4	30	6	120	* Anglico numero.
			720					or	3	60	1¾	5						
152a		Hamscle	*10	*5	*5	600	120 + 720	1440	20	72	2	40	36	8	15	15 + 6	121	* Anglico numero, and includes a lot of libera terra. See 2 H.R. p. 343.
152b		Hambledene	*20 2400 + 480	*5 240 ad geld + 480 ex hi	*15	2160		2160	27	80	2	54	40	3	40		122	* Anglico numero.
		BERKSHIRE																
61b		Soleham	2	1½	½	96		96	2	48	2	4	24	5	24		123	
60b		Bisteham	8	8½	4½	576		576	4	96	3	18	32	8½	32		124	The Lord's car. 2 of 192 each. 10 of 96, 8 course.
									4	48	1½							
60b		Ollavinton	*8		8	360	72	432	*5	72	2	12	36	4	30	6	125	* Numero anglico.
63b		Acenge	"	1	1	120		120	5	24	1	5	24	5	24		126	

58[a]		Waltham	8	2	1	120	120	240	4	60	2	8	30	8	15	15	127	
		CORNWALL																See Exon. Domesday to explain these.
123[a]	213	Rekaradoc	*2 288	*1 v 48 + 48	*2 v	80	16 + 16 +80	192	3	64	1½	4	48	6	20	8 + 20	128	* Anglico numero, and wara. There were 3 bovates of 16[a] in each virgate, 15 car. Anglico numero=18 car.: 18 car. of 16=288. There were 4½ car. of 64. See Cliftun in Yorkshire, last case in Table II.
123[a]	214	Trewallern	1[a]	½[a]	½[a]	½[a]	½[a]	1[a]	¼	1[a]							129	There were two acres with the idle shift and 2 oxen worked it. Several cases like it in Cornwall.
123[a]	211	Lege	1½	½	1	120	120	240	4	60	2½	10	24	10	12	12	130	Total 360[a], or 15 car. of 24, or 18 of 20, or 6 of 60.
124[b]	232	Elerchi	*1	*½	*⅔	90	90 or	180	4 15	45 12	3 1	12 15	15 15	16 16	7½ 7½	7½ 7½	131	* Most probably Anglico numero. The Lord had 1 car. of 60 or 72, the tenants 15 car. of 12, or 18 of 12, if Anglico numero, or 4 of 54. One geldable hide of 120+120=4 of 60.
102[a]	123	Clista	3 v	1½ v	1½ v	45	45	90	*5 6	18 15	1 1	*5 6	18 15	16	7½	7½	132	* If Anglico numero, then 6 of 15.
121[b]	244	Dunhuet	1	1 v	4 v	96		96 or	8 4	12 24	½ 1	4 4	24 24	5 5	24 24		133	The Lord had 2 of 12 in 1 car. of 24.
120[b]	181	Pavtone	*8	*⅛	*7⅛	860	172 + 430 + 86	1548 or	43 3 37	36 72) 36)	1½ 3) 1½)	64½ 64½	24	9	13½	10⅓	134	* Anglico numero. The Lord's hide 120 acres, and the tenants, Anglico numero, as at Shepreth, referred to ante. See Exon. Domesday which explains the figures. There were 72 (i.e. 60 Anglico numero) car. of 24[a]. A 3 course Manor. The XLIII. car. are entered in E. D. thus "XLIII hid carr" showing that the word "hida" in the sense of Bede's "familia," was still in use in Cornwall.
	207	Liscarret	2 480	⅛ 128	1 7/15	176	176	352	11 or 5 8	32 32 24	4 4) 3)	44 44	8	30	4	4	135	Hides of wara. This works out, like Pavtone, the details of which see ante under the head of "Terra ad carucam." 60 car. in 480 (2 hides of wara) gives 8, probably a bovate. Lord's car. 2 of 40, 1 of 48.
		CHESHIRE																
267[b]		Sumreford	1 v		1 v	30		30 30	3 1	10 30	½ 1	1 1	30 30	4 4	30 30		136	

TABLE II. (*continued*).

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk	Exon. D.	Name	Hides in Domesday: No.	Lord's	Tenant	Area of tenants' land: Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.	Total	Tenants' Terræ: No. in D. Bk.	Area of each	Tenants' Virgates: No. in each terra	Total No.	Size of ditto	No. in one hide	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.	No. in Tab. III.	
Folio		CHESHIRE (*continued*)			(Of 120)													
264b		Calders	*3		*3	360	72	432	*10	36	1	12	36	4	30	6	137	* Anglico numero; and 10 car. = 12.
							or	432	4	108	3	12	36	4	30	6		
265a		Pontone	1	2/5	2/5	48		48	2	24	1	2	24	5	24		138	Lord's land 72a, i.e. six bovates of 12a.
265b		Tereth	1/4		1/4	30	30	60	2	30	2	4	15	8	15	15	139	
265a		Bretberrie	1		1	120		120	3	40	2	6	20	6	20		140	
								or	1	120	6	6	20	6	20			
266b		Bramale	1		1	120		120	6	20	1	6	20	6	20		141	
								or	1	120	6	6	20	6	20			
266b		Aldredelie	1	2 bov	6 bov	90		90	6	15	1/2	3	30	4	30		142	
								or	1	90	3	3	30	4	30			
		DERBYSHIRE																
275b		Bernulfestune	2	1	1	120		120	4	30	1/2	8	15	4	15 +15		143	Sixteen bovates of 15a.
276a		Ettewelle	5	3	2	240		240	8	30	2	16	15	8	15		144	
							or	240	2	120	6	12	20	6	20			
277b		Horselei	3	1 1/2	1 1/2	180		180	6	30	1 1/2	9	20	6	20		145	The Lord 18 bovates of 10, and villains the same. Total 4 car. of 90.
							or	180	2	90	4 1/2	9	20	6	20			

277b		Donebi	2		2	240		240	4	60	2	8	30	4	30		116	
							or	240	{2	60	2}	8	30	4	30			
									{1	120	4}							
278b		Calehale	1		1	120	60	180	1½	120	8	12	15	12	10	5	147	Total 12 bovates of 15.
278b		Ednunghale	2		2	240	120	360	8	45	1½	12	30	6	20	10	148	
							or	360	3	120	4	12	30	6	20	10		
		DEVONSHIRE																These should be compared with Exon. D. The car. are small and not so large as the associated ploughs in other counties.
101b	108	Doules	7	1	6	720		720	24	30	1½	36	20	6	20		149	
102a	109	Peintona	20	6	14	1680		1680	42	40	2	84	20	6	20		150	
103a	113	Walcoma	1½	¼	⅛	105	105	210	7	30	2	14	15	8	15	15	151	15 car. Anglico numero=18, giving 15a to a car.
			135	30														
			+135	+30														
103b	168	Dona	2	½	1½	180	180	360	7½	48	2	15	24	10	12	12	152	
							or	360	5	72	3	15	24	5	24			
104a	170	Flueta	*½	*¼ v	*1⅛ v	52½	73½	126	3½	36	1 }	3½	36	8	15	21	153	* Anglico numero. Total area 144, with 4 virgates of 36=6 of 24. The Manor had gone into a 3 course shift.
							or	126	2	36	1 }		(24+					
									1	54	1½ }		12)					
104a	177	Otritona	14	2	12	1440		1440	20	72	3	60	24	5	24		154	Lord's pl. 6 of 40 by the common hundred=5 of 48, i.e. 40 Anglico numero.
								or	40	36	1½	60	24	5	24			
		most likely	*14	*2	*12	1440	288	1728	*20	72	3	60	24	6	20	4		* Anglico numero. The Lord having 6 of 48. 25 car. Ang. numero=30 car. i.e. 6 to Lord and 24 to tenants.
			2016	288	1728			or	*40	36	1½	60	24	6	20	4		
104b	189	Alwinetona	1⅜	½	*1¼	150	30+ 180	360	18	20	1	18	20	12	10	10	155	* Anglico numero. The Lord had 2 ploughs of 60, so the total acreage was 480a. The Lord's land was by the common hundred, as at Shepreth ante—20 pl. Anglico numero=24, which gives 20a to the car.; so too, 480 reduced to 400, Anglico numero, gives 20a to each of 20 ploughs.
							or	360	9	40	2	18	20	12	10	10		
117b	440	Lege	¼	1/16	3/16	22½	22½	45	5	9							156	Like Great Shelford in Cambs. ante.
	177	Brantona	*1	¼	¾	90		90	5	18	1	5	18	8	15	3	157	* Anglico numero. The Lord had the advantage of the land ex. hi. There were 8 car. of 18: the Lord, 3 the villains 5.
			120	30														
			+24	+24														
			ex hi															

TABLE II. (*continued*).

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk	Exon. D.	Name	Hides in Domesday			Area of tenants' land			Tenants' Terræ		Tenants' Virgates						No. in Tab. III.	
			No.	Lord's	Tenant	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.	Total	No. in D. Bk.	Area of each	No. in each terra	Total No.	Size of ditto	No. in one hide	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.		
Folio		DORSETSHIRE			(Of 120)													The returns in this county are peculiar. In most of the other counties the standard geldable hide, or carucate, is placed first, and then the number of terræ therein is stated: for instance, in Rutland, fol. 293b, we have the entry, "in Alfnodeston Wapentake sunt II Hundrez. In unoquoque XII carucatæ ad geldum et in unoquoque XXIIII carucæ." But in Dorset, Middlesex, Yorkshire, Wiltshire, Sussex, et cetera, the returns are the reverse of this: the "terra ad carucam" appears to be the standard geldated area of 120a: and the word "hida" in Dorsetshire, &c., and the term "car. terræ ad geldum" in Yorkshire, are used to express the area of one ploughland in the manor, so that the terms "terra est car." in Dorset, and "car. potest ibi ere" in Yorkshire, imply what the geldable hide implies in other counties, viz. 120a of taxed land. Exon. Domesday should be read in connexion with the following cases.
83b	50	Winterbourne	*1½ 180 +36	*1½ 162	*½	45	9	54	½	108	8	1½	86	4	80	6	158	* Anglico numero: 1½ car. of 144 (120+24)=216; virgates four in 144 of 36. The geldable land 2 hides of 90+36 "ex hi." (being the sixth taken off by the Commissioners) 108 = 90 Anglico numero.

83[b]	51	Pomacanola	4 480	$2\frac{2}{3}$ 288	$1\frac{1}{5}$	192		192	2	96	2	4	48	$2\frac{1}{2}$	48		150	The Lord 2 car. of 144. Five average hides or car. of 96.
83[b]	52	Tærente	3 360	$2\frac{7}{10}$ 324	$\frac{8}{10}$	36		36	$\frac{1}{2}$	72	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$	24	5	24		160	Five average hides or car. of 72.
77[b]	34	Retpole	3 360	$1\frac{1}{2}$ 180	$1\frac{1}{2}$	180		180	2	90	3	6	30	4	30		161	Three average hides or car. of 120.
78[b]	37	Eltone	*10 1200 + 240 ex hi	*5 +1 v 640 +128 ex hi	*5 −1 v	560	112	672	7	96	2	14	48	3	40	8	162	* Anglico numero: 12 hides reduced to 10. Two "extra hidam" 18 (15 Anglico numero) of 80=1440, so 15 of 96 (80 Anglico numero)=1440, 40 Anglico numero=48.
78[b]	37	Portesan	*9 1080 + 216	*$3\frac{3}{4}$ 450 + 90	*$5\frac{1}{4}$	630	126	756	7	108	3	21	36	4	30	6	163	Twelve average hides or car. of 90 Anglico numero, i.e. 108=1296. * Anglico numero.
78[a]	39	Osmentone	10	4	6	720		720	6	120	4	24	30	4	30		164	
78[a]	40	Miteltona	*15 1800 + 360 ex hi	2 240 + 360 ex hi	13	1560		1560 i.e.	14 +1 v 13	108 120	$2\frac{1}{4}$ 4	$32\frac{1}{2}$ 52	48 30	$2\frac{1}{2}$ 4	48 30		165	* Anglico numero=18 of 120, of which 15 only are taxed, the Lord having 2 and the tenants 13. There were twenty-four hides or car. of 90, i.e. 20×108. The Lord had 240 (+360 extra hidam). His holding was 600, i.e. 10×(108 minus 1 v.). The tenants had 14 hides of 108 (90 Anglico numero)+1 virgate=1560 or 13 car. By this arrangement the Lord had the advantage of all the land extra hidam.
78[a]	40	Liscoma	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	80		80	1	80	4	4	20	6	20		166	Three car. or hidæ of 80=240=2 hides or car. of 120.
82[b]	46	Pidere	*6 720 + 144	*$3\frac{3}{4}$ 450 + 90	*$2\frac{1}{4}$	270	54	324	3	108	3	9	36	4	30	6	167	* Anglico numero. There were (10 Anglico numero, i.e.) 12 hides or car. of 72. The 144 acres extra hidam were very likely entirely in the Lord's car., who had 3 car. of 180 or 6 (60+30). If 144 is taken from 540 it leaves 396, to which, if the tenants' 324 is added, it makes 720, or 6 hides of geldable land. The virgate of the geldable hide was 30, the areal virgate 36. The 396[a] is six hid. or car. of 60+an areal virgate of 36. The tenants' 324 is 3 hid. or car of (60 Anglico numero) 72=216+3 areal virgates of 36.

TABLE II. (*continued*).

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk	Exon. D.	Name	Hides in Domesday: No.	Hides in Domesday: Lord's	Hides in Domesday: Tenant	Area of tenants' land: Infr. hid.	Area of tenants' land: Extr. hid.	Area of tenants' land: Total	Tenants' Teraæ: No. in D. Bk.	Tenants' Teraæ: Area of each	Tenants' Virgates: No. in each terra	Tenants' Virgates: Total No.	Tenants' Virgates: Size of ditto	Tenants' Virgates: No. in one hide	Tenants' Virgates: Infr. hid.	Tenants' Virgates: Extr. hid.	No. in Tab. III.	
Folio		DORSETSHIRE (*continued*) Pidere geldable	6 720	3⅜ 450	(Of 120) 2¼	270		270	3	90	3	9	30	4	30			This is another solution, taking the geldable land only, and taking the virgate to be the virgate of the average car. and not of the geldable hide, i.e. 18ª. There were 720 acres in 10 hides or car., ∴ each car. was 72 acres. The Lord's 6 hidæ + 1 virg. = 6 × 72 + 18 = 450. The villains 3 hidæ + 3 virg. = 3 × 72 + 54 = 270. It will be seen that 450, 270, 90, 30, Anglico numero = 540, 324, 108, 36.
81ᵇ	42	Poleham	8	3⅛	4⅞	528		528	5½	96	4	22	24	5	24		168	There were 8 geldable car. of 120 contained in 10 hides or car. of 96. The tenants held originally 5½ car. or hides of 96 = 528. The Lord originally had 4 of 96 = 384 + 36 (1 virg. of his car. of 144) + 12ª, i.e. (10ª Anglico numero) total 432, or 3 car. of 144 (120, Anglico numero), but it appears from Exon. D. that the tenants had ½ of this 12ª. It will be observed that the virg. of 36ª + 12ª makes the ½ hide or car. of 96. This is the case on which Kemble in his Saxons in England, App. B. 490,

																		founds his general assertion that a hide was 40. But he wrongly takes for granted that the virgate of the Lord's car. is the same as the virgate of the tenants' car.—a terra of 80 and ½ terra 40, Anglico numero = 96 and 48 respectively.
	Most likely	*8 960 + 192 ex hi	*3 432	5*	600	120	720	6 1	96 144	4) 6)	30	24	6	20	4		Most likely * Anglico numero, and 10 car. Anglico numero = 12 car. of 96. The surplusage caused in the tenants' land by the A. N. vis. 192a gives 48a to the 5½ car. or hides of 96, making 6 of them, and gives a seventh plough of 144
	HAMPSHIRE																	
50b	Riple	2	1	1	120		120	1	120	8	8	15	4	15 +15		169		
						or	120	2	60	4	8	15	4	15 +15				
43a	Lamere	3	1½	1½	216		216	3	72	2	6	36	3½	36		170	Lord's car. 144 (2 average car. of 72).	
51a	Hentune	3 v		⅔	90		90	3	30	2	6	15	4	15 +15		171		
						or	90	2	45	3	6	15	4	15 +15				
51b	Depedene	1		1	120		120	5	24	1	5	24	5	24		172	There were, tempore Regis Edwardi, 5 average car. or hides of 60; of these 3 were now in forestu, and the other 2=1 geldable hide of 120.	
49b	Acangre	1+24a 144	½ 72	½	72		72	3	24	2	6	12	5	12 +12		173	Lord's car. 2 of 36.	
51a	Falelei	*1+3 v 216		*1+ 3 v	180	36	216	12	18	⅔	9	24	6	20	4	174	* Anglico numero.	
48a	Fulsescote	3	1½	1½	180		180	4	45	3	12	15	4	15 +15		175		
46b	Sirelei	1		1	120		120	8	15	½	4	30	4	15 +15		176		
						or	120	2	60	4	8	15	4	15 +15				

TABLE II. (*continued*).

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk	Exon. D.	Name	Hides in Domesday			Area of tenants' land			Tenants' Terræ		Tenants' Virgates						No. in Tab. III.	
			No.	Lord's	Tenant	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.	Total	No. in D. Bk.	Area of each	No. in each terra	Total No.	Size of ditto	No. in one hide	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.		
Folio		HEREFORDSHIRE			(Of 120)													
183a		Aweneburi	6	3	3	360		360	12	30	2	24	15	4	15 +15		177	In very many Manors in this county the ploughs of the virgates did not join together.
186a		Burgelle	8	2	6	720		720	24	30	1	24	30	4	30		178	
182a		Boseberge	6	1⅛	4⅞	528		528	22	24	1	22	24	5	24		179	The Lord two car. of 96 each.
182a		Credelai	9½	2¼	7	840		840	28	30	1	28	30	4	30		180	"Una ex his est wasta: alise geld.:" Lord's car. 3 of 90.
		and	2½	1¼	1½	180		180	6	30	1	6	30	4	30			
182b		More	*1	¼	¾	90	90	180	6	30	1	6	30	8	15	15	181	* "Hida Walesca." See Westrode, 181a fol. D. Bk.
184a		Nerefrum	4	2	2	240		240	8	30	1	8	30	4	30		182	
193b		Scepedune	4	1	3	360		360	9	40	2	18	20	6	20		183	
		KENT																A solin appears to be the same as a carucate of 240, 180, 160 acres or 288, 216, 192 if Anglico numero. And many of them are Anglico numero: solins and car.
13a		Estwelle	*1 288	*¾ 216	*¼	30	6+6 +30 or	72 72	1 1½	72 48	3 2	3 3	24 24	12	10	4+ 10	184	The Lord of 2 car. of 108, i.e. 3 juga of 72. The manor had gone into a 3 course. * Anglico numero.
9a		Bichlei	½	⅓	⅙	20	10	30	½	60	3	1½	20	9	13⅓	6⅔	185	⅓ solin = 60+30=90=¼ car. of 180. 60 (i.e. half Lord's car. of 120) +30 (i.e. ¼ villains' pl. of 60). Lord 60 + villain 30=90=½ solin and ¼ car.

3[b]	Cheringes	8 1920	$\frac{8}{10}$ 216	$7\frac{1}{10}$	852	852	1704	10 17	48 72	1) $1\frac{1}{2}$)	$35\frac{1}{2}$	48	5	24	24	186	There were 40 terræ of $48^a = 1920$, i.e. 8 solins of 240, but the manor probably had gone into a three course, and the Lord must have given $\frac{1}{3}$ a terra to his tenants, retaining a solin of 216. The tenants thus had $35\frac{1}{2}$ terræ of $48 = 1704$, i.e. 10 terræ of 48 and 17 of 72. Most probably Anglico numero.
7[b]	Haslow	6 1440	$1\frac{1}{2}$ 360	$4\frac{1}{2}$	540	540	1080 or	9 15	120 72	5 3	45 45	24 24	10	12	12	187	Most probably Anglico numero.
8[b]	Ceteham	6 1440	$2\frac{1}{2}$ 540	$3\frac{3}{4}$	450	450	900	10	90	3	30	30	8	15	15	188	The Lord's car. 3 of 180 or 6 of 90. Most likely Anglico numero.
4[a]	Briestede	$*1\frac{1}{2}$ 432	$*\frac{1}{2}$ 144	1	120	24 + 120 + 24	288 or	8 12	36 24	$1\frac{1}{2}$ 1	12 12	12 + 12 24	12	10	10 + 4	189	* Anglico numero. The Lord's terræ 2 of 72, i.e. 4 of 36. There were 12 (i.e. 10, Anglico numero) car. of 36.
6[b]	Carletone	*1 120 +168	$\frac{3}{4}$ 48 + 48 + 48 ex hi	$\frac{3}{5}$	72	72	144	3	48	2	6	24	10	12	12	190	Lord's car. 144. The villains held $\frac{1}{2}$ virgates. There were *5 car. of 48. The Lord had 3. * Anglico numero.
7[b]	Alnoitone	3 360 + 360	$\frac{3}{4}$ 180	$2\frac{1}{4}$	270	270	540	6	90	3	18	30	8	15	15	191	Eight car. of 90. The villains 6 and lord 2.
3[b]	Gelingeham	6 1440	$1\frac{1}{2}$ 360	$4\frac{1}{2}$	540	540	1080	15	72	3	45	24	10	12	12	192	Lord's car 2 of 180^a, probably Anglico numero, i.e. 2 of 216.
9[a]	Wicheham	*4 1152	*1 288	*3	360	72 + 360 + 72	864	9	96	4	36	24	12	10	10 + 4	193	* Anglico numero. Lord 2 car. of 144.
5[a]	Litelcert	$*2\frac{1}{2}$ 720	$*\frac{3}{4}$ 180	$*1\frac{3}{4}$	210	42 + 210 + 42	504	7	72	3	21	24	12	10	10 + 4	194	* Anglico numero. 3 solins of $240 = 2\frac{1}{2}$ of 288.
	LEICESTERSHIRE																
235[a]	Erendesbi	$\frac{1}{2} + 45^a$		$\frac{1}{2} + 45^a$	105	105	210	7	30	1	7	30	8	15	15	195	14 bovates of 15^a.
237[a]	Brandinestor	$*\frac{3}{5}$	$*\frac{1}{5}$	$*\frac{1}{5}$	40	8 + 40 + 8	96	3	32	2	6	16	18	$6\frac{3}{4}$	$9\frac{1}{3}$	196	* Anglico numero. Total area 192, i.e. $\frac{2}{3}$ of 288, i.e. 1 hide of wara Anglico numero, the bovate was 16^a, i.e. 9 in 144^a. The manor was probably in a 3 course, and 2 bovates to a virgate.
230[b]	Setintone	$\frac{8}{10}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{8}{10}$	96	96	*192	8	24	1	8	24	10	12	12	197	* 16 bovates of 12^a.
231[a]	Burbece	$*1\frac{1}{4}$	168^a	$\frac{1}{5}$	80	16 + 80 + 16	192	8	24	1	8	24	12	10	4 + 10	198	* Anglico numero, $144 + 36 = 180 + 180$ (idle shifts) $= 360 = 22\frac{1}{2}$ car. of 16. The Lord had $10\frac{1}{2}$ car. of $16 = 168$. The hominss 12 car. of $16^a = 192$. Probably in a 3 course 16 + 8.

TABLE II. (*continued*).

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk	Exon. D.	Name	Hides in Domesday			Area of tenants' land			Tenants' Terræ		Tenants' Virgates						No. in Tab. III.	
			No.	Lord's	Tenant	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.	Total	No. in D. Bk.	Area of each	No. in each terra	Total No.	Size of ditto	No. in one hide	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.		
Folio		LEICESTERS. (*continued*)			(Of 120)													
236a		Dalbi	1	$\frac{4}{5}$	$\frac{1}{5}$	24	24	48	$\frac{1}{2}$	96	4	2	24	10	12	12	199	
237a		Bladi	$\frac{1}{2}+12^a$	$\frac{3}{10}$	$\frac{3}{10}$ $+12^a$	36a $+12^a$	36a $+12^a$	96	6	16	$\frac{2}{3}$	4	24	10	12	12	200	9 car. of 16, i.e. 9 bovates in the area of 144. Probably 3 course 16+8=24.
235a		Fostone	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	30	30	60	5	12	$\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	24	10	12	12	201	
237a		Westham	*$\frac{1}{2}$ +1 car 72 144	$\frac{2}{10}$ 48	$\frac{3}{10}$ $+12^a$	36a $+12^a$	36a + 12^a	96	4 1	18 24	$\frac{3}{4}$) 1)	4	24	12	10	12	202	* Anglico numero.
		LINCOLNSHIRE																
347a		Bortone	*4+ 6 bov 648	*$1\frac{1}{2}$ 216	*3	360	72	432	3	144	4	12	36	4	30	6	203	Lord 1 car. of 2 car. of 108. * Anglico numero. *5 car. of 108 bovate=12a.
349a		Lecheburne	*10		*10	1200	240	1440	16	90	3	48	30	$4\frac{4}{5}$	25	5	204	* Anglico numero, 10 car. =12 car.
349b		Tadewelle	*5 1440	*3 864	*2	240	48+ 288	576	8	192	6	18	16+ 16	9	$13\frac{1}{2}$	$18\frac{3}{4}$	205	* Anglico numero. The Lord had 6 of 72 or 12 of 36. There were 20 car. of 72, so the Manor was probably in a 3 course. Total, 90 bovates of 16, Lord 54. Socn, 36. Hides of wara.
								or	8	72	$4\frac{1}{2}$	36	16					
351a		Stainton	$\frac{1}{2}$		$\frac{1}{2}$ or	60 72	60 72	120 144	3 1	40 144	2 6	6 6	20 24	12 12	10 10	10 2	206	The bovate was 10a. Manor in a 3 course probably. The area probably was Anglico numero, and the bovate 12a.

341a		Welletone	*12	*3½	*8½	990	198	1188	11	108	4½	49½	21	6	20	4	207	* Anglico numero. The Canonici had 5 car. of 108 bovate = 12a.
344b		Gozeberde-cherga	1+ 6 bov	⅔	1⅓	144		144	3	48	2	6	24	5	24		208	Car. consisted of 10 bovates of 12a, villains 12 bov.
338a		Chirchetone	*8 1920 +384	*2 576	*6	720	720 + 288	1728	18	96	4	72	24	12	10	14	209	* Anglico numero. The Lord 4 car. of 144. Villains 108 bov. of 16.
342a		Torp	10 bov	5 bov	5 bov	75		75	1	75	5	5	15	4	15 +15		210	
342b		Sotebi	4		4	480		480 or	6 4	80 120	4 6	24 24	20 20	6 6	20 20		211	
345b		Scotere	*8 1152	*3 432	*5 720	600	120	720	6) 1)	108 72	6) 4) =	40 20	12+6 36	8	15	3	212	* Anglico num., 1152 = 12 car. of 96. It appears in the Liber Niger of Peterborough, page 164, that the Lord's car. were of 6 oxen only, i.e. 108. Total, 64 bov. of 18.
		MIDDLESEX																The returns in this county are mostly, though not all, made as in Dorset, See Note to that county, Table II., ante. The Manors are given in detail, and fully support this paper. There appears to be much land out of cultivation at the time of Domesday.
127a		Stibenhede	*25 3000 + 600 ex hi	3 360 +600 ex hi +†48	22-1v	2592		2592 or	18 21 1	144 120 72	3 2½) 1½)	54 54	48	2½	48		213	* Anglico numero. Total, 25 car. of 144, with areal virgate of 48. The Lord worked 14 hides of 72 = 7 of 144: the 46 cottagers had one hide of 60 (i.e. 12+48 worked by Lord). The 7 villani had 3½ hides of 72. The 22 car. of the villains were 21 of 120, and one of 72, which with the †48 makes 120 and 2640 of geldable land.
127b		Fuleham	40	13	27	3240		3240	36	90	3	108	30	4	30		214	The total area of the geldable hides of the villains and francigenæ was 27 of 120a, i.e. 3240a, and there were 36 villain and frank car. or hides, giving 90 to each car., of these the francigenæ had 23 (2070), the 5 villains and coterii 5½ (495), leaving a balance of 675 to 30 virgates of 47 villains, that is 22½ acres to each virgate, or in other words, the quarter of 90 acres.
128a		Stanes	19	11	8	960		960	11	90	3	33	30	4	30		215	The villains had one virgate of the demesne, or the eleventh plough took only 60 acres.
128a		Ecclesia St Petri	11 1320	7⅔ 888	3⅓	432		432	6	72	3	18	24	5	24		216	The Lord's land was 9 of 96+24. That of tenants 4½ of 96. Total, 13½ of 96.
129a		Cheneton	5	2⅓	3⅔	345		345	3	120	4	11½	30	4	30		217	½ virgate was in the hands of the Lord.

TABLE II. (*continued*).

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D Bk	Exon. D.	Name	Hides in Domesday: No.	Hides in Domesday: Lord's	Hides in Domesday: Tenant	Area of tenants' land: Infr. hid.	Area of tenants' land: Extr. hid.	Area of tenants' land: Total	Tenants' Terræ: No. in D. Bk.	Tenants' Terræ: Area of each	Tenants' Virgates: No. in each terra	Tenants' Virgates: Total No.	Tenants' Virgates: Size of ditto	Tenants' Virgates: No. in one hide	Tenants' Virgates: Infr. hid.	Tenants' Virgates: Extr. hid.	No. in Tab. III.	
		MIDDLESEX (*continued*)			(Of 120)													
128b		Hermodesworde	*20 2400 + 480 ex hi	3 360 + 480	17	2040		2040	10 7	120 120	4 4	40 28	30	4	30		218	There were 20, Anglico numero, i.e. 24 hides (of which 20 would be geldable), and 30 average hides or car. of 96. Of these the Lord had 5 of 96, being the 4 "extra hidam," and 3 of 120 geldable. The homines had the 17 remaining geldable of 120.
128b		Tiburne	*3 432	*2 240+ 48	*1	120	24	144	2	72	2	4	36	4	30	6	219	* Anglico numero. The Lord's car. was 288, two hides of 144; there were 6 (i.e. 5, Anglico numero) of 72.
128b		Handone	16 1920	8	8	960		960 and	8 4 1	72 72 96	3 3 4	24 16	24	5	24		220	The area was 20 average hides or car. of 96. The homines 12 of 72+1 of 96.
130b		Toteham	*5 720	ex hi	5	600		600	8 4	60 30	3 1½	30	24	6	20		221	* Anglico numero. The Lord had the 2 car. extra hidam. 12 car. of 60.
128b		Greneforde	7 840	3	4	480	or	480	6½ 5	72 96	3 4	19½ 20	24	5	24		222	Most probably Anglico numero. The villains had 6½ hides or car. of 72, and 12a over. The Lord 5 of 72. There were 11½ hides or car. of 72, and 12a over.
127a		Hesa	*40 5760 i.e. 4800 +960	2 240 +960	38	4560		4560	26 12	120 120	3½ 3½	126½	36	3½	36		223	* Anglico numero. There were 40 car. of 144 (i.e. 120, Anglico numero) giving a total area of 5760, and a virgate of 36. This area was composed of two hides or car. of 144 and 87 of 90. Of these the Lord had 3 of 120 taxed land [illegible] Total 1200, leaving

129b	Enefelde	*20 2400 + 480	*5⅔ 672 + 480	14⅔	1728		1728	16	108	3	48	36	8½	36	224	* Anglico numero. The Juratores, instead of taking the sixth part from the terra ad car. of the whole Manor, take it entirely off the Lord's dominium. The terræ ad car. are 24 of 120=2880, of which 480, i.e. 4×120, is untaxable on the principles detailed in this paper: 2880 divided by the 30 hides or car. gives 96 (80+16) as the average car. or hide of the Manor, i.e. 80 Anglico numero. **The Manor was in a three course. The villains and francigenæ** have 16 car. of taxable land of 108 each=1728, or 12×144, with an areal virgate of 36, leaving 1152 to the Lord, i.e. 4×288, or 4 hides of wara by the greater hundred or 2 of 96+12 of 80=8 of 144. **It will be seen that the Lord has the whole of the 480** extra hidam. The 30 car. of 80 of taxable land +30×16 untaxable land (480) gives 2880. The men had 14⅔×120 taxable, the Lord 5⅓ of 120 also.
129b	Northala	*10 1200 + 240	*2⅔ 336 + 240	7⅓	864		864	6 2	108 108	2¼ 2¼	13½ 4½	48	2½	48	225	* Anglico numero. The total area is 1440 (i.e. 10×120+24 ex. hi.) with virgate of 48. There are 15 hides or car. of 96 (i.e. 80+16 ex. hi.). The Lord has 8 hides or car. of 72, or 6 of 96=576=2 hides of wara, Anglico numero, i.e. 2 of 288, of which 240 would be extra hidam. The tenants have 864=9 of 96=8 car. of 108. The Manor was in a three course. The Lord's 6 of 96+tenants' 9 of 96 make up the 15 of 96. **The Lord getting all the land ex. hi. The presbyter had with the villanus 1½ hid of 144=216.**

TABLE II. (*continued*).

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk	Exon. D.	Name	Hides in Domesday			Area of tenants' land			Tenants' Terræ		Tenants' Virgates						No. in Tab. III.	
			No.	Lord's	Tenant	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.	Total	No. in D. Bk.	Area of each	No. in each terra	Total No.	Size of ditto	No. in one hide	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.		
Folio		MIDDLESEX (*continued*)			(Of 120)													
129b		Rislepe	*20 2400 +480	*7½ 880 +176	*12⅔	1520	304	1824	12 5	108 108	3	36	36	4	30	6	226	* Anglico numero. The Lord's 11 hidæ were 11 of the 30 average car. of 80+16 ex. hi. The tenants had 12a short: 5 hides out of cultivation? 19 of 96 in a 3 course.
		Scepertone	*7 840 + 168	1⅔ 210 + 168	5½	630		630	5 1	108 90	3) 2½)	17½	36	4	30		227	* Anglico numero. The Lord got the advantage of all the land (168) ex. hi., and had 3½ hides or car. of 108. The villains had 6 car., 1 of 90 and 5 of 108. The presbyter had 18, i.e. 15, Anglico numero.
		NORTHAMPTONSHIRE																
227a		Aienho	3½	1½	2	240	240	480	5	96	4	20	24	10	12	12	228	
221b		Wermintone	*7½ 1080	*3½ 504	*4	480	96	576	8	72	4	32	18	8	15	3	229	* Anglico numero. The Lord's car. 3 of 120 and 1 of 144.
221a		Undele	*6 864	*2 288	*4	480	96	576	9	64	2⅔	24	24	6	20	4	230	* Anglico numero, 9 car. of 96.
221a		Cotingeham	7	2	5	600		600	10	60	3	30	20	6	20		231	The Lord's car. 2 of 120 or 4 of 60.
221a		Glintona	3	1½	1½	180	180	360	5	72	3	15	24	10	12	12	232	3 hides of wara=720=30 virgates of 24=12×60.
227a		Wacherlei	2½	1	1½	180	180	360	4	90	3	12	30	8	15	15	233	
227a		Wapeham	2	3 v	1+3 v	180	90	270	3	90	6	18	15	12	10	5	234	

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	120	4)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
225b	Cortenhale	8½	1⅜	1⅜	210	210	420	7	60	2	14	30	8	15	15	236	
226b	Pascelle	*8	*2	*6	720	144	864	18	48	1	18	48	3	40	8	237	Gone into a 3 course shift: 24 (i.e. 20, Anglico numero) car. of 48. 6 car. of 48 in dominio, i.e. 2 car. of 144.
		1152	288				or	12	72	1½	18	48	3	40	8		
219b	Nortone	7+1v	3	4+1v	504	504	1008	21	48	1½	31½	32	8¼	32		238	
	NOTTINGHAMSHIRE																
285b	Marneham	2	⅛	1⅛	160	160	320	8	40	2	16	20	12	10	10	239	The total area was 480, i.e. 240+240 ex. hi. The villani had 7 car. of 40=280, the sochmanni 40 or 1 car., the Lord 4 car. of 40, i.e. 160 (80+80). The average car. 120.
287b	Lentune	½		½	60		60	2	30	1	2	30	4	30		240	
287b	Griseleia	½		½	60	60	120	4	30	1	4	30	8	15	15	241	
289a	Laxintune	3		3	360	360	720	6	120	4	24	30	8	15	15	242	
289b	Bartone	195a		195a	195a	195a	390	5½	60	2)	13	30	8	15	15	243	Radulf held 2 virg. of 30.
								2	30	1)							
285a	Werchesope	3	⅛	2⅛	315	315	630	20	30	2)	42	15	8	15	15	244	There were 8 car. of 90, the Lor having one.
		720	90					2	15	1)							
285b	Hochretone	1	⅛	⅛	72	72	144	4	36	1½	6	24	10	12	12	245	The villains had 12 bovates of 12a. The Lord 2 car. of 48, or 1 average car. of 96. 2½×96=240. The villains 1½ of 96=144.
		240	96														
288a	Radeclive	1½		1½	180	180	360	6	60	2	12	30	8	15	15	246	There were 24 bovates of 15a.
	OXFORDSHIRE																
155b	Dadintone	*30	18½	*11½	1380	720	2100	19	108	3	58	36	4	30	6	247	* Anglico numero. The XXX car. Anglico numero=36. The tenants had all the land extra hidam. Originally the Lord had 10 car. of 216, the tenants 20 of 108, so each would have 2160, and the tenants would be 1440+720.
		3600	2220					1	48	1½							
		+															
		720	18	*12	1440	720	2160	20	108	3	60	36	5	24	12		
158a	Berncestre	15½	3	12½	1500		1500	14	90	3)	50	30	4	30		248	Probably the Lord had 6 car. of 90, of which 180 would be ex. hi. as idle shift.
								2	120	4)							
157a	Cibbaherste	3	2	1	120		120	2	60	2	4	30	4	30		249	
161a	Mongewell	10	7	3	360		360	6	60	2	12	30	4	30		250	

TABLE II. (*continued*).

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk	Exon. D.	Name	Hides in Domesday			Area of tenants' land			Tenants' Terræ		Tenants' Virgates						No. in Tab. III.	
			No.	Lord's	Tenant	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.	Total	No. in D. Bk.	Area of each	No. in each terra	Total No.	Size of ditto	No. in one hide	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.		
Folio		OXFORDSHIRE (*continued*)			(Of 120)													
161a		Burtone	3	2	1	120	120	240	10	24	1	10	24	10	12	12	251	
160b		Covelie	4½	½	4	480		480	8	60	3	24	20	6	20		252	The Lord's hide of Warland = ½ geldable hide, i.e. 60+60 extra hidam = 120. Total area 600.
160a		Bradewelle	24 (1+v)	*8	*16	1920	384	2304	24	96	2	48	48	3	40	8	253	* There were 24 of (120+24), in other words, 24 hides, Anglico numero, of which the odd virg. in each hide would be extra hidam. The Lord had 6 of 192, i.e. 6 of 160, Anglico numero, the villains had 24 of 30, Anglico numero, i.e. 96. The total area 2880+576=3456, the 576 being ex. hi., i.e. 24 virgates of 24.
159a		Redrefeld	5	2	3	360		360 or 480	5 / 8	72 / 120	2 / 3½	20	36	3½	36		254	
		RUTLAND																
293b		Gretham	*3	2 car ex hi	*3	360	360 + 144	864	8	108	4½	36	24	12	10	14	255	* Anglico numero.
298b		Overtune	3½	*1½	2½	270	270	540	9	60	4	36	15	9	15	15	256	12 car. of 60. * Anglico numero.
298b		Cotesmore	8	3 car ex hi	2½	300	300	600	20	30	2	40	15	9	15	15	257	The iii sochi had 60 acres.
293b		Hamoldune	4	5 car ex hi	4	480	480	960	40	24	1	40	24	10	12	12	258	Three or more villains joined in one virgate.

293b		Okeham	4	2 car ex hi	4	480	480	960	27 10	30 15	2) 1)	64	15	16	7½	7½	259	16 car. of 60. Three or more villains in one virgate.
293b		Redlinctune	4	4 car ex hi	4	480	480	960	16 32	60 30	4 2	64 64	15 15	4 4	15 +15	15 +15	260	The bovate 7½. Three or more villains in one virgate.
		SHROPSHIRE																The Lord's car. seem generally to be returned as equal to those of the villani in area.
253a		Conendoure	13	7	6	720		720	7) 8)	72	2	20	36	8½	36		261	
254a		Stodesdone	9	2½	6½	792		792	11	72	2	22	36	8½	36		262	Lord had 4 of 72.
258a		Wistanestou	2		2	240		240	8 4	30 60	1 2	8 8	30 30	4 4	30 30		263	
260b		Stoches	7	3	4	480		480	8	60	3	24	20	6	20		264	There were 14 car. of 60, of which the Lord had 1 of 120, and 4 of 60, or 5 of 72.
258b		Feltone	*3½	*1½ v	*1½ v	45	9	54 or	3 1	18 54	1 3	3 3	18 18	8	15	3	265	* Anglico numero. Lord's car. 54. 6 (i.e. 5 car. Anglico numero) of 18 in all.
255b		Pantesberie	6	2	4	480		480	8	60	2	16	30	4	30		266	
252b		Hesleie	3		3	360		360	3 5	120 72	5 3	15 15	24 24	5	24		267	Or 10 virg. of 36.
253b		Archelou	7	2	5	600		600	15	40	2	30	20	6	20		268	21 car. of 40.
253b		Dodintone	12	2½	9½	1140		1140	6) 13)	60 60	3 3	18 39	20	6	20		269	24 car. of 60.
					*9½	*1140	228	1368	19	72	3	57	24	6	20	4		* Probably Anglico numero.
		SOMERSET-SHIRE																Exon. D. should be referred to.
93b	401	Broford	½		½	15		15	½	30	1	1	30	4	30		270	
93a	393	Hateware	1	½	½	40		40	½	80	2	1	40	3	40		271	
96b	409	Geveltone	8	4	4	480		480	5	96	2	10	48	2½	48		272	
95b	336	Manheve	*5	*2½	*2½	300	60+360	720	10	72	3	30	24	12	10	14	273	* Anglico numero, 12 car. of 60, or 10 of 72.
98a	357	Locumbe	*1	*½	*½	60	24+60	144	*2½	48	3	9	16	18	6½	9½	274	* Anglico numero.
95b	336	Udecombe	3	1½	1½	180	180	360	6	60	4	24	15	16	7½	7½	275	
97a	349	Strengestone	1	½	½	30	15	45	1	45	3	3	15	12	10	5	276	The Lord 2 car. of 45=90=3 virg. of 30
97a	351	Ila	2	1	1	120		120	1	120	8	8	15	8	15		277	
96b	347	Worspring	6½	4½	1½	180	180	360	6	60	2	12	30	8	15	15	278	

TABLE II. (*continued*).

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk	Exon. D.	Name	Hides in Domesday			Area of tenants' land			Tenants' Terræ		Tenants' Virgates						No. in Tab. III.	
			No.	Lord's	Tenant	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.	Total	No. in D. Bk.	Area of each	No. in each terra	Total No.	Size of ditto	No. in one hide	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.		
Folio		STAFFORDSHIRE			(Of 120)													
247a		Lecefelle	25¾	10	15¾	1890		1890	63	30	1	63	30	4	30		279	Villains, 48 virg. Canonici, 15.
								or	21	90	3	63	30	4	30			
246b		Bertone	3	1½	1½	180	180	360	9	40	2	18	20	12	10	10	280	Lord's car. 2 of 180, or 9 of 40.
246b		Lec	*1		*1	120	120	288	12	24	1½	18	16	18	6¾	9⅛	281	* Anglico numero.
							+48		6	48	3	18	16					
247b		Haltone	2	1	1	120		120	1	120	5	5	24	5	24		282	
									2½	48	2	5	24	5	24			
249a		Branselle	¼	⅛	⅛	15	15	30	2	15	1	2	15	8	15	15	283	Each villani had 7½a.
									1	30	2	2	15					
250b		Stagrigesholle	¼		¼	30	30	60	2	30	1	2	30	8	15	15	284	
									1	60	2	2	30					
250b		Torp	3	1	2	240		240	4	60	2	8	30	4	30		285	
248a		Ridvare	¼		¼	30	15	45	1½	30	1	1½	30	6	20	10	286	The villani had 7½ each.
246b		Hornluestone	4	2	2	240		240	4	60	4	16	15	4	15		287	8 average car. of 60.
															+15			
		SURREY																
34b		Estreham	1+24a	½+12a	½+12a	72		72	2	36	1½	3	24	5	24		288	The Lord's car. 72. Note 5 (Anglico numero 6 car.) of 24, i.e. is the same (similiter) as 144 acres, or 1 hide of 120+1 virg. of 24. See Table III.

36a	Witlei	12	2¼	03/4	1170		1170	13	90	3	39	30	4	30		289	The Lord's 2 car. of 135 (1½×90). Note xx car. Anglico numero, 24 car. of 60=12 hides of 120.
34b	Boreham	3	1⅛	1⅛	216		216	3	72	3	9	24	5	24		290	Lord's car. 1 of 144, or 2 of 72.
34b	Tenrige	2	1/10	1 1/10	132	132	264	11	24	2	22	12	10	12	12	291	Lord's car.—3 of 72 (1⅓ of average car. of 48), the Manor in 3 course shift. Note 10 car. or hides of 48=2 hides of wara, i.e. 480.
34b	Chelesham	2	1	1	120	120	240	4	60	3	12	20	12	10	10	292	See last case. Ten hides or car. of 24=12 of 20=4 of 60.
32a	Sandestede	*5	*1	*4	480	96	576	8	72	3	24	24	6	20	4	293	* Anglico numero. Lord's 1 car. of 144 =2 average car. of 72. Note 18 car. or hid. of 40 (or 15, Anglico numero, of 48)=5, Anglico numero, hides of 120, i.e. 720.
36b	Pechingeorde	1	½	½	60		60	2	30	1½	3	20	6	20		294	Average car. 40 gone into 3 course. Lord's car. 60.
35a	Limeurde	½		½	60		60	2	30	1½	3	20	6	20		295	Six bovates of 10a.
36b	Ticesei	*2 576	*1 288	*1	120	120 +48	288	*5	48	3	18	16	18	6⅔	9⅓	296	Note! 20 hid. or car. of 24=480=2 hid. of wara. 8 average car. of 60. * Most probably Anglico numero, i.e. 8 car. of 72.
	Sussex																
18a	Medehei	3 v	1½ v	1½ v	45	45	90	2	45	1½	3	30	8	15	15	297	
								4	22½	¾	3	30	8	15	15		
18a	Werlinges	*5 720	*1¼	*3¾	450	90	540 =	15 18	36 30	2 1⅔	30 30	18 18	8	15	3	298	* Anglico numero. Lord's car. 2 of 90. Total, 16 average car. of 45.
28b	Chingestune	6	2½	3¾	450		450	10	45	1½	15	30	4	30		299	Lord 2 car. of 135 (1½ average car. of 90) =270. Total, 8 car. of 90.
22a	Lodinton	*4½ 540+ 108	*3 432	*1½	180	36	216	*5	36	1	*5	36	4	30	6	300	* Anglico numero, i.e. 6 average ploughs of 108. The villains had 6 (i.e. 5, Anglico numero) of 36. The Lord had 2 of 216 or 4 of 108, the villains 2 of 108.
22a	Horstede	5+3 v	2+ 1½ v	2+ 1½ v	405		405	4½	90	3	13½	30	4	30		301	
19b	Dodimere	*6 864	1 144	*5	600	120	720	15	48	1½	22½	32	2½ or 5	48 24		302	See the remarks as to the abnormal virgate of 32, ante page 84. * Anglico numero. These were 12 (10, Anglico numero) car. of 72.
	idem	6	1	5	600	120	720	*15	40	2	20	20	**5	20			* Anglico numero, 18 car. ** 6, Anglico numero. Average car. 10 of 720 or 12 (10, Anglico numero) of 60.
	idem	6 720	1 120	5	600		600	15	40	2	20	20	6	20			

TABLE II. (*continued*).

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk	Exon. D.	Name	Hides in Domesday			Area of tenants' land			Tenants' Terræ		Tenants' Virgates						No. in Tab. III.	
			No.	Lord's	Tenant	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.	Total	No. in D. Bk.	Area of each	No. in each terra	Total No.	Size of ditto	No. in one hide	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.		
Folio		SUSSEX (*continued*)			(Of 120)													
23b		Tolintone	*5	*1⅓	*3⅓	400	80	480	5	96	4	20	24	6	20	4	303	* Anglico numero. Lord's car. 2 of 120.
23b		Peteorde	9	4 2 Lord 2 milites	5	600		600	6 2	90 30	3 1	20	30	4	30		304	12 average car. of 90.
24a		Estone	*15 18 2160	3 ex hi 360	15	1800		1800	14 9	90 60	3 2	60	30	4	30		305	* Anglico numero = 2160 = the 36 "hidæ" or average car of 60, stated in D. Bk. The Lord had the 3 hides "super hidam," with 3 car. of 120.
23b		Borne 30 × 48 36 × 40	12 1440	3 360	9 1080	1080		1080	15	72	2	30	36	3⅓	36		306	36 average car. or "hidæ" of 40, stated in D. Dk. = 1440, and 30 average car. of 48 = 1440. This and the preceding case shew the old use of the word "hidæ" applied to the terra ad car., and the conversion of the same into the uniform geldable hide of 120. There are many other cases to be found in Sussex and elsewhere. The cutting down from the one hundred to the other appears in the number of ploughs. 30 car., Anglico numero = 30 car., and 40, Anglico numero = 40.
		Anglico numero 86 × 48	1728	432	1276	1080	216	1296	18	72	2	36	36	4	30	6		

		WARWICKSHIRE																	
248[b]		Newebold	8	2½	5½	660		660	11	60	3	33	20	6	20		307	Average car. 60: 16 of them.
		Anglico numero	1152	360	792	660	132	792	11	72	3	33	24	6	20	4		Lord 3 car. of 120.
244[a]		Ulverlei	8	1	7	840		840	17½	48	1½	26½	32	8¾	32		308	Lord's car. 1 of 120 = 2½ × 48. Total, 20 car. of 48.
								or	7	120	3¾	26½	32					
242[b]		Holehale	1		1	120	120	240	15	16	1	15	16				309	Probably in 3 course like Broctune, ante, No. 74.
		Anglico numero	1		1	120	144	288	18	16	1	18	16	18	6¾	9½		
							+24		6	48	3	18	16					
242[a]		Servelei	3	1½	1½	225		225	7½	30	1	7½	30	4	30		310	The Lord had 4½ car. or virgates of 30 = 135 = 1½ car. of 90. The villains 7½ of 30 = 225 = 2½ of 90.
									2½	90	3	7½	30	4	30			
241[b]		Etone	*3	*1⅔	*1⅓	160	32	192	8	24	1	8	24	6	20	4	311	* Anglico numero. There were 5 car., Anglico numero, i.e. 6 of 72, of which the Lord had 3 car. of 80. The tenants had 2 car. of 96.
			432	240														
241[b]		Contone	3	1	2	240		240	5	48	2	10	24	5	24		312	There were 6 car. of 72 (60, Anglico numero), of which the Lord had 2.
		Anglico numero	432	144	288	240	48	288	6	48	2	12	24	6	20	4		
									4	72	3	12	24	6	20	4		
241[a]		Rocheberei	*2½	*⅙	*1⅓	200	40	240	5	48	2	10	24	6	20	4	313	* Anglico numero. 6 average car. of 60, of which the Lord had 2, the villains 4.
			360	120														
		WILTSHIRE																Several of the Manors are returned as in Dorset, see note to that county.
72[a]	41	Sutone	*4	384	1⅓	192		192	2	96	2	4	48	2½	48		314	* Anglico numero. The Lord had all the land extra hidam, viz. 96 acres. The Lord had 2 car. of 192, i.e. 4 × 96 = 3 × 120 + 24.
			576															
72[a]		Stortone	6	3⅜	2⅛	270		270	3	60	2	9	30	4	30		315	Returned as in Dorset. 8 hidæ or car. of 90 = 720 = 6 × 120.
									1	90	3							
70[b]		Opetone	6	3⅓	2⅔	320		320	4	80	4	16	20	6	20		316	Returned as in Dorset. 9 "hidæ" or car. of 80 = 6 of 120.
70[b]		Sumreford	*3	*2	*1	120	24	144	2	72	3	6	24	6	20	4	317	* Anglico numero. 3, Anglico numero = 3 (120 + 24).
71[a]		Ochreburne	8	4⅘	3⅕	384		384	3	128	4	12	32	3¾	32		318	Returned as in Dorset. 10 "hides" or car. of 96 = 8 car. of 120.
70[a]		Rode	8	4⅘	3⅕	384		384	4	96	2	8	48	2½	48		319	Returned as in Dorset. 20 of 48 = 8 of 120. The Lord had 4 car. of 144, or 6 × 96.

TABLE II. (*continued*).

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk.	Exon. D.	Name	Hides in Domesday			Area of tenants' land			Tenants' Terræ		Tenants' Virgates						No. in Tab. III.	
			No.	Lord's	Tenant	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.	Total	No. in D. Bk.	Area of each	No. in each terra	Total No.	Size of ditto	No. in one hide	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.		
Folio		WILTSHIRE (*continued*)			(Of 120)													
67a		Credvelle	*25 3000 + 600 ex hi	8½ 1020 + 600 ex hi	13½ 1620	1620		1620	18	90	3	54	30	4	30		320	* Anglico numero. Returned as in Dorset. There were 40 "hidæ" or car. of 90: Ebrardus had 3 hides of 120=4×90=360. The Lord had 18 of 90, the villains 18 of 90, which make up 25 car. of 144 (Anglico numero 120), or 40 hides of 90. The Lord got all the land extra hidam.
70a		Newentone	*7 840 + 168 ex hi	4½ 540	1½	180		180	3	60	2	6	30	4	30		321	Dorset return. * Anglico numero. The average hidæ or car. was 90, eleven of them, the eleventh however being Anglico numero, i.e. 108. The seventh geldable hide was held by Girardus, and it was a solanda, Anglico numero, i.e. 288. There were 3 car. or hides in it, viz. 90, 90, 108. So the area was 540+180+288=1008=7 hides of 144, and the car., or hides, were Lord 6 of 90, villains 2, Girardus 3. It will be noticed that the 168a "super hidam" increases the 7th geldable hide of 120 (held by Girardus) up to 288, or a hide of wara by the greater hundred. The "valet" is entered thus: "Valuit x lib modo xviii lib Ab Anglis appreciatur xii lib", x Anglico numero = xii.

66b	Cristemele-forde	10	7	3	360		360	6	60	2	12	30	4	30		322	
66a	Chedelwick	3	2½	½	72		72	1	72	3	3	24	5	24		323	
68b	Uptone	6	3 5/10	2 1/10	252		252	2	108	4½	10½	24	5	24		324	The Lord had 3 car., 2 of 144 each, and 1 of 180. Total, 468; described in D.Bk. as 6 "hidæ" and 1½ virg. There were 10 car. or hidæ of 720 ∴ average car. 72. 180=144+24+12, 1½ virg.
								1	36	1½							
	WORCESTERSHIRE																
173a	Rippel	25	14½	10½	1260		1260	30	30	1	42	30	4	30		325	
								6	60	2							
173b	Halhegan	7	*3	4	480		480	10	48	1	10	48	2½	48		326	* Includes 2 hides of Radmanni.
177a	Hanlege	3	1	2	240		240	8	30	1	8	30	4	30		327	
177a	Dudelei	1	½	½	75	75	150	10	15	½	5	30	8	15	15	328	Lord's car. 90.
173b	Herfertun	3	1	2	240	240	480	6	80	2	12	40	6	20	20	329	Lord's car. 2 of 180. Probably Anglico numero.
174a	Ardolvestone	15	8	7	840		840	15	48	1	15	48	2½	48		330	
								2	48	1	2						
								1	24	½	½						
173b	Overberie	6	3	3	360		360	10	30	1½	15	20	6	20		331	The Presbyter had the eleventh plough of 60. Manor in a 3 course.
								1	60	3							
176b	Stotune	3	1	2	240		240	5	48	2	10	24	5	24		332	
	YORKSHIRE																See remarks on Dorset as to the method of return in that county and this.
307b	Estorp Soca	*15	*1½	13½	1620	324	1944	27	72	3	71	24	6	20	4	333	* Anglico numero=18. The Lord's car. 216a, i.e. 3 car. of 72, or 9 virgates. 30 car. altogether.
307b	Rodreham	3	1½	1½	180		180	2½	72	3	8	24	5	24		334	The Lord's 1 car. = 2½ car. of 72, so there would be 5 car. of 72.
307a	Chercam	4	2	2	240		240	4	60	3	12	20	6	20		335	The Lord had 2 of 120.
304a	Delton	6	2½	3½	420		420	7	60	2	14	30	4	30		336	
310b	Catrice	10	6	4	480		480	4	120	3	12	40	4	30		337	
312b	Finegala	4		4	480		480	6	80	2	12	40	3	20		338	
														+20			
						or	480	5	80	2	12	40	6	20			
								2	40	1				+20			

TABLE II. (*continued*).

A Domesday Geldable Hide (or carucate) appears to be 120 acres of land taxed and therefore called "infra hidam." The surplusage caused by the Anglicus numerus was always, and the idle shift was sometimes, untaxed and therefore "extra hidam."

D. Bk	Exon. D.	Name	Hides in Domesday			Area of tenants' land			Tenants' Terræ		Tenants' Virgates						No. in Tab. III.	
			No.	Lord's	Tenant	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.	Total	No. in D.Bk.	Area of each	No. in each terra	Total No.	Size of ditto	No. in one hide	Infr. hid.	Extr. hid.		
Folio		YORKSHIRE (*continued*)			(Of 120)													
315a		Chipesch	*10		*10	1200	240	1440	3	80	4	12	20	6		20	339	* Anglico numero.
									15	80	4	60	20	6	20			
304a		Ettone	4		4	480		480	3	120	3	11	40	3	40		340	8 car. of 60.
									2	60	$1\frac{1}{2}$							
315b		Scanhalla	3	$\frac{3}{4}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$	270		270	3	90	3	9	30	4	30		341	Lord's car. 90. 4 of 90=360=3×120.
315b		Fareburne	2	$1\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	96		96	1	96	4	4	24	5	24		342	Lord's car. 144, i.e. $1\frac{1}{2}$ of 96.
315b		Nortone	*3	*1	*2	240	48	288	6	48	2	12	24	6	20	4	343	* Anglico numero. 6 (i.e. 5, Anglico numero) of 72=432. Lord 2 car. of 72.
313a		Cliftun	*8		*8	960	480 + 576	1728	18	96	2	36	48	$3\frac{3}{4}$	32	16	344	* Anglico numero: actual area. See ante p. 90. A bovate is added to each in order to simplify matters. The areal bovate was 8, the geldable bovate $6\frac{4}{5}$, i.e. 18 of the former in the 120 (Anglico numero, i.e. 144), and 18 of the latter in the geldable hide of 120. The geldable portion of the virgate was 32, the areal 48, as at Brootune, ante.
		geldable area	8		8	960	480	1440	15	96	2	30	48					

TABLE III.

BEING EXTRACTS FROM DOMESDAY WHICH REFER TO MANORS INCLUDED IN TABLES I. AND II.

Ante No. CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

1 *Belesham*, 190b. Ibi sunt IX hidæ. Terra XIX car. In dominio V hidæ et ibi sunt V car. et II plus poss. esse. Ibi XII vill. et XII bord. cum XII car.

2 *Burewelle*, 192b. Ibi X hid. et I virg. Terra est XVI car. In dominio III hidæ et XL acr. et ibi IIII car. Ibi XLII vill. et dim. cum XII car.

3 *Abintone*, 194a. Ibi V hidæ. Terra est VIII car. In dominio II hid. et dim. et ibi sunt III car. Ibi XI vill. et V bord. cum V car.

4 *Bertone*, 200a. III hid. et dim. Terra est VI car. In dominio III car. et III vill. cum XIII bord. habent III car.

5 *Badburgh*, 194a. II hid. et dim. et XXIIII ac. Terra est IIII car. In dominio est una et XVII vill. et III bord. cum III car.

6 *Barentone*, 193a. II hid. Terra est III car. In dominio I hida et ibi I car. Ibi VIII bord. et V cot. cum II car.

7 *Brune*, 200b. Pro XIII hid. se defend. Terra est XV car. In dominio V hid. et ibi sunt II car. et aliæ II poss. ere. Ibi VIII vill. cum IIII bord. et VII sochis qui tenent IIII hid. habent IIII car et adhuc VII poss. fieri.

8 *Burch*, 195b. Ibi V hid. Terra est VIII car. In dominio III hid. et ibi sunt III car. Ibi VII vill. cum X bord. habent IIII car.

9 *Carletone*, 202a. III hid. Terra VIII car. In dominio I hid. et dim. et ibi sunt II car. et XII vill. cum II bord. habent VI car.

10 *Chingeston*, 189b. I hid. et III virg. Terra est II car. In dominio est una et unus vill. et III bord. cum I car.

11 *Cotcham*, 191b. Pro X hid. se defend. Terra est VIII car. In dominio VI hid. et I car. Ibi XVI vill. et X cot. cum VI car.

12 *Crochestune*, 202a. VI hid. Terra est IX car. et dim. In dominio III hid. et ibi sunt II car. et tertia pot. fieri. Ibi VII vill. cum VII bord. et II cot. habent III car. et adhuc III et dim. poss. fieri.

13 *Cumbertone*, 189b. Ibi II et dim. Terra est V car. In dominio sunt duæ et tertia potest fieri. Ibi VII vill. et V bord. cum II car.

14 *Dodinton*, 191b. V hid. Terra est VIII car. In dominio II hid. et dim. et ibi III car. Ibi XXIIII vill. cum V car. Ibi VIII sochi de I hida.

15 *Duneham*, 192a. Ibi IIII hidæ. Terra est VIII car. In dominio II hidæ et dim. et ibi IIII car. Ibi XV vill. quisque de XII acris cum IIII car.

16 *Ely*, 192a. Pro X hid. se defend. Terra XX car. In dominio V hidæ et ibi V car. et VI potest fieri. Ibi XL vill. quisque XV acr. cum XIIII car.

17 *Elenworde*, 192b. Ibi IX hidæ et I virg. et V acr. Terra XXII car. In dominio IIII hidæ et ibi III car. et quarta potest fieri. Ibi XIX vill. et XVII bord. et I franc. habens III virg. Hi simul XVIII car. habent.

Ante No. CAMBRIDGESHIRE (*continued*).

18 *Fordham*, 189b. Pro v hid. et dim. se defend. Terra x car. In dominio II car. et IIII adhuc poss. fieri. Ibi VI vill. et XV bord. de XV acris cum IIII car.

19 *Escelforde*, 191a. Pro IX hid. et XXIIII acris se defendit. Terra est XI car. In dominio v hidæ et ibi sunt III car. Ibi XX vill. et VII bord. cum VIII car.

20 *Foxetune*, 193a. v hid. et XL acr. Terra est VIII car. In dominio I hida et XL acr. et ibi sunt II car. Ibi XVI vill. et XI bord. cum VI car.

21 *Grantesete*, 196a. II hid. et III virg. Terra est VI car. In dominio sunt III et III vill. et dim. cum XIII bord. et XVI cot. habent III car.

22 *Gratadene*, 191b. Pro v hid. se defend. Terra est IX car. In dominio II hidæ et dim. et ibi I car. et II poss. fieri. Ibi VIII vill. et III bord. cum VI car.

23 *Helle*, 192a. Ibi II hidæ. Terra est v car. In dominio I hid. et I virg. et X ac. et ibi III car. Ibi X vill. cum II car.

24 *Hectelei*, 196a. III hid. Terra est IX car. In dominio I hid. et dim. et ibi sunt III car. et VI vill. cum X bord. habent VI car.

25 *Harduic*, 191b. III hid. et I virg. et XII acras. Terra est VI car. In dominio I hid. et dim. et XII acras et ibi sunt II car. Ibi VII vill. cum IIII car.

26 *Haslingefelde*, 197a. v hidæ. Terra est VI car. In dominio sunt duæ et VIII vill. cum XVIII cot. habent IIII car.

27 *Havochestun*, 191a. Pro VIII hid. et dim. se defend. Terra est XII car. In dominio v hidæ et ibi sunt IIII car. et XVI vill. et IIII bord. cum VIII car.

28 *Lindone*, 192a. Ibi IIII hidæ. Terra est VI car. In dominio II hidæ et dim. et ibi IIII car. Ibi II sochi et XIIII vill. cum II car.

29 *Littleport*, 191b. Tenet Abbas de Ely pro II hid. et dim. Terra est VI car. In dominio I hida et ibi II car. Ibi XV vill. et VIII cot. cum IIII car.

30 *Melbourne*, 191b. II hidæ et I virg. terræ. Terra est v car. In dominio I hid. et I virg. et ibi I car. et dim. potest fieri. Ibi VI vill. et IX bord. cum III car.

31 *Pampisford*, 191a. II hidæ et III virg. et dim. Terra est VI car. In dominio I hid. et I virg. et dim. et ibi sunt II car. Ibi XII vill. et V bord. cum IIII car.

32 *Papeworde*, 195a. Ibi v hidæ. Terra est VII car. In dominio II hidæ et dim. et ibi sunt II car. Ibi X vill. et V bord. cum V car.

33 *Suafam*, 190b. III hid. Terra est v car. In dominio I hida et III virg. et ibi sunt II car. et V vill. et II bord. cum III car.

34 *Stow*, 192b. II hid. Terra est v car. In dominio II car. sunt et V vill. et VI bord. cum III car.

35 *Stretham*, 191b. Pro v hid. se defend. Terra est IX car. In dominio III hid. et ibi IIII car. Ibi XII vill. quisque X acr. et XI vill. de I hida hi habent v car.

36 *Trumpintone*, 202a. II hid. Terra est III car. In dominio I hid. et I car. et IIII villani cum I bord. v cot cum II car.

37 *Trepeslau*, 191a. VI hid. et dim. Terra est VIII car. In dominio III hidæ et ibi sunt III car. Ibi XII villani et V bord. cum V car.

38 *Warateuorde*, 193b. II hid. et II part. unius virg. Terra est III car. In dominio I hid. et II part. unius virg. et dim. car. est ibi et alia dim. pot. fieri. Ibi II cot. et XV bord. cum II car.

Ante No. CAMBRIDGESHIRE (*continued*).

39 *Waratinge*, 190b. Ibi III hid. et dim. Terra est VII car. In dominio III hid. et ibi II car. et adhuc duæ poss. fieri. Ibi VI vill. et III bord. cum III car.

40 *Winepol*, 194b. II hid. et dim. et II virg. et dim. Terra est III car. In dominio II hid. et ibi I car. et adhuc dim. potest fieri. Ibi II vill. cum I bord. habent I car. et dim.

41 *Wicham*, 195b. Pro VII hid. se defend. et modo pro V hid. Terra est XII car. In dominio III hid. et III car. et quarta pot. fieri. Ibi XI vill. cum VIII bord. habent VIII car.

42. *Wivelingham*, 191b. Pro VII hid. se defendit. Terra est VII car. In dominio III hid. et ibi II car. Ibi XII vill. cum V car.

43 *Wilbertone*, 192a. Ibi V hidæ. Terra est VII car. In dominio III hid. et I virg. et ibi III car. Ibi IIII sochi et IX vill. cum IIII car. Ibi VIIII cot. et VII servi.

The same. Inquisitio Eliensis, p. 506 (Public Records Print), Wilbertona pro V hid. se defendit. VI car. ibi est terra IIII car. et III hid. et una virg. in dominio IIII car. hom. IX vill. quisque X acr. et IIII alii vill. de una virgata.

44 *Teversham*, 201b. III hid. et dim. Terra est IIII car. et dim. In dominio II hidæ et ibi sunt II car. Ibi V vill. cum XVII bord. hab. II car. et dim.

BEDFORDSHIRE.

45 *Bertone*, 210b. Pro XI hid. se defendit. Terra XII car. In dominio III hidæ et ibi sunt II car. et tertia pot. fieri et XX vill. habent IX car. Cum isto Man. reclamat Abbas XII ac. prati quæ ibi jacuere T. R. E. sed Joh. de roches eum injuste desaisuit.

46 *Cranfelle*, 210b. Pro X hid. se defend. Terra XII car. In dominio II hid. et II car. sunt ibi. Ibi XVIII vill. habent X car.

47 *Sethlindone*, 210b. Pro X hid. se defend. Terra est XIIII car. In dominio II hid. et ibi sunt II car. et XXVII vill. habent XII car.

ESSEX.

48 *Belcham*, 12b. V hid. Semper II car. in dominio et XII car. hom. XXIIII vill. X bord. et V servi.

49 *Chinghefort*, 12b. VI hid. Semper II car. in dominio. Tunc III car. hom. modo IIII. Tunc VII vill. modo VIII. Tunc III bord. mod. VI. De hoc manerio abstulit petrus de Valoniis I hid. et VII ac. prati quæ pertinebant manerio.

50 *Berlinga*, 13b. II hid. et dim. XV ac. minus. Tunc II vill. modo null. Tunc V bord. modo IX. Semper I serv. et I car. in dominio et II car. hom.

51 *Ædulvesnasa*, 13b. XXVII hid. Tunc LXXXVI vill. modo LXIII. Tunc XL bord. Modo L. Semper VI servi et VI car. in dominio. Tunc inter homines LX car. modo XXX.

52 *Nasestocham*, 12b. V hid. XX ac. minus. Semper XII vill. et XI bord. Tunc IIII serv. modo II. Semper IIII car. in dominio et IIII car. hominum.

53 *Tillingham*, 12b. XX hidæ et VI ac. Semper XX vill. et VIII bord. et IIII serv. Tunc III car. in dominio modo IV. Semper X car. hom.

54 *Wicham*, 12b. III hid. I virg. min. Tunc I car. in dominio modo II. Tunc IIII car. hom. modo III. Tunc VI vill. modo V. Tunc IIII bord. modo X.

Ante No.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

55 *Aldersorde*, 165b. Ibi XI hidæ. In dominio sunt III car. et XXI vill. et V bord. et II francig. cum XV car.

56 *Bocheland*, 165b. Ibi X hid. In dominio sunt III car. et XXII vill. et VI bord. cum XII car.

57 *Frowecestere*, 165b. Ibi V hidæ. In dominio sunt IIII car. et VIII vill. et VII bord. cum VII car.

58 *Boxewelle*, 165b. Ibi V hidæ. In dominio sunt II car. et XII vill. et I Radchenista habentes XII car.

59 *Hamme*, 165b. Ibi VII hid. In dominio sunt III car. et XXII vill. et III bord. cum VII car.

60 *Duntesburn*, 165b. V hid. In dominio III car. et VIII vill. cum V car. Ibi XVI servi.

61 *Ledene*, 165b. Ibi IIII hidæ. In dominio II car. et VIII vill. cum VIII car.

62 *Omenie*, 165b. II hid. Ibi II car. et V vill. cum III car.

63 *Culne*, 165b. Ibi IIII hidæ. In dominio sunt III car. et XI vill. et VII bord. cum XII car.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

64 *Canesforde*, 164a. Pro X hid. se defendit. Terra est X car. In dominio V hidæ et ibi sunt II car. et adhuc III poss. fieri. Ibi VIII vill. cum III bord. habent II car. et adhuc III car. possunt fieri.

65 *Cadenden*, 164a. Pro X hid. se defend. Terra est X car. In dominio III hidæ et ibi est una car. et adhuc III poss. ere. Ibi XXII villani habent VI car.

66 *Erdelei*, 164a. Pro VI hid. se defend. Terra est X car. In dominio III hid. et ibi sunt II car. et tercia pot. fieri. Ibi XII vill. habent VII car.

67 *Sandone*, 136a. Pro X hid. se defend. Terra est XX car. In dominio V hidæ et ibi sunt VI car. Ibi presbyter cum XXIIII vill. habent XIII car. et adhuc una pot. fieri.

68 *Cheleselle*, 135a. Pro V se defendit. Terra est X car. In dominio II hidæ et ibi sunt III car et quarta pot. fieri. Ibi XII vill. cum IX bord. habent VI car.

69 *Haddam*, 135a. Pro IIII hid. se. defend. Terra est XIII car. In dominio II hidæ et ibi sunt III car. et quarta potest fieri. Ibi XV vill. habent VIII car. et nona pot. fieri. Ibi XV bord.

70 *Hetfelle*, 135a. Pro XL hidæ se defendit. Terra est XXX car. In dominio XX hidæ et ibi sunt II car. et III adhuc poss. fieri. Ibi presbyter cum XVIII vill. et XVIII bord. habent XX car. et adhuc V car. poss. fieri.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

71 *Alwaltune*, 205a. V hid. ad geld. Terra IX car. et in dominio terra II car. preterea has V hid. Ibi nunc in dominio II car. et XX vill. habentes VII car.

72 *Adone*, 205a. V hid. ad geld. Terra XII car. Ibi nunc in dominio II car. in una hid. et dim. hujus terræ et XVIII vill. cum VI car. Ibi ecclesia et presbyter.

73 *Adelintune*, 204b. X hid. ad geld. Terra XXIIII car. et in dominio terra III car. extra predictas hidas. Ibi nunc in dominio IIII car. et XXVIII vill. habentes XX car.

74 *Broctune*, 204a. IIII hid. ad geld. Terra VII car. et II bov. Ibi est terra sochorum V hid. ad geld. Terra VIII car. et VI bov. Nunc in dominio habet Abbas III car. et X soch. et XX vill. habentes X car.

Ante No. HUNTINGDONSHIRE (*continued*).

75 *Blantisham*, 204a. VI hid. et dim. ad geld. Terra VIII car. et exceptis hidis in dominio terra II car. Ibi nunc in dominio II car. et X vill. et III bord. cum III car. Ibi presbyter et ecclesia.

76 *Bierne*, 204b. IIII hid. ad geld. Terra IIII car. Ibi nunc in dominio I car. in una hida hujus terræ et XI vill. et IIII bord. cum VII car.—De hac terra tenent II milites III virg. et dim. et ibi habent unum villanum et III bord. cum II car.

Extract from Cottonian MSS Galba E X page 44 "Henricus de Winchentone tenet terram Eulardi et terram ejusdem Goselinus (previously named and that land said to be ½ hide + 1½ virg. as stated in D.Bk.) et habet dimidiam virgatæ (24 acres) quæ fuit dudum ad operationem." The total was therefore 288 acres or I hide of wara Anglico numero. At page 17 of the same MS there is this entry, referring to the same hide, "ad Bierne Henricus de Winchentona I hidam d CCC acris et II culturas de dominio." As previously stated this is an error for "I hidam de CC acris," i.e. 240 Anglico numero or 288: the scribe should really have written CCXL, but being puzzled he put the near approach to the quantity of 288 by writing d CCC.

77 *Brenintune*, 204b. IIII hid. ad geld. Terra VII car. Ibi nunc in domino I car. in una hida hujus terræ et XI vill. et III bord. habent VI car.

78 *Caldecote*, 206a. V hid. ad geld. Terra VI car. Ibi nunc in dominio I car. et X vill. et II bord. habentes IIII car.

79 *Chenebalton*, 205b. X hid. ad geld. Terra XX car. In dominio $\frac{\text{in V hidis}}{\text{V car.}}$ et quater viginti et IIII vill. et XXXVI bord. cum XXV car.

80 *Chesterton*, 205a. IIII hid. et dim. ad geld. Terra VII car. Ibi nunc in dominio I car. et VII vill. et I bord. cum III car.

81 *Hoctune*, 204b.1 VII hid. ad geld. Terra X car. et in dominio. Terra II car. extra predict. hid. Ibi nunc in dominio II car. et XXXI vill. et V bord. cum X car.

81 *Witune*, 204b. VII hid. ad geld. Terra X car. et in dominio terra II car. extra predict. hid. Ibi nunc in dominio II car. et XXIIII vill. et V bord. habentes VIII car.

82 *Newetone*, 205a. V hid. ad geld. Terra VIII car. Ibi nunc in dominio II car. in una hid. hujus terræ et XVI vill. et V bord. habentes V car.

83 *Riptune*, 504a. X hid. ad geld. Terra XVI car. et in dominio terra II car. extr. predictas hid. Ibi nunc in dominio II car. et XXVII vill. et VI bord. habentes XII car. Ibi ecclesia et presbyter.

84 *Saltrede*, 204b. VII hid. et dim. et dim. virg. terr. ad geld. Terra XII car. Ibi nunc in dominio II car. in duobus hid. hujus terræ et XII vill. et III bord. habentes V car. Ibi ecclesia et presbyter.

85 et 86 *Stivecle*, 204a. VII hid. ad geld. Terra XI car. Exceptis his hid. in dominio terra II car. Ibi nunc in dominio II car. et XVI vill. et II bord. habentes VI car. De hac terra habent II milites III hid. et ibi habent III car. in dominio.

87 *Slepe*, 204a. XX hid. ad geld. Terra XXIIII car. et in dominio terra III car. extra predictas hidas. Ibi nunc in dominio III car. et XXXIX vill. et XII bord. habentes XX car. Ibi presbyteri et ecclesia. De hac terra habent III homines IIII hid. et ipsi habent III car. et dim. et V vill. et VI bord. cum III car.

88 *Sibestune*, 205a. II hid et dim. ad geld. Terra IIII car. Ibi nunc in dominio I car. in una hida hujus træ et IIII vill. cum I car. Ibi presbyter et dim. ecclesiæ.

Ante No. HUNTINGDONSHIRE (*continued*).

89 *Upehude*, 204a. x hid. ad geld. Terra xvi car. et in dominio terra iii car. preter predictas hidas. Ibi nunc in dominio ii car. et xxxii vill. et ii bord. cum xiiii car.

90 *Wasinglei*, 207b. ii hid. et dim. ad geld. Terra iiii car. Idem ipse tenet rege et habet i car. et x vill. cum iiii car. Ibi ecclesia et presbyter.

91 *Colne*, 204a. vi hid. ad geld. Terra vi car. et in dominio terra ii car exceptis vi hid. Ibi nunc in dominio ii car. et xiii vill. et v. bord. habentes v car.

92 *Coninctune*, 206b. ix hid. ad. geld. Terra xv car. In dominio sunt ii hid. et dim. de hac terr. Ibi nunc ii car. et xxvi vill. habentes xiii car.

93 *Dentone*, 203a. v hid. ad geld. Terra ii car. Ibi modo i car. in dominio et x vill. et ii bord. habent v car.

94 *Elintune*, 204b. x hid. ad geld. Terra xvi car. De his x hid. est una wasta pro silva regis. Nunc in dominio sunt ibi ii car. in duabus hid. hujus terræ et xxvi vill. et iiii bord. habent. xii car. Ibi ecclesia et presbyter. De hac terra tenent ii milites i hid. et habent ii car.

95 *Fletun*, 205a. v hid. ad geld. Terra viii car. Ibi nunc in dominio ii car. in una hid. et dim. hujus terræ. Ibi xiiii vill. et iii bord. habentes vi car.

96 *Glatune*, 205a. viii hid. ad geld. Terra xxiiii car. Ibi nunc in dominio ii car. et xxiiii vill. et x bord. habentes xiiii car. Ibi ecclesia et presbyter.

97 *Ghellinge*, 204b. v hid. ad geld. Terra vii car. Ibi nunc in dominio ii car. et x vill. et ii bord. habent iii car.

98 *Halievelle*, 204a. ix hid. ad geld. Terra ix car. et in dominio ii car. præter predictas hidas. Ibi nunc in dominio ii car. et xxvi vill. et iii bord. cum vi car. De hac terra habet Aluuode de Abbate i hid. et ibi habet i car.

99 *Wodestun*, 205a. v hid. ad geld. Terra ix car. ibi nunc in dominio ii car. in una hida et dim. hujus terræ et xvi vill. cum iiii car. ibi ecclesia et presbyter.

100 *Wistow*, 204a. ix hid. ad geld. Terra xvi car. et terra iii car. in dominio præter ipsas hidas. Ibi nunc in dominio ii car. et xxxii vill. habentes xi car. Ibi presbyter et ecclesia.

101 *Wardebusc*, 204b. x hid. ad geld. Terra xx car. et in dominio terra iii car. extra predictas hidas. Ibi nunc in dominio iii car. et xxxiii vill. et xiii bord. habentes xvi car.

NORFOLK.

102 *Brugeham*, 213b. iiii car. terræ. Semper xii vill. tunc x bord. modo xvii. Semper iiii servi. iii car. in dominio, iii car. hominum.

103 *Dereham*, 213b. v car. terræ. Tunc xx vill. modo xvi tunc xx bord. modo xxv et ii serv. Tunc ii car. in dominio modo iii tunc viii car. hominum modo vii.

104 *Nortwalde*, 213b. vi car. terræ. Semper viii vill. xviiii bord. iiii servi tunc iii car. in dominio modo iiii tunc v car. hominum modo iii.

105. *Pullaham*, 214b. xv car. terræ. Semper lx vill. xxv bord. vii servi, iii car. in dominio. Tunc xx car. hom. modo xvi.

106 *Torp*, 213b. iii car. terræ semper x vill. xx bord. modo iiii serv. Tunc i car. in dominio modo ii. Semper vii car. et dim. hom.

107 *Waltuna*, 212b. iiii car. terræ. Semper xx vill. xl bord. Tunc xvii serv. modo xiii. Semper v car. in dominio et iii car. hom.

Ante No. NORFOLK (*continued*).

108 *Feltuuella*, 212b. VI car. terræ. Tunc XL vill. modo XXVIII tunc V bord. modo X tunc XIIII serv. modo XII. Tunc V car. in dominio modo IIII tunc VIII car. hominum modo VII.

SUFFOLK.

109. *Brandona*, 381b. V car. terræ. Semper VIII vill. et IIII bord. VII servi. Semper III car. in dominio. Tunc IIII car. hominum modo III.

110. *Berkyngs*, 382b. VII car. terræ. Tunc XXVII vill. modo XXV. Tunc XXIIII bord. modo XXX. Tunc V servi modo IIII. Semper III car. in dominio. Tunc XXIIII car. hominum modo XV.

111 *Glamesforde*, 381b. VIII car. terræ. Semper XVI vill. et XVIII bord. et V servi. Semper III car in dominio et VII car. hominum.

112 *Herthyrst*, 381b. V car. terræ. Semper XII vill. et XIIII bord. et IIII serv. Semper II car in dominio. Tunc V car. hom. modo VI.

113 *Ratesdane*, 381b. VI car. terræ. Semper XVIII vill. Tunc XX bord. modo XXVII. Tunc VI serv. modo IIII. Semper III car. in dominio. Tunc XII car. hominum modo III.

114 *Hecham*, 384b. XI car. terræ. Tunc XXX vill. modo XXXVI. Tunc XVIII bord. modo XXVI semper VIII servi. Tunc III car. in dominio modo III. Tunc XX car. hom. modo XVI.

115 *Weringheseta*, 384b. IIII car. terræ. R. Peverel quarta. Semper X vill. et IX bord. Tunc IIII servi modo II. Semper II car. in dominio et III car. hominum.

SURREY.

116 *Berne*, 34a. VIII hid. Terra VI car. In dominio sunt II car. et IX vill. et IIII bord. cum III. car.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

117 *Suneborn*, 143b. Pro IIII hidis et dimid. se defendit. Terra est IIII car. In dominio III hidæ et III virg. et ibi est una car. et alia potest fieri. Ibi III villi. habent I car. et dimid. et tot possunt fieri adhuc.

118 *Hibestanes*, 152b. Herveus Legatus tenet in Hibestanes II hid. de rege. Terra est V car. In dominio dim. hid. et ibi sunt II car. et VII vill. habent II car. et tertia potest fieri.

119 *Merstone*, 151a. Pro III hid. se defend. Terra est VI car. In dominio est una hida et ibi est una car et alia potest fieri. Ibi VI villani cum V bordarii habent IIII car. et quarta potest fieri.

120 *Radcliffe*, 151b. Pro V hid. se defendit. Terra est VIII car. In dominio sunt III et VI vill. cum IIII bord. habent III car. et adhuc duæ possunt fieri.

121 *Hamescle*, 152a. Pro X hid. se defend. Terra est XXVI car. In dominio sunt V hide et preterea has V carucatæ terræ et ibi sunt II car. et adhuc IIII possunt fieri. Ibi XXXVI vill. cum XI bord. habent XVIII car. et adhuc II car. poss. ere.

122 *Hambledene*, 152b. Pro XX hidis se defendit. Terra est XXX car. In dominio sunt V et ibi III car. et L villani cum XX bord. habent XXVII car.

BERKSHIRE.

123 *Soleham*, 61a. Pro II hidis se defendit tunc et modo. Terra est V car. In dominio sunt II car. et IIII villani et VI bord. cum II car.

Ante No. BERKSHIRE (*continued*).

124 *Bistesham*, 60b. Tunc et modo pro VIII hid. Terra est X car. In dominio sunt II car. et XVII vill. et II cotarii cum VIII car.

125 *Ollavintone*, 60b. Defendit se pro III hidis tunc et modo. Terra est V car. Ibi sunt XII villani et IIII bord. cum V car.

126 *Acenge*, 63b. Tunc pro III hid. modo pro II hid. In dominio est una car. et V villani et III bord. cum V car.

127 *Waltham*, 58a. Tunc et modo pro III hid. Terra est VI car. In dominio sunt II et VIII villani et III cot. IIII car.

CORNWALL.

128 *Reckaredoc*, 123a. Geldb. pro I hida. Ibi tamen sunt II hidæ. Terra XV car. Ibi sunt IIII car. et dimid. et VI servi et VII vill. et XVI bord.

Idem. Exon D. p. 213. Ibi sunt II hide et reddit gildum pro 1 hida has possunt arare XV car. hanc ten. Hamelinus de comite et habet inde I virg. et I car. et dim. in dominio et vill. aliam terram et III car.

129 *Trewallen*, 123a. Geldb. pro I agro. Terra II car. Ibi I car. et II serv. cum I vill. et II bord.

Idem. Exon D. 214. Redd. gildum pro I agro hunc poss. arare II car. hanc ten. Hamelinus de comite et habet dim. agr. et dim car. in dominio et vill. dim. agr. et II boves in car.

130 *Lege*, 123a. Geldb. pro I hida et dimid. Ibi tamen sunt III hidæ. Terra XV car. Ibi sunt VI car. et VI servi et VIII vill. et XII bordarii.

Idem. Ex. D. p. 211. Sunt III hid. et reddit. gildum pro 1 hid. et dimid. hanc poss. arare XV car. hanc ten. hamelinus de com. Ibi hab. dimid. hid. et II car. in dominio et vill. aliam terr. et IIII car.

131 *Elerchi*, 124b. Geldb. pro I hid. Ibi tamen sunt IIII hidæ. Terra est XI car. Ibi sunt V car. et X servi et XVII villani et XVIII bordarii.

Idem. Exon D. 232. Sunt IIII hidæ et reddit. geld. pro 1 hida has poss. arare XX car. hanc tenet Leuenot de comite et habet I hidam et I car. in dominio et vill. III hidas et IIII car.

132 *Clista*, 102a. Geldb. pro III virgis terræ. Terra est VI car. In dominio sunt II car. et V servi et IX villani et V bordarii cum V car.

Idem. Exon D. 123. Redd. gild. pro III virgis has poss. arare VI car. Inde habit Episcopus I virg. et dimid. et II car. in dominio. Et vill. I virg. et dim. et V car.

133 *Dunhuet*, 121b. Geldb. pro una virg. terræ. Ibi tamen est I hida. Terra est X car. In dominio est I car. et III servi. et unus villanus et XIII bord. cum IIII car.

Idem. Exon D. p. 244. Redd. gild pro I virg. et tamen ibi est I hida hanc possunt arare X carucæ. Ibi habet comes I carr. in dominio et I vill. et XIII et isti habent IIII carr.

134 *Pavtone*, 120b. Geldb. pro VIII hid. sed tamen ibi sunt XLIIII hidæ terra est LX car. In dominio sunt III car. et VI servi et XL villani et XL bordarii cum XL car.

Idem. Exon D. p. 181. In ea sunt XLIIII hid. et reddiderit gildum pro VIII hidis has possunt arare insimul LX carr. De his habet Episcopus in hid dominio I hid. et III car. et villani habent XLIII *carr.* et XL carr.

135 *Liscarret*, 121b. Geldb. pro II hid. Ibi tamen sunt XII hidæ. Terra est LX car. In dominio sunt III car. et XX servi et XXXV villani et XXXVII bord. cum XIII car.

Ante No. CORNWALL (*continued*).

Idem. Exon D. p. 207. Reddid. gildum pro II hid. Sed ibi sunt XII hid. has possunt arare LX car. De his habet Comes in dominio I hid. et III car. et vill. XI hid. et XIII car.

CHESHIRE.

136 *Sumreford*, 267b. Ibi I virg. terræ geld. In tres partes divisa. Terra est III car. Ibi est unus radmannus habens I car.

137 *Calders*, 264b. Ibi III hidæ geld. Terra est X car. Ibi V villani et V bord. habent II car. et unus francigena cum I serviente habet II car.

138 *Pontone*, 265a. Ibi I hida geld. Terra est V car. In dominio sunt III car. et VI bovar. et prepositus et III bord. cum II car.

139 *Tereth*, 265b. Ibi I virg. geld. Terra est II car. Ibi III villani habent I.

140 *Bretberie*, 265a. Ibi I hida geld. Terra est III car. Ibi I radman. et VI villani et II bord. habent I car.

141 *Bramale*, 266b. Ibi I hida geld. Terra est VI car. Ibi unus radmannus et II villani et II bordarii habent I car.

142 *Aldredelie*, 266b. Ibi I hida geld. Terra est VIII car. In dominio est I cum II bovar. et III villani et I radman. cum I car.

DERBYSHIRE.

143 *Burnulfestune*, 275b. Habentur Gamel X bov. Aluric II bov. Elric II bov. Ledmer I bov. Leuing I bov. Inter totum II car. terr. ad geld. Terra III car. Ibi nunc in dominio III car. et VIII villani et I bord. habent IIII car.

144 *Ettewelle*, 276a. V car. terr. ad geld. Terra V car. Ibi nunc in dominio III car. et XIIII villani et VIII bord. habenter VIII car.

145 *Horselei*, 277b. Habet Jurgar III car. terr. ad geld. Terra IIII car. Ibi nunc in dominio II car. et XIX villani et III bord. habentes VI car.

146 *Denebi*, 277b. II car terræ ad geld. Terra IIII car. Ibi modo VII villani et I bord. habent III car.

147 *Calehale*, 278b. I car. terræ ad geld. Terra XII bov. Ibi modo Steinhulf et Dunning habent II car. et dim. et XVII villani et I bord. cum II car.

148 *Ednunghale*, 278b. II car. terræ ad geld. Terra III car. Ibi modo XII villani habent VIII car.

DEVONSHIRE.

149 *Doules*, 101b. Geldb. pro VII hidis. Terra est XXX car. In dominio sunt II car. et III servi et XXX villani et VIII bord. cum XXIIII car.

Idem. Exon D. 108. Reddidit gildum pro VII hid. has poss. arare XXX car. Inde habet Episcopus I hida et II car. in dominio et villani habent VI hid. et XXIIII car. Ibi habet Episc. XXX villanos et VIII bordarios.

150 *Peintona*, 102a. Geldb. pro XX hid. Terra est LX car. In dominio sunt VIII car. et XXXVI servi et LII villani et XL bord. cum XLII car.

Idem. Exon D. 109. Reddidit Gildum pro XX hid. has possunt arare LX car. Inde habet Episcopus in dominio VI hid. et VIII car. et villani XIIII hid. et XLII car. Inde habet Episcopus LII villanos et XL bordarios et XXXVI servos.

151 *Walcoma*, 103a. Geldb. pro I hida et dimid. virg. terræ. Terra est XV car. In dominio sunt II car. et III servi et XV villani et VII bord. cum VII car.

Idem. Exon D. Redd. Gild. pro I hida et dimidia virga. hanc poss. arare XV car. Ibi in dominio I virg. et II carr. et villani habent I hidam II ferl. minus et VII car.

Ante No. DEVONSHIRE (*continued*).

152 *Dona*, 103b. Geldb. pro II hid. Terra est X car. In dominio est I car. et VII servi et XII vill. et IX bordarii cum V car.

Idem. Exon D. p. 168. Reddidit gildum pro II hid. hanc poss. arare I car. Inde habet Abbas in dominio dimid. hid. et I car. et vill. I hid. et dimid. et V car. Ibi habet Abbas XII villanos et IX bord. et VII servos.

153 *Flueta*, 104a. Geldb. pro dim. hid. Terra est VI car. In dominio est I car. et II servi et VI vill. et XIX bord. cum III car.

Idem. Exon D. 170. Reddidit Gild. pro dim. hid. hanc poss. arare VI car. Inde habet Abbas dimid. virg. in dominio et I carr. et villani habent III virgas et dim. et III car. Ibi habet Abbas VI vill. et X IX bord. et II servos.

154 *Otritone*, 104a. Geldb. pro XIIII hid. Terra est XXV car. In dominio sunt VI car. et L villani et XX bord. cum XL car.

Idem. Exon D. p. 177. Reddidit gildum pro XIIII hidis has poss. arare XXV car. Inde habet Abbas II hidas et VI car. in dominio. Et villani XII hidas et XL car. Inde habet Abbas L vill. et XX bordarios.

155 *Alwineton*, 104b. Geldb. pro I hida et III virg. terræ. Terra est XX car. In dominio sunt II car. et X servi et XV villani et XV bord. cum IX car.

Idem. Exon D. 189. Reddidit gildum pro I hida et III virgis hanc terram poss. arare XX carr. Inde habet hamelinus dimidiam hidam et II car. in dominio et villani I hidam et I virgam et IX car.

156 *Lege*, 117b. Geldb. pro una virg. terræ. Terra est IX car. In dominio sunt II car. et IIII servi et XII villani et V bordarii cum V carucis.

Idem. Exon D. 440. Reddit. gild. pro I virga hanc poss. arare VIII car. Inde habet W. I ferlinum et II car. in dominio et villani III ferlinos et V car. Inde habet W. XII villani et V bord. et IIII servi.

157 *Brantona*, 104a. Algar presbyter tenet de rege I hidam in Elemosina. Terra est VIII car. in dominio habet III car. et III vill. et XXIII bord. habent V car.

Idem. Exon D. 177. Algar presbyter habet I hid. terræ in brantona hanc poss. arare VIII carr. Inde habet presbyter I virg. et III car. in dom. et villani habent III virgas et V car.

DORSETSHIRE.

158 *Wintreburne*. Geldb. pro II hid. et una virg. terræ. Terra est I car. et dimid. In dominio I car. cum I servo et II villani et II bord. cum dimid car.

Idem. Exon D. p. 50. Redd. gildum pro II hid. et una virgata has poss. arare I car. et dim. Inde habet Uxor hujus II hid. dim. virg. minus et I car. in dominio et villani I virg. et dim. et dim. car.

159 *Pomacanola*, 83b. Geldb. pro V hid. Terra est IIII car. In dominio sunt II car. et IIII servi et IIII villani et V bord. cum II car.

Idem. Exon D. 51. Reddit gildum pro V hidis has poss. arare IIII car. Inde habet W. III hidas et II car. in dominio et Villani II hidas et II car.

160 *Tarente*, 83b. Geldb. pro V hid. Terra est III car. In dominio est I car. et IIII servi et II villani et IIII bord. cum I car.

Idem. Exon D. p. 52. Redd. gildum pro V hid. has poss. arare III car. Ibi habet R. IIII hid. et dimidia in dominio et I caruca et villani dimidia hida et I car.

Ante No. DORSETSHIRE (*continued*).

161 *Retpole*, 77b. Geldb. pro III hid. Terra est III car. de ea sunt in dominio medietas et ibi I car. cum I servo et I vill. et V bord. habent II car.

162 *Eltone*, 78b. Geldb. pro XVIII hid. Terra est X car. De ea sunt in dominio IX hid. et una virg. terræ et ibi III car. et VIII servi et XVII vill. et XII bord. cum VII car.

Idem. Exon D. 37. Reddidit gildum pro XVIII hidis has poss. arare X car. De his habet Abbas IX hidis et I virg. et III car. in dominio et villani IX hidas I virg. minus et VII car.

163 *Portesan*, 70b. Geldb. pro XII hid. Terra est IX car. De ea sunt in dominio V hidæ terræ et ibi IIII car. et XII servi et XII villani et X bord. cum V car.

Idem. Exon D. p. 37. Reddidit gildum pro XII hidis has poss. arare IX car. Inde habet Abbas V hidas et IIII car. in dominio et villani VII hidas et V car. et in ista mansione pertinet I virg. terræ quæ die obitus regis Edwardi erat in victu monachorum et hugo filius gripponis injuste sibi accepit et adhuc uxor sua eam vi detinet.

164 *Osmantone*, 78a. Geldb. pro X hidis. Terra est X car. De ea sunt in dominio IIII hidæ et ibi II car. et III servi et XVI villani et VII bord. cum VI car.

165 *Middletone*, 78a. Geldb. pro XXIIII hid. Terra est XVIII car. De ea sunt in dominio X hidæ una virg. minus et ibi II car. et VI servi et XXVII villani et XX bord. cum XIII car.

166 *Liscome*, 78a. Geldb. pro III hidis. Terra est II car. De ea sunt in dominio II hidæ et ibi 1 car. et II servi et III villani et V bord. cum I car.

167 *Pidere*, 82b. Geldb. pro X hidis. Terra est VI car. In dominio sunt III car. et II servi et XII villani et XII bord. cum III car.

Idem. Exon D. p. 46. Gueldabat pro X hid. et potest arari per VI car. et habet VI hid. et I virgam in dominio et habet III car. et villani ejus habent III hid. et III virgas et habent III carr. et sunt in illa terra XII villani et XII bordarii.

168 *Poleham*, 81b. Geldb. pro X hidis. Terra est VIII car. In dominio sunt III car. et VI servi et XIIII vill. et XXV bord. cum VII car.

Idem. Exon D. 42. Reddidit Gildum pro X hidis has poss. arare VIII car. Inde habet W. IIII hidas et I virg. et VI agros et III car. in dominio et villani V hidas et dimidiam et IIII agros et VII car.

HAMPSHIRE.

169 *Riple*, 50b. Geld. pro V hid. Modo pro II hid. Terra est II car. In dominio est una et VIII bord. et IIII serv. cum II car. De isto manerio III hidæ in foresta regis et totum nemus.

170 *Lamere*, 43a. Tunc et modo se defend. pro III hid. Terra est V car. In dominio est una et VI villani et III bord. cum III car.

171 *Hentune*, 51a. Tunc pro una hida modo pro III virg. una est in foresta. Terra est III car. ibi VI vill. habent II car.

172 *Depedene*, 51b. Tunc se defendit pro V hid. modo pro II hid. et non geld. nisi pro una quia III hidæ sunt in foresta. Terra est IIII car. Ibi sunt IIII villani et XV bord. cum V car.

173 *Acangre*, 49b. Se defendit pro una hida et una virg. Terra est IIII car. In dominio sunt II et VIII villani et VI bord. cum III car. et II servi.

Ante No. HAMPSHIRE (*continued*).

174 *Falelei*, 51ª. Walchelinus Episcopus habuit in Falelei unam hidam et III virg. terræ et pro tanto Geldavit Modo pro nichilo. Terra est II car. Modo est in foresta.

175 *Fulsescote*, 48ª. Tunc et modo geld. pro III hid. Terra est IIII car. In dominio sunt II car. et X villani et XIII bord. cum IIII car.

176 *Sirelei*, 46ᵇ. Tunc et modo se defendit pro una hida. Terra est VIII car. Ibi sunt IIII villani et III bord. cum II car.

HEREFORDSHIRE.

177 *Aweneburi*, 183ª. Ibi VI hidæ geld. In dominio sunt III car. et IIII servi. et XXII villani et II presbyteri et I bord. cum XII car.

178 *Burgelle*, 186ª. Ibi VIII hidæ geld. In dominio sunt II car. et XVI villani et XIX bord. et presbyter cum XXIIII car.

179 *Boseberge*, 182ª. Sunt VI hidæ geld. In dominio II car. et XVII villani et XVI bord. et unus burū cum XXII car.

180 *Credelai*, 182ª. Sunt XII hidæ. Una ex his est wasta. Aliæ geld. In dominio sunt III car. et XXIII villani et III bord. et VI buri cum XXVIII car. De hoc Manerio tenet presbyter una virg. et dimid. et prepositus dimid. hid. Et II milites I hid. et una virg. et dimid. et unus radman dimid. hid. Hi habent in dominio V car. et bord. eorum VI car.

181 *More*, 182ᵇ. Ipse Episcopus Walterus habuit I hid. Walescam. T. R. E. Vastata. Ibi sunt II car. in dominio et III villani et VI bord. et II alii. homines cum VI car.

182 *Nerefrum*, 184ª. Ibi IIII hidæ geld. In dominio sunt II car. et VII villani et IIII bordarii et prepositus cum VIII car.

183 *Scepedune*, 183ᵇ. Ibi IIII hidæ geld. In dominio sunt III car. et XX villani et XX bord. et unus Radchen. et unus faber cum IX car.

KENT.

184 *Estwelle*, 13ª. Pro uno Solin se defendit. Tria juga sunt infra divisionem Hugonis et quartum jugum est extra. Terra est III car. inter totum. In dominio sunt II car. et V villani cum V bord. habent I car. et dimid.

185 *Bichlei*, 9ª. Pro dimid. solin se defend. Terra est dimid. car. In dominio est dimid. car. et unus vill. cum dimid. car.

186 *Cheringes*, 3ᵇ. Pro VIII sol. se defendit. Terra est XL car. In dominio est unus solin et ibi IIII car. et dimid. Ibi XXVI villani cum XXVII bord. habent XXVII car.

187 *Haslow*, 7ᵇ. Pro VI solins se defendit. Terra est XII car. In dominio sunt III et XLVII vill. cum XV bord. habent XV car.

188 *Ceteham*, 8ᵇ. Pro VI solins se defendit. Terra est XVI car. In dominio sunt III et XXXIII villani cum III bord. habent X car.

189 *Briestede*, 4ª. Pro uno solin et dimid. se defendit. Terra est X car. In dominio sunt II et XXIIII vill. cum XVI bord. habent XII car.

190 *Cerletone*, 6ᵇ. Pro uno solin se defendit. Terra est V car. In dominio est I car. et XIII villani habent III car.

191 *Alnoitone*, 7ᵇ. Pro III solins se defendit. Terra est VIII car. In dominio sunt II car. et XVIII villani cum VI bord. habent VI car.

192 *Gelingeham*, 3ᵇ. Pro VI solins se defendit. Terra est XV car. In dominio sunt II car. et XLII vill. cum XVI bord. habent XV car.

Ante No. KENT (*continued*).

193 *Wicheham*, 9ª. Pro IIII solins se defendit. Terra est XI car. In dominio sunt II car. et XXXVI villani cum XXXII cot. habent IX car.

194 *Litelchert*, 5ª. Se defendit pro III solins et modo pro II hid. et dim. Terra est. In dominio sunt II et XIX vill. cum V bord. habent VII car.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

195 *Krendesbi*, 235ª. W. tenet dimid. hid. et III bovat. terræ. Terra est VII car. Ibi II homines Willi. cum XIIII vill. et III bord. habent VII car.

196 *Brandinestor*, 237ª. Ibi sunt II partes unius hidæ. Id est XII car. terræ. Ibi fuere VI car. Nunc in dominio II car. et II servi IX sochi et III villani cum VI bord. habent III car.

197 *Setintone*, 230ᵇ. Ibi est una hida I carucata minus. In dominio est I car. et XI sochi et XVII vill. cum V bord. habentes VIII car.

198 *Burbece*, 231ª. Ibi est I hida et quarta pars I hidæ. Ibi sunt XXII car. terræ et dimid. In dominio sunt II car. et XX vill. cum II bord. et II servis habent VIII car.

139 *Dalbi*, 236ª. Hunfridus Camerarius tenet de rege in Dalbi I car. terræ ibi fuere II car. et dimid. In dominio est una et III villani habent dim. car.

200 *Blade*, 237ª. Will. tenet de comite dimid. hid. et una car. terræ et dimid. Ibi fuere IX car. Nunc in dominio I car. cum I servo et XXVIII sochi et IIII villani cum IIII bord. habent VI car.

201 *Fostone*, 235ª. Ibi est dimid. hida. Terra est V car. In dominio sunt II et II servi et I ancilla et XI sochi cum VIII vill. et IIII bord. habent V car.

202 *Westham*, 237ª. Ibi dimid. hid. et I car. terræ. Ibi fuere VI car. Nunc in dominio II car. et II servi et XXIIII sochi et XI vill. cum V bord. habent V car.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

203 *Bortone*, 347ª. IIII car. terræ et VI bov. ad geldum. Terra ad V car. Nunc habet comes Alanus ibi I car. et X sochi habentes III car.

204 *Lecheburne*, 349ª. X car. terræ ad geld. Terra ad XII car. Ibi XXXI sochi et XVIII vill. et $\frac{\text{VIII}}{\text{XI}}$ bord. habentes XVI car.

205 *Tadewelle*, 349ᵇ. V car. terræ ad geld. Terra ad XX car. Duæ carucate in soca. Ibi habet Hugo com. VI car. in dominio et XII villani et III bord. et XXIIII sochi habentes III car.

206 *Stainton*, 354ª. IIII bov. terræ ad geld. Terra XII bov. Ibi Alulfus homo Willi. habet II car. et VI vill. cum I car.

207 *Welletone*, 344ª. Habet Suuen XII car. terræ ad geld. Terra XVI car. Nunc habent ibi VI canonici de lincole V car. in dominio et XLVIII sochi et III bord. habentes XI car.

208 *Gozeberdecherga*, 344ᵇ. I car. terræ et VI bov. ad geld. Terra ad I car. et VI bov. Ibi habet Malgerus I car. et XII vill. et IX bord. cum III car.

209 *Chirchetone*, 338ª. VIII car. terræ ad geld. Terra ad XVI car. Ibi habet rex modo IIII car. in dominio et quater XX villani et XXXVII bord. cum XVIII car.

210 *Torp*, 342ª. Habet Ashel X bov. terræ ad gild. Terra ad II car. Nunc Ilbertus homo Episcopi habet ibi I car. et V villani et III bord. cum I car.

Ante No. LINCOLNSHIRE (*continued.*)

211 *Sotebi*, 342b. Habet Ulnod IIII car. terræ ad geld. Terra ad VI car. Ibi Radulphus homo Episcopi habet XVI soch. et III vill. cum IV car. In dominio nihil.

212 *Scotere*, 345b. Habuerunt Alnod et Aschil VIII car. terræ ad geld. Terra ad XII car. Ibi Turoldus Abbas habet nunc IIII car. et XXXII vill. et XIII bord. cum IIII car. et XV soch. cum III car.

MIDDLESEX.

213 *Stibenhede*, 127a. XXXII hidæ. Terra est XXV car. ad dominium pertinent XIIII hidæ et ibi sunt III car. et villorum XXII car. Ibi XLIIII villani quisque de I virg. et VII villani quisque de dimid. hidæ et IX vill. quisque de dimid. virgæ et XLVI cot. de I hida.

214 *Fuleham*, 127b. Tenet Episcopus Londoniæ XL hidas. Terra est XL car. Ad dominium pertinent XIII hidæ et ibi sunt IIII car. Inter francigenas et vill. XXVI car. et X plus poss. fieri. Ibi V villani quisque I hida et XIII villani quisque de I virg. et XXXIIII villani quisque dim. virg. et XXII cot. de dim. hida et VIII cot. de suis hortis. Inter francigenas et quosdam burg. Lundon. XXIII hid. de terra villanorum. Sub eis manent inter vill. et bord. XXX un.

215 *Stanes*, 128a. Tenet Abbas St Petri pro XIX hid. Terra est ad XXIIII car. Ad dominium pertinent XI hidæ et ibi sunt XIII car. Villani habent II car. Ibi III vill. quisque de dim. hid. et IIII vill. de I hid. et VIII villani quisque de dim. virg. et XXXVI bord. de III hid. et I vill. de I virg. et III bord. de XL ac. et X bord. quisque V ac. et V cot. quisque de IIII ac. et VIII bord. de I virg. et III cot. de IX ac.

216 *St Peter*, 128b. Tenet abbas ejusdem loci XIII hid. et dim. Terra est ad XI car. Ad dominium pertinent IX hidæ et I virg. et ibi sunt IIII car. Villani habent VI car. et I car. plus pot. fieri. Ibi IX villani quisque de I virg. et I villanus de I hida et IX vill. quisque de dim. virg. et I cot. de V ac.

217 *Cheneton*, 129a. Tenet isdem comes pro V hid. se defendit. Terra est V car. In dominio II hid. et dim. virg. et ibi I car. et alia potest fieri. Villani habent III car. Ibi VI villani quisque de I virg. et alii VIII quisque de dim. virg. et III bord. de I virg. et II servi.

218 *Hermodesworde*, 128b. Pro XXX hidis se defendit. Terra est XX car. Ad dominium pertinent VIII hidæ et ibi sunt III car. Inter franc. et vill. sunt X car. et VII adhuc poss. ere. Ibi quidam miles habet II hid. et II villani quisque de I hid. et II vill. de I hid. et XIIII villani quisque de I virg. et VI vill. quisque de dim. virg. et VI bord. quisque de V ac. et VII cot. et VI servi.

219 *Tiburne*, 128b. Pro V hid. se defen. Terra III car. In dominio II hidæ et ibi I car. Villani habent II car. Ibi II villani de dim. hidæ et I vill. de dim. virg. et II bord. de X ac.

220 *Handone*, 128b. Pro XX hid. se defendit. Terra XVI car. Ad dominium pert. X hid. et ibi sunt III car. Villani habent VIII car. et V adhuc poss. fieri. Ibi presbyter habet I virg. et III villani quisque de dim. hid. et VII villani quisque I virg. et XVI villani quisque dim. virg. et XII bord. qui tenent dim. hid. et VI cot. et I serv.

221 *Toteham*, 130b. Pro V hidis se defend. Terra est X car. In dominio sunt II carucatæ terræ preterea has V hid. et ibi sunt II car. Villani habent XII car. Presbyter habet dim. hid. et VI villani de VI virg. et XXIIII villani quisque de dim. virg. et XII bord. quisque de V ac. et XVII cot. Ibi II francig. de I hid. et III virg. et IIII servi.

Ante No. MIDDLESEX (*continued*).

222 *Greneforde*, 128b. Pro XI hid. et dimid. Terra est VII car. Ad dominium pertinent V hid. et I car. ibi est et alia potest fieri. Villani habent V car. Ibi I villanus habet I hid. et I virg. et IIII villani quisque de dimid. hid. et IIII villani de I hid. et VII bord. de I hid. Quidam francigena I hid. et I virg.

223 *Hesa*, 127a. Archiepus Lanfranc tenet pro LVIIII hidis. Terra est XL car. ad dominium pertinent XII hid. et ibi sunt II carucæ. Inter francigenas et vill. sunt XXVI car. et adhuc XII possunt ere. Ibi presbyter habet I hid. et III milites VI hid. et dimid. et II vill. II hid. et XII vill. quisque dim. hid. et XX vill. quisque I virg. terræ et XL vill. quisque dim. virg. et XVI bord. de II hid.

224 *Enefelde*, 129b. Pro XXX hid. se defendit. Terra XXIIII car. In dominio XIIII hid. et ibi sunt IIII car. Villani habent XVI car. Ibi unus villanus de I hida et III vill. quisque de dim. hid. Presbyter I virg. et XVII vill. quisque de I virg. et XXXVI vill. quisque de dim. virg. et XX bord. de I hid. et I virg. et VII cot. de XXIII acris et V cot. de VII acris.

225 *Northala*, 129b. Pro XV hid. se defend. Terra X car. In dominio VIII hid. et ibi sunt II car. Villani habent VI car. et II car. poss. fieri. Ibi presbyter dim. hid. et I vill. I hid. et alii V quisque dim. hid. et alii VIII quisque I virg. et alii VIII quisque dim. virg.

226 *Rislepe*, 129b. Pro XXX hid. se defendit. Terra est XX car. In dominio XI hidæ et ibi sunt III car. Inter francigenas et villanos sunt XII car. et V adhuc poss. fieri. Ibi presbyter dim. hid. et II villani de I hid. et XVII villani quisque I virg. et X villani quisque dim. virg. et VII bordarii quisque IV acris et IIII francigenæ de III hid.

227 *Scepertone*, 128b. Pro VIII hid. Terra est ad VII car. Ad dominium pertinent III hid. et dimid. et ibi est I car. villani habent VI car. Ibi XVII vill. quisque de I virg. Presbyter XV acras et III cotarii de IX acris.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

228 *Aienho*, 227a. Ibi sunt III hidæ et quint. part. I hid. Terra est VIII car. De hac terra I hida et vta pars unius hidæ in dominio et ibi III car. et VIII servi et XXIII vill. et IX bord. cum V. car.

229 *Wermintone*, 221b. Ipsa Ecclesia tenet VII hid. et dimid. in Wermintone. Terra est XVI car. In dominio sunt IIII car. et III servi et XXXII villani cum VIII car.

230 *Undele*, 221a. Ipsa ecclesia tenet VI hid. in Undele. Terra est IX car. In dominio sunt II car. et III servi et XXIII villani et X bord. cum IX car.

231 *Cotingeham*, 221a. Ibi sunt VII hidæ. Terra est XIIII car. In dominio sunt duæ et IIII servi et XXIX vill. et X bord. cum X car.

232 *Glintone*, 221a. Ipsa ecclesia tenet III hid. in Glintone. In hac cum appendiciis T. R. E. fuere XXX car. Terra est XII car. In dominio sunt III car. et II ancillæ et X villani et VI bord. et VIII sochi cum V car.

233 *Wacherlei*, 227a. Eudo fi. Huberti ten. de rege II hid. et dim. in Wacherlei. Terra est VI car. De hac terra in dominio I hida et ibi II car. et IIII servi et XVI vill. cum presbytero et IIII bord. habent IIII car.

234 *Wapeham*, 227a. Ipse Gilo tenet II hid. in Wapeham. De hac terra sunt III virg. in dominio. Terra est V car. In dominio sunt II et IX servi et III ancillæ et XVII vill. et VIII bord. cum presbytero habent III car.

235 *Cerlentone*, 224b. Ibi sunt X hidæ. Terra est XV car. In dominio sunt IIII car. et VI servi et XV villani et XI bord. habent XI car. Hujus terræ sunt IIII hidæ in dominio.

Ante No. NORTHAMPTONSHIRE (*continued*).

236 *Cortenhale*, 225b. Idem W. tenet III hid. et dim. in Cortenhale. de hac terra sunt duæ hidæ in dominio una virg. minus. Terra est IX car. In dominio sunt II car. cum I servo et XII vill. cum I bord. et presbytero habent VII car.

237 *Pascelle*, 226b. Walterius tenet de rege VIII hid. De his habet in dominio II hid. Terra est XX car. In dominio sunt duæ et II servi et ancilla. et XXII vill. et VI bord. habent XII car.

238 *Nortone*, 219b. Ibi sunt VII hidæ et una virg. terræ. In dominio sunt III car. et III servi et II ancillæ et XIX villani et XV sochi et V bord. habent XXI car.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

239 *Marneham*, 225b. In alia Marneham habet Ulf II car. terræ ad geldum. Terra IIII car. Ibi habet Roger in dominio IIII car. et II sochi de 40 acris terræ et XX villani habentes VII car.

240 *Lentune*, 227b. IIII bovatæ terræ ad geldum. Terra dimid. car. Ibi isdem Ulnod habet I car. et I vill. et I bord. habentes I car.

241 *Grisleia*, 227b. IIII bovatæ terræ ad geldum. Terra I car. Ibi Will. habet I car. et V villani et II bord. habentes III car.

242 *Laxintune*, 289a. III car. terræ ad geldum. Terra VI car. Ibi Walterus habet I car. et XXII villani et VII bord. habentes V car.

243 *Bartone*, 289b. XIII bovat. terræ ad geldum. Terra III car. Ibi Radulfus habet II car. et XVIII vill. et V bord. habentes V car. et dim.

244 *Werchesope*, 285a. Habet Elfi III car. terræ ad geld. Terra VIII car. Ibi habet Roger. I car. in dominio et XXII sochi de XII bov. hujus terræ et XXIIII vill. et VIII bord. habentes XXII car.

245 *Hochretone*, 285b. I car. terræ ad geld. Terra II car. et dim. Ibi Roger habet in dominio II car. et XI vill. et IIII bord. habentes IIII car.

246 *Radeclive*, 288a. I car. terræ et dim. ad geld. Terra III car. Modo Fredgis et Uluiet sub Willo. habent ibi II car. et XV vill. et VI bord. habentes IIII car.

OXFORDSHIRE.

247 *Dadintone*, 155b. Ibi sunt XXXVI hidæ. Terra est XXX car. In dominio XI hidæ et dim. preter. Inland. Modo sunt in dominio XVIII hidæ et dimid. et ibi sunt X car. et XXV servi et LXIIII vill. cum X bord. habent XX car.

248 *Berncestre*, 158a. Ibi sunt XV hidæ et dim. Terra XXII car. De hac terra III hidæ sunt in dominio et ibi VI car. et V servi et XXVIII vill. cum XIII bord. habent XVI car.

249 *Cibbaherste*, 157a. III hid. Terra III car. De hac terra sunt in dominio II hidæ et ibi II car. cum I servo et IIII vill. habent II car.

250 *Mongewell*, 161a. Ibi sunt X hidæ. Terra X car. De hac terra sunt in dominio VII hidæ et ibi III car. et V servi et VI villani et unus miles cum XI bord. habent VI car.

251 *Burtone*, 161a. III hidæ. Terra VIII car. Nunc in dominio II car. cum I servo et X villani cum VI bord. habent X car.

252 *Covelie*, 160b. Ibi sunt IIII hidæ et dim. Terra X car. Ibi I hida de Warland in dominio et I car. et II servi et XX vill. cum V bord. habent VIII car.

253 *Bradewelle*, 130a. Ibi sunt XXIIII hidæ et una virg. terræ. Terra XXX car. Nunc in dominio VI car. et XIIII servi et LII vill. cum VIII bord. habent XXIIII car.

Ante No. OXFORDSHIRE (*continued*).

254 *Redrefeld*, 159a. Idem tenet v hid. Terra est VII car. De hac terra sunt in dominio II hidæ et ibi II car. et II servi et X vill. cum V bord. habent III car.

BUTLAND.

255 *Gretham*, 293b. Habet Goda III car. terræ ad geld. Ibi habet Rex II car. in dominio et XXXIII vill. et IIII bord. habentes VIII car.

256 *Overtune*, 293b. III car. terræ et dim. ad geldum. Terra XII car. Ibi habet Judita comitessa III car. et XXXV vill. et VIII bord. habentes IX car.

257 *Cotesmore*, 293b. Ibi habet Goda III car. terræ ad geld. Terra XII car. Ibi habet Rex III car. in dominio et III sochi de dimid. car. hujus terr. et XL vill. et VI bord. habentes XX car.

258 *Hameldune*, 293b. Habet Eddiva IIII car. terræ ad geld. Terra XVI car. Ibi habet Rex V car. in dominio et CXL villanos et XIII bord. habentes XL car.

259 *Okeham*, 293b. Habet Eddiba Regina IIII car. terræ ad geld. Terra XVI car. Ibi habet Rex II car. ad aulam et tamen aliæ IIII car. possunt ere. Ibi sunt CXXXVIII vill. et XIX bord. habentes XXXVII car. Ibi presbyter et ecclesia ad quam pertinent IIII bovatæ hujus terræ.

260 *Redlintune*, 293b. IIII car. terræ ad geld. Terra XVI car. Ibi habet rex III car. in dominio et CLXX villanos et XXVI bord. habentes XXX car. et II sochi cum II car.

SHROPSHIRE.

261 *Conendovre*, 233a. Ibi XIII hidæ geldantes. In dominio VII hidæ et ibi IIII car. et XII villi. et presbyter cum VII car. adhuc III car. possunt ibi ere.

262 *Stodestone*, 254a. Ibi IX hidæ. In dominio sunt IIII car. et VIII servi et III ancillæ et XVIII vill. et V bord. et VI coliberti cum XI car.

263 *Wistanestune*, 258a. Ibi II hidæ geld. Terra est VIII car. Ibi sunt VI vill. et presbyter et III bord. et unus radman. cum IIII car.

264 *Stoches*, 260b. Ibi VII hidæ geld. Terra est XIIII car. In dominio erant V car. et XVI inter servos et ancillas et XX vill. cum VIII car. et IX feminæ cotar.

265 *Feltone*, 258b. Ibi III virg. geld. Terra est V car. In dominio est una car. et III servi et III villani cum I car.

266 *Pantesberie*, 255b. Ibi IIII hidæ et dimid. geld. et una hida et dim. non geld. In dominio sunt IIII car. et VII servi et X villani et V bord. et unus radman. cum V car. et III car. plus possunt ibi ere.

267 *Hesleie*, 252b. Ibi III hidæ geld. Ibi presbyter cum IX vill. et II bord. habent III car. et adhuc II car. possunt ere.

268 *Archelow*, 253b. Ibi VII hidæ. In dominio sunt VI car. et XII bovarii. Ibi XXIX villani et XII bord. habent XV car.

269 *Dodintone*, 253b. Ibi XII hidæ geld. In dominio sunt V car. et X servi et XX villani et VIII bordarii cum VI car. et aliæ XIII car. ibi poss. ere.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

270 *Broford*, 93b. Almar tenuit et geldb. pro uno ferling. Terra est dimid car. Ibi sunt II bord.

Idem. Exon D. 401. Reddidit gildum pro I fertino hunc pot. dim. car. arare.

Ante No. SOMERSETSHIRE (*continued*).

271 *Hateware*, 83ª. Geldb. pro I hida. Terra est I car. et dim. Ibi sunt II servi et I vill. et IX bord. De hac hida habet W. de douai unam virg. terræ.

Idem. Exon D. 393. Reddid. gild. pro I hida. hanc potest arare caruca et dim. Inde habet Robertus II virgas in dominio et I car. et villani aliam terram et dim. car.

272 *Geveltone*, 96ᵇ. Geldb. pro VIII hid. Terra est VIII car. In dominio sunt III car. et IIII servi et VI vill. et IIII bord. cum V car.

Exon D. 409. Redd. Gild. pro VIII hides has poss. arare VIII car. De his habet Radulfus IIII hid. in dominio et III car. et villani habent IIII hid. et V car.

273 *Maneheve*, 95ᵇ. Geldb. pro V hid. Terra est XII car. In dominio sunt III car. et XII servi et XXVII villani et XXII bord. cum X car.

Idem. Exon D. 336. Redd. gildum pro V hid. has poss. arare XII car. Inde habet W. II hid. et dimidiam et III car. in dominio et villani II hidas et dimidiam et X car.

274 *Locumbe*, 98ª. Geldb. pro I hida. Terra est VI car. In dominio est I car. et II servi et VIII vill. et I bord. cum II car. et dim.

Idem. Exon D. 13. 357. Redd. gildum pro I hida hanc poss. arare VI car. Inde habet dimidia hidem et I car. in dominio et vill. dimid. hid. et II car. et dim.

275 *Udecombe*, 95ᵇ. Geldb. pro III hid. Terra est XV car. In dominio sunt IIII car. et VI servi et XVIII vill. et V bord. cum V car. De hac terra hujus manerii tenet III milites de W. unam hid. et dimid. virg. terræ et ibi habent II car. et IIII villani et VI bord. cum I car.

Idem. Exon D. 336. Reddit. gild. pro III hidis has possunt arare XV car. Inde habet Will. III virgas et IIII car. in dominio et villani I hid. et dim. virg. et V car. Ibi habet W. XVIII vill. et V bord. Inde habent milites III virgas et II car. in dominio et villani I virg. et dim. et I car.

276 *Strengestone*, 97ª. Geldb. pro I hida. Terra est III car. In dominio sunt II car. et IIII servi et III vill. cum I car.

Idem. Exon D. 349. Reddit. gildum pro I hida hanc poss. arare III car. hanc tenet Ranulfus de Alruredo et habet inde III virgas et II car. in dominio et villani I virg. et I car.

277 *Ila*, 97ª. Geldb. pro II hid. Terra est II car. In dominio est I car. cum I servo et VIII vill. et II bord. cum I car.

Idem. Exon D. 351. Reddit. gild. pro II hid. has poss. arare II car. Modo tenet Ricardus et habet ibi I hid. et I car. in dominio et vill. habent I hid. et I car.

278 *Worspring*, 96ᵇ. Geldb. pro VI hid. et una virg. terræ. Terra est XII car. in dominio. Ibi XIII villani et VI bord. habent VI car.

Idem. Exon D. 347. Reddidit gildum pro VI hid. et I virg. Has poss. arare XII car. W. rex habet inde IIII hidas et III virg. in dominio et vill. I hida et dim. et VI car.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

279 *Lecefelle*, 247ª. Ibi XXV hidæ et dimid. et una virg. terræ. Terra est LXIII car. In dominio sunt X car. et X servi et XLII vill. et XII bord. habentes XXI car. et ibi V canon. habent III car.

280 *Bertone*, 246ᵇ. Ibi sunt III hidæ cum append. Terra est XVIII car. In dominio sunt II car. et II servi et XVII vill. et VIII bord. cum IX car.

281 *Lec*, 246ᵇ. Ibi I hida cum append. Terra est XII car. Ibi sunt XV vill. et XIII bord. cum VI car.

Ante No. STAFFORDSHIRE (*continued*).

282 *Haltone*, 247b. Ipse tenet II hid. in Haltone. Terra est II car. In dominio est una cum I servo et unus lib. homo cum II bord. habent car. et dimid. et III villani habent ibi I car.

283 *Branselle*, 249a. Ipse R. tenet in Branselle una virg. terræ. Cujus virg. medietas est regis sic via eam dividit. Terra est III car. In dominio est una et II servi. Ibi sunt IIII vill. et I bord. cum I car.

284 *Stagrigesholle*, 205b. Ibi II car. et una virg. terræ. Ibi sunt II vill. et V bord. cum I car.

285 *Torp*, 205b. Ibi sunt III hidæ. Terra est VI car. In dominio est una et VII vill. et VI bord. habent IIII car.

286 *Ridware*, 248a. Ibi I virg. terræ. Terra est I car. et dimid. Ibi sunt II servi et IIII vill.

287 *Hornluestone*, 246b. Ibi sunt IIII hidæ. Terræ est VIII car. In dominio sunt II et XVI vill. et V bord. habent IIII car.

SURREY.

288 *Estreham*, 34b. Tunc se defendit pro V hid. et modo $\frac{\text{pro I hid. et I v. t.}}{\text{similiter}}$ Terra est III car. In dominio est una car. et IIII villani et V bord. cum II car.

289 *Witlei*, 36a. Tunc se defendit pro XX hid. Modo pro XII hid. Terra est XVI car. In dominio sunt II car. et XXXVII vill. et III cot. cum XIII car.

290 *Boreham*, 34b. Tunc se defen. pro IIII hid. modo pro III hid. Terra est V car. In dominio est una car. et VII vill. et II bord. cum III car.

291 *Tenrige*, 34b. Tunc se defendit pro X hid. modo pro II hid. Terra est X car. In dominio sunt III car. et XX vill. et X bord. cum XI car.

292 *Chelesham*, 34b. Tunc se defendit pro X hid. modo pro II hid. Terra est IIII car. In dominio sunt II et XI villani et VII bord. cum IIII car.

293 *Sandestede*, 32a. T. R. E. se defendit pro XVIII hid. modo pro V hid. Terra est X car. In dominio est una et XXI vill. et un cot. cum VIII car.

294 *Pechingeorde*, 36b. Tunc et modo se defendit pro I hida. Terra est III car. In dominio una car. et III vill. et II bord. cum II car.

295 *Limeurde*, 35a. Tunc se defendit pro dim. hid. modo pro nihil. Ibi sunt VI boves arantes cum II bord.

296 *Ticesei*, 36b. Tunc se defendit pro XX hid. modo pro II hid. Terra est VIII car. In dominio sunt IIII car. et XIIII vill. et XXXI bord. cum V car.

SUSSEX.

297 *Medehei*, 16a. Tunc et modo se defend. pro III virg. Terra est IIII car. In dominio est una car. et IIII vill. cum IIII car.

298 *Werlinges*, 18a. Tunc et modo se defendit pro V hid. Terra est XVI car. In dominio sunt II car. et XXX vill. cum X cot. habent XVIII car.

299 *Chingestune*, 28b. Tunc se defend. pro XXI hid. Ex his sunt VI hidæ in rapo Will. de Warrenne Quod Radulphus tenet. Geldavere pro VI hid. Terra est VIII car. In dominio sunt II et XII vill. et XX bord. cum X car.

300 *Lodinton*, 22a. IIII hid. et dim. et pro tanto se defend. Terra est V car. In dominio sunt II et V villani cum V car.

301 *Horstede*, 22a. V hid. et III virg. et pro tanto se defendit. Terra est VII car. et dim. In dominio sunt II et IX vill. et VI bord. cum IIII car. et dimid.

Ante No. SUSSEX (*continued*).

302 *Dodimere*, 19b. Tunc et modo pro VI hid. se defend. Terra est X car. in dominio est una. Et XXII vill. habent XV car.

303 *Tolintone*, 23b. Tunc et modo pro se defendit pro V hid. Terra est VII car. In dominio sunt II et XXI vill. et XI bord. cum V car.

304 *Peteorde*, 23b. Tunc et modo se defend. pro IX hidæ. Terra est XII car. In dominio sunt II et XXII vill. et X bord. cum VIII car. De hac terra tenent II francigenæ II hid. et ibi III car. et dim. habent.

305 *Estone*, 24a. Ibi sunt XXXVI hidæ sed tunc et modo pro XV hid. Terra est XXVI car. In dominio sunt III car. et LIIII vill. et XXXV bord. cum XXIII car.

306 *Borne*, 23b. Ibi XXXVI hidæ sed pro XII hidæ se defendit tunc et modo. Terra est XXX car. In dominio sunt II car. et XXVII villani et XXXI bord. cum XV car.

WARWICKSHIRE.

307 *Newebold*, 243b. Ibi sunt VIII hidæ. Terra XVI car. In dominio sunt III et II servi et XXV vill. et VIII bord. cum XI car.

308 *Ulverlei*, 244a. VIII hid. Terra est XX car. In dominio est una et III servi et XXII vill. cum presb. et III bord. habent VII car.

309 *Holehale*, 242b. I hida. Terra est XV car. Ibi sunt XVII vill. et XI bord. cum VI car.

310 *Servelei*, 242a. III hid. Terra est XII car. In dominio est una et III servi et VIII vill. et VI bord. cum II car. et dimid.

311 *Etone*, 241b. III hidæ. Terra est V car. In dominio sunt III car. et V servi et IX vill. et VIII bord. cum VIII car.

352 *Contone*, 341b. III hid. Terra est VI car. In dominio sunt II et III servi et IX vill. et X bord. cum V car.

313 *Rocheberei*, 241a. II hid. et dimid. Terra est VI car. In dominio est I car. et II servi et XI vill. et V bord. cum V car.

WILTSHIRE.

314 *Sutone*, 72a. Geldb. pro V hid. Terra est III car. De ea sunt in dominio III hidæ et una virg. terræ et ibi II car. et III servi et III vill. et VI bord. cum II car.

Idem. Exon D. 41. Hec reddidit geldum tempore regis Edw. pro V hid. has poss. arare IIII car. de his habet W. III hid. et I virg. et II car. in dominio et villani II hidas I virg. minus et II car.

315 *Stortone*, 72a. Geldb. pro VIII hid. Terra est VI car. De ea sunt in dominio V hidæ et ibi II car. cum I servo et VI vill. et XIII coscez et VIII cotar. cum IIII car.

316 *Opetone*, 70b. Geldb. pro IX hidis. Terra est VI car. De ea sunt in dominio V hidæ et ibi II car. et V servi et IX vill. et XXII bord. cum IIII car.

317 *Sumreford*, 70b. Geldb. pro III hid. et XXIIII acris. Terra est III car. De ea sunt in dominio II hidæ et XVI coscez habent II car.

318 *Ochreburn*, 71a. Geld. pro X hid. Terra est VIII car. De ea sunt in dominio VI hid. et ibi III car. et IIII servi et XI vill. et IIII bord. cum III car.

319 *Rode*, 70a. Geldb. pro XX hid. Terra est VIII car. In dominio sunt III car. et IV servi et IIII vill. et VIII bord. et XI coscez et presb. cum III car.

Ante No. WILTSHIRE (*continued*).

320 *Credvelle*, 67ᵃ. Geldb. pro XL hid. Terra est XXV car. De hac terra sunt in dominio XVIII hidæ et ibi IIII car. et V servi et XLVIII vill. et XXIIII bord. et X cotar. et VII coliberti cum XVIII car. De eadem terra ten. Ebrardus III hid. et ibi habet III car.

321 *Newentone*, 70ᵃ. Geldb. pro XI hid. Terra est VII car. De ea sunt in dominio VI hidæ et ibi II car. et VI servi et VI villani et IIII bord. cum III car. De eadem terra habet Girardus III hidæ et ibi IIII vill. et V bord. cum II car. Valuit X lib. modo XVIII lib. ab anglis appreciatur XII lib.

322 *Cristemeleforde*, 66ᵇ. Geldb. pro XX hid. Terra est X car. De hac terra XIIII hidæ sunt in dominio et ibi III car. et II servi. Ibi XI villani et XII bord. et XII coscez cum VI car.

323 *Chedelwick*, 66ᵃ. Geldb. pro V hid. Terra est III car. De hac terra IIII hidæ sunt in dominio et ibi II car. et III vill. et VI bord. et II coscez cum I car.

324 *Uptone*, 68ᵇ. Geldb. pro X hid. Terra est VI car. De hac terra sunt in dominio VI hid. et una virg. et dim. et ibi III car. et IIII servi. Ibi IX villani et VI bord. et IIII coscez cum III car.

WORCESTERSHIRE.

325 *Rippel*, 173ᵃ. Ibi XXV hidæ geld. De his sunt XIII in dominio et ibi IIII car. et II presbyteri habentes I hid. et dimid. cum II car. et XL vill. et XVI bord. cum XXXVI car.

326 *Halhegan*, 173ᵇ. Ibi VII hidæ geld. In dominio non est nisi I hida et ibi II car et X villani et XVI bord. cum X car. De hac terra tenent II Radmanni II hid. et ibi habent II car.

327 *Hanlege*, 177ᵃ. Ibi III hidæ geld. In dominio sunt II car et X bord. et unus faber et unus francigena cum III car. et adhuc V car. plus possunt ere.

328 *Dudelei*, 177ᵃ. Ibi I hida. In dominio est I car. et III vill. et X bord. et unus faber cum X car.

329 *Herfertun*, 173ᵇ. Ibi III hidæ geld. In dominio sunt II car. et XII vill. et III bord. cum VI car.

330 *Ardolvestone*, 174ᵃ. Duo manerii sunt de XV hid. In dominio sunt VIII car. et presbyter et XV villani et X bord. cum XV car. et adhuc III car. poss. fieri. Ibi XVII servi.

331 *Overberie*, 173ᵇ. Ibi VI hid. geld. In dominio sunt III car. et XV vill. et VII bord. cum XI car. Ibi presbyter habens dimidiam hidam et I car.

332 *Stotune*, 176ᵇ. Ibi III hidæ geld. In dominio I car. et III vill. et VI bord. cum III car. et II adhuc possunt ere plus.

YORKSHIRE.

333 *Estorp*, 307ᵇ. Ad hoc Manerium pertinet soca hæc. In Doncastre II car. In Wormesford I car. In Ballebi II car. et Geureshale II car. Scitelesuuorde IIII car. Oustrefeld II car. Alcheslei II car. Simul. XV carnc. ad geld. ubi possunt ere XVIII carucæ. Modo in dominio I car et XXIIII vill. et XXVII bord. et XL sochi. Hi habent XXVII car.

334 *Rodreham*, 307ᵇ. Habet Acun I maner. de V carucat ad geldum ubi poss. ere III car. Nigel habet in dominio I car. et VIII vill. et III bord. habentes II car. et dimid.

335 *Chercam*, 307ᵃ. VIII carucat. ad geld. et IIII car. possunt ere. In dominio II car. et XII vill. cum IIII car.

Ante No. YORKSHIRE (*continued*).

336 *Delton*, 304ª. Ad geld. XII carucate et VI car. poss. ere. Nunc habet in dom. 1 car. et XII vill. cum VII car.

337 *Catrice*, 310ᵇ. Ad geld. X carucate et X car. poss. ere. In dominio VI carucas et XIIII vill. et VI bord. cum IV car.

338 *Finegala*, 312ª. Ad geld. VI caruc. et IV car. poss. ere. Ibi XIII villani habentes VII car.

339 *Chipesch*, 315ª. XVIII carucatas ad geldum et X carucæ possunt ibi ere.

340 *Ettone*, 304ª. Ad geldum VIII carucatæ et IIII car. poss. ere. Ibi VIII villani habent V car.

341 *Scanhalla*, 315ᵇ. IIII car. terræ ad geld. Terra III car. In dominio I car. et X vill. et V bord. habentes III car.

342 *Fareburne*, 315ᵇ. II car. terr. et dimid. ad geld. et II car. poss. ibi ere. In dominio I car. et IIII vill. et III bord. cum I car.

343 *Nortone*, 315ᵇ. V car. terræ ad geld. ubi poss. ere III car. In dominio II car. et X vill. et XV bord. cum VI car.

344 *Cliftun*, 318ª. In Cliftun adjacet soca hæc. Fulefordo I car. et III bov. Aseri IIII car. Chetelsthorp IIII car. Languelt I car. et dim. Chelchefeld II car. et II bov. Morebi I car. Distone IIII car. Hæ III fuere maneria tamen sunt in soca de Cliftun. Simul ad geld. XV carucatæ I bov. minus et VIII car. possunt ere.

APPENDIX A.

I add as an Appendix first all the information I can find of facts happening before D.Bk. as to the 5 hides at Wilburton, (No. 43 in the Tables and ante p. 91) and secondly, a translation of the MS. LE., of the year 1277, being an Inquisition of the same five hides.

I.

Pre-D.Bk. Information.

The second book of the Historia Eliensis, written between the years 1105 and 1131, contains in the Paragraph "8. Quomodo B. Ædelwoldus emit Lindune et Hylle et Wiceham et Wilbertune" (page 116 of Stewart's edition) the following entry, "Mercatus est siquidem a Levrico de Brandune filio Æthelferthi XII. hŷdas, scilicet manerium, quod Lindune dicitur, cum appendiciis, videlicet, Hŷlle et Wiceham et *Wilbertun*." &c.

(Note! these *twelve* hides are in the following page 117 described in the "privilegium Ædgari Regis de eodem" as "quandam ruris particulam X. videlicet cassatos" and note 10 Ang. num. = 12.)

This purchase took place somewhere about the year 975 and very shortly afterwards Brithnoth the first Abbot purchased or reunited by way of purchase the contents of the said appendicium of Wilberton as appears at page 132 of the same Book thus,

"17. De Wilbertune."

"In Wilbertune emit Abbas ab Alfwino et uxore sua Sifled[1], duas hŷdas duodecies XX. acrarum arabilium," (i.e. 2 × 240) "præter prata, pro LXXXX. aureis, et insuper V. prædia ædificata, et hoc aurum totum persolutum erat ei apud monasterium de Ely, coram Oswi fratre Ulf et coram Wine, et altero Wine, et coram omnibus melioribus et senioribus de Ely."

"Episcopus Æthelwoldus emit ibi ab Oppele LXX. acras."

"Abbas mutavit ibi cum Alfrico de Suthtune LXXX. acras, dans ei terram de Wiceham. Emerunt quoque fratres ibi ab Æddingo LXX. acras: et ab aliis quorum nomina scripto non commendantur, quam plurimas acras ibi emerunt; *ita quod* V. *integræ hŷdæ ibi habentur, et totum hundredum unius cujusque emptionis fuit in testimonium.*"

[1] This Sifled was probably the daughter of Siverthus of Dunham who gave to his daughter two hides in Wilbertune; see Stewart's Historia Eliensis, p. 125.

These figures (if Anglico Numero) would give a very near approximation to the acreage stated in the survey of 1277 post and ante p. 91, viz. 864 acres.

2 hides of wara Ang. num.	$= 576 = 2 \times 288$
seventy acres	$= 84$
eighty acres	$= 96$
seventy acres	$= 84$
quam plurimæ acræ (1 Virgate?)	24
Total	864

An acre of wara is one acre sown + one acre fallow = 2 acres. See my first paper, p. 32, and ante p. 69. An acre of wara *Anglico numero* is $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre + $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre, and two hides of 240 each Ang. Numero would be 288 + 288 = 576; such were the XII carucatæ ad geldum and XXIIII carucæ in Alfnodeston Wapentake in Rutland, D.Bk fol. 293, and ante Table II. note to Dorset. At page 147 of Stewart's Historia Eliensis there is mention made of three hides of 240 acres each at Horningsee, and at page 149 of one hide of 240 acres at Sneillewelle; all these hides were therefore hides of wara.

II.

A TRANSLATION FROM MS. LE. A.D. 1277.

Wilburtune.

An Inquisition made by Adam of the Lane, Jurdan his son, Thomas of Tynedshall, Robert the Newman, Richard of the Lane, Alexander the Newman, Sampson the son of Jurdan, Warrin the son of Ralph Roger of the Hill, Osbert Ade, William Cudgell and William at the townshead.

This Manor is in the County of Cambridge and in the Hundred of Wichford.

"Advocatio Ecclesiæ, et donatio" belong to the Bishop of Ely, and it is in his own Bishopric, and within the Isle.

The demesne of the Manor is thus distinguished, viz.

In the Field called	*Est field*	*Four score and sixteen acres.*
„ „ „	*South field*	*Sixty and twelve acres.*
„ „ „	*North field with the appurts.*	*One hundred and eight acres.*

Total of all the profitable (lucrabilis) land,

Two Hundred and sixty and sixteen acres by the lesser hundred, and by the pole (pertica) of sixteen feet and a half, which they can bring into profit (lucrare) with two ploughs, viz. each plough of two horses (stotti), and six oxen, with the customary services of the Town (cum consuet. villæ).

Of meadow that may be mowed, viz.

In *Brok. Springwell, Littlemead,* and *Redgras,*
Thirty and one acres with other small (minutis) parcels.
Also at *Le Hee, seven acres* and *three rodes.*
Total of all the Meadow that may be mowed, Thirty and eight acres and *three roods.*

Besides, opposite (exoposito) the Gate lie three acres of pasture land, which used to be arable land (terra lucrabilis).

Also there may be there of stock (stauri), ten cows, and one bull in common (lib.), sixteen pigs, and one common boar. Two hundred sheep (bidentes) by the greater hundred.

Of the Marsh.

There is there a certain Fen (mariscus), which is called *South Fen,* and it begins at *Edyne loade,* and so it goes (durat) by the bank as far as *Werte loade,* in length, and it extends from the bank, in breadth, as far as the dry land (sicca terra); there they ought to common, together with the people of Stretham, (una cum villat. de Stratham), and of Theford (Thetford), in mowing, cutting and feeding, but not in digging (turves): Excepting the meadow of Eleford, and of the headlands of the aforesaid "villata", which abut upon the said Fen. Also, in the same Fen of Southfen, from the Werteload, by the bank, as far as horse dolle, they ought to mow, cut, dig, fish and feed, where the said villatæ of Stretham, and Theford, ought with them to common in cutting, mowing, feeding and not in digging nor in fishing.

Preserving (*salvis*) the demesne meadows of the Lord Bishop, and others of Wilburton within the said Fen, and the headlands of the whole villata of Wilburton likewise, which abut upon the same fen.

Also in the same Fen at horse dolle, by the bank as far as *Alderhe loade,* they ought to common together, with the *sokna of Lyndon,* in mowing, cutting, feeding, and not in digging. Excepting the demesne meadows of the Parson of Haddenham, and others of Lyndon, and of Alderhe, within the same fen, and their headlands namely, those which abut upon the same Fen.

And it is to be known, that as soon as the aforesaid meadows, and headlands have been mown, and the hay there carried away, then they ought also there to common in feeding only.

Also there is a certain Fen, under *Wichford,* which is called *Gruntifen,* where they ought to common, with the Villatæ adjoining the said Fen, as well in mowing, digging, feeding as in cutting, and fishing.

DE HUNDREDARIIS ET LIBERE TENENTIBUS.

Philip of the Isle holds *sixteen acres de* WARA, and owes suit at the *Court at Ely*, and at the *Court of Wilburton*, and in *each hundred*, for the *whole year*.

And he gives sixthpani;

And of Wardpani;

And he shall plough with his plough, for *two days in winter*, and he shall have for each day one penny.

And he shall plough in Lent two days, and he shall have each day one penny; but if he shall plough only for one day in winter, or in Lent, then he shall have no silver.

And he shall find (*inveniet*) all his tenants at the great set day (magna precaria), in the Autumn, with food from the Bishop (ad cibum Episcopi).

And he shall give for his daughter "g"; (quære gersuma).

Roger son of Roger holds *twelve acres of Wara;*

And he owes suit at the Courts of *Ely*, and *Wilburton*, and at *each hundred* for the *whole year;*

And he gives of sixtepani one penny, at the Feast of St Michael, and at the Annunciacion,

And of Wardepani one penny, at the Feast of St Andrew, and at the Nativity of St John;

And he shall plow for two days in winter, and he shall have two pennies;

And for two days in Lent, and he shall have two pennies, but if he shall only plough in Lent for one day, then he shall have no silver—and likewise in winter;

And he shall find, ad magna precaria of autumn, *one man*, and *all his tenants*, "ad cibum domini"; and he himself shall be, on that day, keeper of the reapers (custos messorum), with the others;

And he shall give "leyrwite" for his daughter;

And gersuma, when he wishes to marry her, namely thirty two pence;

And tallage with the others;

And of a heriot, his *better beast*, or *thirty two pence*, if he has no beast;

☞ *His sheep shall not lie* in the Lord's fold;

Allex, son of Pagany de Ely, holds *six acres of Wara*, by the *same* suits, and *customs;*

Robert Withi holds *six acres of Wara*, by the *same* suits, and *customs;*

Roberte de Sprouton holds *twelve acres of Wara*, by the *same* suits, and *customs;*

William de Chamberleing, and *Robert of the Chapel*, hold *twelve acres*, by the *same* suits, and *customs*.

Also the said William holds *Penny croft*, and gives two pennies, yearly and equally;

Robert, the son of Lettice, holds *two acres and a half of wara*, by the same suits, and customs;

Matill, the widow of William Ruffus, holds *two acres and a half of wara*, by the same suits, and customs;

Nigell de Chewella holds *twelve acres of wara*, by the same suits, and customs.

DE OPERARIIS ET PLENIS TERRIS.

Sampson, son of the son of Jurdan, holds *twelve acres of wara, which make one full land;*

And he gives of Wyte pani, by the year, *twelve pence;*

And of segsilver, at two terms *sixpence*, viz. at the Feast of St Michael, and at Hokeday;

And of Wardpani, at two terms, *one penny*, viz. at the Feast of St Andrew, and at the Feast of St John the Baptist;

And he gives two hens at Christmas;

And ten eggs at Easter;

And he owes in each week, from the Feast of St Michael to Hokeday, three works "opar." (quære operaciones or opera);

And he shall plow, in every second week, for a whole day for two works;

Besides he shall plow, in winter, for two days and he shall have two pence;

And also, in Lent, for two days, and he shall have two pence;

Besides he shall plow, for two days, of *Nederthe one acre*, and he shall go for seed to the Lord's granary, and he shall sow, and harrow it, without food or allowance of a work (sine cibo et oper.);

And it is to be known, that he shall be quit of his works in ploughing, for fifteen days at Xmas, but nevertheless he shall perform his other works.

Also he owes in each week, from Hokeday to the beginning of August, *three works;*

And he shall plow of Somererthe, one day after Hokeday, and he shall be quit of one work;

Besides he shall harrow, as often as need be, for one whole day, for one work;

And he shall mow for one whole day, and shall scatter for one work until the meadow shall be cut, and at this he, and the whole villata, shall have one mutton, or twelve pence, and one cheese, or twopence. And he shall have, on the day that he mows, as much grass as he can lift with his scythe, that is in the evening, and if, in lifting the grass, he shall break the haft of his scythe, then he shall have no grass.

Also he owes, in each week, from the beginning of August to the Feast of St Michael, *five works*, unless the celebration of feast shall hinder;

And if need be he shall perform carrying (*averagium*) die Sabbati, et die Dominica, in each week for the same time, without food, or allowance of a work;

And he shall reap half an acre of each kind of corn, and shall bind, and shock for one work;

Besides he shall find, at the *Magna precaria*, four reapers, and he shall have bread, and meat, and beer;

And, at the second precaria, he shall find two men reapers, and he shall have bread, and herring, and water;

And, at the third precaria, two men in likeway, with the like food;

Also he shall reap, of *Pound ripp*, half an acre;

And, of Lovebene, half an acre, without food, or allowance of a work;

And he shall bind and shock it;

Besides, he shall carry the Lord's corn (bladum) in Autumn, or his hay, for one whole day, as often as need be, with his cart, horse, and man, for two works;

And if he yokes (jungat) with his partner (participe) then he shall be only quit of one work, and his partner of one other work;

And it is to be known, that he shall thresh *twenty-four sheaves* of corn, or rye, or thirty sheaves of barley, or oats, without allowance of a work, and it is called St Etheldreda's Farm;

And he shall winnow six quarters of barley, or "dragium" in the Lord's Grange;

And he shall make malt there, and take it where the Lord wishes, without food, or allowance of a work;

Also he shall carry in Autumn one cart load of corn (bladi), which is called lawefother, without food, or allowance of a work;

Also he shall cut a hundred bundles of thatch (tegminis) in the fen, once in the year, and shall carry it to the Lord's court for one work;

And afterwards, as need be, he shall *mow forty bundles of thatch*, and collect, and carry it to the Court for one work;

Besides he shall carry the Lord's dung for four days at Christmas, and for four days in Autumn, that is to say on each day, from morning till evening, for one work;

And it is to be known, that he ought to *thresh twenty four sheaves* of Hibernag, or thirty sheaves of barley, or oats, or beans, or peas, for one work;

And he ought to ditch one perch of a *new* ditch, in breadth five feet, and in depth five feet, for one work;

And to scour (curare) *two perches* of an old ditch;

Also he, and his partners, ought to *carry*, yearly, *two boat loads* of corn (bladi) as far as Lynn, without food, or allowance of a work, unless

they shall make delay for more than one day; and if they shall make delay for two days, or for three days, or more, beyond the first day, then every one of them will be quit for every other day of one work;

And he shall do carrying (*Averagium*, secundum turnum vicinorum) by land, and by water, short, and long; Short to Cambridge, Willingham, Ditton, Ely, Somersham, Downham, Littleport, and such like, without food, or allowance of work, unless he shall make delay beyond one day, as above, long as far as Lynn, Welles, Dunnington, Benwick, Chatteris, Ffeltwell, Brandon, Hockwold, and the like, without food, or allowance of work, unless he shall make delay as above;

And it is to be known, that he ought to find at *the Lord's sheep fold* (Bercariam) *two bars*, or *one post;*

And he shall collect two bundles of blackthorn at Somersham, and it is to be reckoned to him for two works, or he shall give for them twopence, and then he shall be quit of two works;

And he shall provide five hurdles for the fold for one work;

And it is to be known that if he, and all his partners are summoned to work, or if they are altogether working, and afterwards from his work (de operacione sua) he is sent to carry (in averagio), then he will be quit of his one work;

Also, he and all the others, great and small shall *work* in *the Vineyard at Ely* for one day, and every one shall be quit of one work;

And they are bound to wall round the *garden* at *Ely five perches*, without allowance of a work, *and* round the *Court of the Berton*, also they ought to wall (murare) three perches of land without allowance of work;

And they ought to cover two spars of the Lord's *bake-house* at Ely, at their own charge—and they ought to find for this, thatch, and spits, without food, or allowance of work;

And it is to be known, that he shall *mow one truss of grass* (herbæ), and he shall carry it to Ely, without allowance of work.

Besides he and the whole villata, great, and small, ought to *fence* (claudere), round the *Park of Downham*, forty perches of ditch, and hedge, and every one shall be quit of one work;

Also he and all his equals (pares), as well those who hold full lands as half, shall *mow* in the *same park*, and *scatter* what they shall have cut, from morning up to the ninth hour, and it shall be allowed to each for one work;

And all the Cotarii ought afterwards to *prepare*, and *pitch* that hay, and *stack* it in the same park, and for this every one shall be quit of one work;

Besides he, and all the operarii, great, as well as small, ought to carry one stack standing in the curia, as far as the Lord's grange, without food, or allowance of work;

And it is to be known, that the whole villata, as well free, as others, ought to *make forty perches* on the *causeway* of Alderhee, without food, or allowance of work;

Also he, and his equals, as well those, who hold full lands, as half lands, shall go for the Lord's *timber* at *Cambridge*, *Barnewell*, *Sterisberg*, *Ditton*, *Hockhold*, *Lakyngheth*, *Reach*, *Brandon*, *Lynn*, *Willingham*, *Somersham*, and the like, if the Lord shall make a grange in the Manor, or a hall, or other house, and for no allowance of work, unless they shall make delay beyond one day, as above;

Also he shall go for the Lord's food to *Cambridge* by water, and *to Ely* without food, or allowance of work for these in the same way;

And it is to be known, that if he, at any time, shall become infirm for fifteen days, or more, he will be quit of his works for fifteen days, and no more, nevertheless he shall do his ploughings, and precaria in Autumn;

And if he shall die, or any one holding half a full land, then the Lord shall have his better beast of his house, for a heriot, and then his wife shall be quit of her works for thirty days, nevertheless she shall do her ploughings, and precaria in the Autumn;

Also he owes for Cornbote one sheaf of corn, at the Feast of St Michael, but nevertheless he shall restore to his Lord the damage of his beasts, if they shall have done any.

His sheep shall not lie in the Lord's fold;

And it is to be known, that he ought to *harrow*, *weed*, *spread dung*, *mow stubble*, and *rushes in Hee*, and *winnow*, *and other uncertain works* do, for a whole day, for one work, but he ought not to cut turf, or carry it to the dry land, except from morning to the ninth hour, for one work;

And it is to be known, that the Lord shall have of the *forfeitures* of the *Belawe*, and of the selling of rushes, half the money (denariorum);

Also he and all the other "custumarii" as well great as small, owe *suit* to the *Mill;*

Also he owes leyrwite for his daughter;

And garsuma when he wishes to marry her;

And tallage;

Nor is he able to sell his *colt*, or his *ox*, of his own increase (*de suo proprio incremento*) without the license of the Lord;

Also if he is bound to Work in Lyndon, or elsewhere within the Isle, "extra villam propriam," then, he shall work from morning to the ninth hour, for one work, and if he shall work for the whole day, then he shall have food, or it shall be allowed him for two works;

Also it is to be known, that on that day, on which he and his partners shall have oats for a whole day, then he shall have, every one, two fistfuls of oats, and no more;

Thomas de Tynetshall holds *one full land* in the same way;
Robert of Downham holds *one full land* in the same way;
Alexander son of John holds *one full land* in the same way;
Adam of the Lane holds *one full land* in the same way;
Jurdan the son of Walter holds *one full land* in the same way;
Warrine son of Ralph holds *one full land* in the same way;
Richard son of John of the Lane holds *one full land* in the same way;
The same holds *one way* before his door by four pennies for the year equally;
Roger of the Hill and Robert his son hold *one full land* in the same way;
Barnard and William Lessye hold *one full land* in the same way;
Emma Widow and Osbert of Downham hold *one full land* in the same way;
William son of John and Eborardus the prepositus hold *one full land* in the same way;
Gilbert Lomb and John of Wichford hold *one full land* in the same way;
William and Ralf atte Tunesend (Townsend) hold *one full land* in the same way;
Matilda Bule and Geoffry of Alderhee hold *one full land* in the same way;
Roger son of William holds *half a full land* by half of the aforesaid service, and half the customs aforesaid, which the said Sampson does for his full land. And it is to be known, that the aforesaid customs, viz., two holding at the same time one full land, shall pay one penny of Wardsilver more than the aforesaid Sampson, and shall carry one cart load of slovermore called lawfother, and also each of them for himself shall give a heriot as above, and leyrwite, and garsuma for his daughter, as above, and tallage, and Cornbote as above;
And it is to be known, that the *Prepositus*, holding *half a full land*, will be quit of all his works for the year, and of all the customs, and of the hens, and eggs, and of segsilver. But nevertheless shall give Wytepound, and Wardsilver, and one man at the "magna precaria," with food from the Lord, and he shall plough Beneerthe, as above, and shall be fed by the Lord (erit ad cibum domini) from the beginning of Autumn to the end and no more;
Also the bailiff (*Bedellus*) holding *half a full land*, will be quit of his works, and of his carryings (Averagiis) for the year, but nevertheless, he shall give wytepound, segsilver, wardpenny, hens, and eggs, and he shall do all the aforesaid customs, and he shall have his Sadelep full of corn in the winter, and full of barley in Lent, but he shall not be fed by the Lord (ad cibum domini) in autumn;
And it is to be known, that each work (operacio) in Autumn is worth one penny, and out of Autumn, every work is worth one halfpenny.

De Cotariis de Wilberton[1].

Osbertus son of Robert holds *one cottage*, and gives *of Wytepound* yearly four pence equally, and of *segsilver* two pence, at two terms, namely, at the Feast of St Michael, and at Hokeday;

And of Wardpenny also one penny, namely at the Feast of St Andrew, and at the Nativity of St John;

And he owes one hen at Christmas;

And five eggs at Easter;

And he owes every week for the whole year *two works:*

And he shall reap of Lovebene, and *pound ripp*, three rods, and shall bind, and shock, without allowance of work;

And he shall find "ad magnam precariam" of Autumn, with beer two men, and it is to be known, that no celebration of a feast shall hinder him.

And he shall prepare the Lord's *hay*, and shall *pitch*, and *stack* in the meadow, that is to say one acre of hay for one work;

And it is to be known, that he shall *thresh twelve sheaves* of corn, or rye (siligo), or fifteen sheaves of barley, or oats, without allowance of work, and that threshing is *called St Etheldreda's farm:* and he shall have half the straw of the sheaves of corn aforesaid;

And besides he shall thresh thirty sheaves of barley, or dragium, which is called melting-thrawe without allowance of work but then he shall make no malt.

And he ought to collect spits (virgas) at Somersham, as above;

Also he and his partners, that is to say, all the cotarii, ought to carry *one boat load of bladum* as far as Lynn, without allowance of work, and if he shall make delay there beyond the first day, then it shall be allowed them as above;

And he shall do carryings (*averagium*) aforesaid, by land, and by water, according to the portion of his tenement, and according to the holding of his neighbours as above;

And he shall thresh, and *weed*, and *spread dung*, and *cut haulm*, and *winnow*, and do all *uncertain* works, as well within the curia, as without, for a whole day, as above, for the allowance of one work;

And he ought to dig turf, or to *carry it* from the morning to the ninth hour, for the allowance of one work;

And he ought to dig one perch of new ditch, and two perches of old ditch to scour, as above;

And he owes suit to the Mill as above;

[1] It appears from the Court Rolls that each cottage had one acre.

Nor can he sell his colt, or ox, of his own increase, without the license of his Lord;

Also he owes leirwyte and *Garsuma* for his daughter.

And tallage as above,

But he shall give no heriot,

Nor shall any infirmity be allowed him in work.

And he and his partners ought to *collect, prepare pitch* and *cock* (or stack "cassare") all the hay in the Park of Downham that all the tenants of the full lands and half full lands shall have mowed and every one shall be allowed one work.

And he ought to ditch and fence round (claudere) the park at Downham with the others as above.

And they shall work in the Vineyard of Ely.

And shall wall round the garden at Ely and the Court of the Berton with the others as above.

Also he with all the others ought to work round the causeway of Alderhee as above.

And if he ought to work in Lyndon or elsewhere within the Isle out of his own villa then he shall work from morning to the ninth hour for one work as above. And if he works for a whole day then it shall be allowed him for two works as above.

And he shall go ad carucam domini from morning till the ninth hour and after the ninth hour he shall work in the curia or out of it where need be until the evening and then he shall be quit of one work.

Hugh Ruffus holds *one cottage* in the same way.

Ralph of the Lane holds *one cottage* in the same way.

Regin de Coleville holds *one cottage* in the same way.

Edward holds *one cottage* in the same way.

Alexander Ffaber holds *one cottage* in the same way.

Robert le Ffekere and Lewyn Cegell hold *one cottage* in the same way.

John, the son of Thomas, and John Hill, hold *one cottage* in the same way;

William, the son of Walter, and Robert Rastelard, hold *one cottage* in the same way;

Robert Gangy, and Agnes Ruffa, hold *one cottage* in the same way;

Geoffry of Alderhee holds *half a cottage*, by half the services, and half the aforesaid customs, which the aforesaid Osbert the son of Robert does for his whole cottage, but he does now give at the will of the Lord for release of his works two shillings equally, but he gives twopence of Wytepound, and one penny of segsilver, and one half-penny of Wardpenny, and half a hen at Christmas, and two eggs and a half at Easter, and also half the other customs.

Rent of capons yearly for "communa" (?) at Easter.

Of *Robert of Stretham* two capons;
Of *Robert the Webere* two capons;
Of *Henry Meysun* one capon;
Of *Martin Stallard* two capons;
Of *Sorelin of Wintworth* one capon;
Of *Alexander Kyevell* one capon;
Of *Dane Page* one capon.

Total of Sixth pani by the year: eightpence at the Feast of St Michael, and at the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, equally, besides the Lord Philip of the Isle.

Total of Wardepani yearly 3*s.* 2½*d.* at the Feast of St Andrew, and at the Nativity of St John the Baptist, equally, besides the Lord Philip of the Isle.

And it is to be known, that these pence of Wardpani, and sixth pani, belong to the hundred.

Total of Rent of Assize yearly with *Wytepound*, and *segsilver* xxx^{s} and twelve pence, at four usual terms, by equal portions with the rent of Geoffry of Alderhee, who used to work.

Total of hens yearly, forty and one and a half at Christmas.

Total of the eggs yearly, two hundred, seven, and a half at Easter.

Memorandum, that the compotus of the works, above written, was made before the Lord Robert Chaddeworth, Steward of Ely, Robert de Herewarde, and other auditors of accounts, because the aforesaid Total was found false by ccc. iiii^{xx} and ii days works, as appears by the heads in the terrier: the said total is corrected, and made true, namely ii^{M} vii^{c} lxxiij and a half, with the works of Geoffry of Alderhee, which now are "ad denarios," by the will of the Lord.

APPENDIX B.

Since writing the foregoing paper I have from researches that I have made ascertained that both in Ireland and Wales the same principles as are set forth in the paper were acted on. Some centuries before Domesday in England the pound-paying unit was among the Anglo-Saxons the hide of wara Anglico Numero, i.e. 288 acres answering to a pound of silver of 288 pence of 20 grains to the penny. Among the Franks and Normans the units were 240 pennies of 24 grains to the penny and 240 acres to the hide of wara. As far as the compass of a small Appendix will allow I will shew the analogies in Ireland and Wales, remarking however that in both those countries (being pastoral and poorer) the taxation was one farthing per acre instead of one penny, and in consequence the pound-paying unit was considerably larger in area but it still conformed to the divisions of the pound of silver as made by the respective peoples.

IRELAND.

(See "The Ancient Laws of Ireland" published under the directions of the Commissioners for publishing the ancient laws and institutes of Ireland. Dublin, in 4 vols.)

Brehon Laws.

20 to 24 grains = 1 screpall or "denarius," vol. 2, p. 343.

Therefore 1 screpall = (1 Ang.-Saxon penig).

Vol. 2, p. 134. 4 screpalls = 1 colpach heifer (= 1 A.-S. solidus).
" " 24 " = 6 " = 1 cow (= A.-S. virgate).
" " 72 " = 18 " = 3 cows = 1 cumall or female slave (= A.-S. terra).
" " 288 " = 72 " = 12 cows = 4 cumall = 1 libra (= hide of wara).

Also
vol. 2 same page

1 screpall
4 " = 1 colpach heifer
16 " = 4 " = 1 samhaisc heifer
24 " = 6 " = $1\frac{1}{2}$ " = 1 cow
72 " = 18 " = $3\frac{2}{3}$ " = 3 " = 1 cumall (vol. 3, 98)
288 " = 72 " = 18 " = 12 " = 4 cumall = 1 libra.

At p. 371, vol 3. "The cow has a tripartite division, viz. one-third for "her body, one-third for her expectation, and one-third for her milk and "calf, and it is a cow of four and twenty screpalls value."

This singular division by a pastoral people of a cow into three parts tallies with the principles of taxation adopted by the Anglo-Saxons when engaged in arable cultivation. The samhaisc or uncalved heifer exactly tallies with the sown portion of the virgate of 24 in a three course manor representing as it does the two-thirds in value of a cow in full profit, i.e. the body and expectation; see ante p. 84 as to the virgate of 32. It will be observed that the cow answers to the ounce of silver and as on reference to page 143, vol. 3, it will appear that it was a custom for an owner of 24 cows (i.e. of two pounds of silver), called a "carpat ar imrach," stock owner, to enter into an engagement from May to May with a "Foltach fuithrime," holder, or holder of land of the value of four times seven cumalls (that is of the value of seven pounds), the relation in value between stock and land can be worked out. As to the land measures and the divisions of the libra corresponding with them, taking the basis of one farthing to an acre instead of one penny, instead of a virgate of 24 acres answering to 24 pence, we have a "seisrich" (4 tir-cumaile) of 96 acres to 24 screpalls or 96 farthings: a "quarter" (or 12 tir-cumailes) of 288 acres to 288 farthings or 72 screpalls: and a Baillebietagh (Victualler's Town) or pound-paying unit of 1152 acres to 1152 farthings or 288 pence, i.e. a pound of silver. The unit called the "Tir-Cumaile" is thus described in MS. E. 3. 5, Trinity College, Dublin, p. 42 (quoted at p. ccxxi of O'Curry on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish), "Three barley corns to the thumb, four thumbs to one palm, four thumbs (*sic*) to one foot, twelve feet to one fertach, twelve fertachs to one forrach (rope), twelve ropes long and six wide." The Tir-cumaille was therefore in two blocks, like the Roman jugerum, each 1152 Celtic feet square (being smaller probably by a fourth than our stat. foot), each block containing 12 acres of 12288 square Celtic yards to each Celtic acre, or 24 in all, and each Celtic lineal foot being 16 Celtic inches. I call the Celtic inches short inches because the Tir-Cumaille is described in another version as based on a foot of 12 inches. Ancient Laws of Ireland, Vol. 3, p. 335. At this the side of the blocks would be 864 feet but still equalling 1152 Celtic feet. If the feet (864) are $\frac{24}{25}$ of stat. foot, i.e. $11\frac{8}{9}$ (qy. Roman), then the 864 expressed in stat. feet would be 840, and instead of there being 24 Celtic acres of 12288 square yards there would be 20 Modern Irish acres of 7840 square yards, and following this out through the division of the libra there would be 240 pence instead of 288, i.e. 12×20 instead of 12×24. As to the "Baillebietagh" "quarters" and "seisrichs" see O'Curry, lxxxviii. The East Friesland foot is 11·66 inches or $\frac{24}{25}$ of the Statute foot: see Kelly's *Cambist*, pp. 126, 245.

Wales.

(See the "Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, Record Commission," 1841.)

The pound-paying unit and the libra itself were in N. Wales based on three Celtic palms of 3 inches each (called feet), but on the divisions of the pound as in Avoirdupois, founded on the grain of 32, mentioned in Stat. of 3 Ed. I. 51, such grain being as 8 to 6 of the Troy grain: so there would be 7680 grains in the libra. This libra would thus be divided into 16 ounces of 16 pennies each of 30 grains or 256 pence to the pound. If we turn now to the Ancient Laws of Wales, p. 90, we find the size of the "Erw" or Celtic rood set out of 2560 square Celtic yards "before the Crown of London and the Supremacy of these Islands was seized by the Saxons." The 2560 being based on the foot of nine inches equals 1440 square stat. yards, and three of them would equal 4320 stat. yards, the erw of North Wales. (See Government Report on Weights and Measures, 1819—20.) Four of them would equal 10240 square Celtic yards and would be an acre of 4 "erws." The pound-paying unit was the Mænol (pp. 90, 91): it contained 1024 "erws," therefore each erw paid one farthing and there are 1024 in this pound of 256 pence. Each mænol contained 4 trevs, so each trev consisted of 256 acres, each paying a farthing, in all 64 pence, which equal three score of pence either in the Anglo-Saxon or the Norman pound. Each gavael would pay 16 pence for 64 erws or 64 farthings, each randir would consist of 4 tyddens of 16 erws each paying one farthing, and each tydden one penny and each erw of the four which compose the tydden would pay one farthing. The composition of the pound-paying unit is thus shewn: 1 erw = 1 farthing, 4 "erws" = 1 tydden, 16 "erws" = 1 randir, 64 "erws" = 1 gavael, 256 "erws" = 1 trev, 1024 "erws" = 1 mænol. The payment of two ounces of 16 pence each was pleaded by *prescription* on the marriage of daughters by the men of Berkholt in *Suffolk* in the reign of Henry III. See Placita Coram Rege, 37 Hen. III. Rot. 4. See also Camden's Britann. in Belgis, p. 186.

Libration by Corn.

There was another system of libration existing centuries before, and perhaps recognised in Domesday book, viz. that used by the Romans, though not necessarily Roman, by which the land was set out in librates according to the number of acres that a certain weight or measure of corn would sow: the whole representing a number of ounces of a pound of silver. Weston in Huntingdonshire, 2 H. R. 529, with the virgate of 28, i.e. the

quarter of a hundred-weight, and Downham in the Isle of Ely, are instances where the area of wara was 224 in a two-course and 168 in a three-course, the hidage being 14 ounces of silver. This method gave a fine field for favour as this quotation shows. "Illi (taxatores) penes nostrum monasterium benevoli et amantes, non ad verum pretium, nec ad verum spatium, nostrum monasterium librant." (Ingulphus, apud Scriptores post Bedam, p. 908.)

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On the Cover of the Sarcophagus of Rameses III., now in the Fitzwilliam Museum. By SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq., LL.D. 1875. 4to.

*** This paper has also been printed in the Society's *Communications*, Vol. III, No. XXXV.

List of the Members of the Society, May 26, 1879. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 24, 1880. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 30, 1881. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 22, 1882. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 7, 1883. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 26, 1884. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 18, 1885. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 24, 1886. 8vo.

NOTE.—The Secretary of the Society is the Rev. S. S. LEWIS, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; to whom all communications relating to the Society may be addressed.

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. AND SONS, AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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REPORT AND COMMUNICATION

REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Soci

AT ITS FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

MAY 24, 1886,

WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY,
1885—1886.

ALSO

Communications

MADE TO THE SOCIETY.

No. XXVIII.

BEING No. 2 OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

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LONDON: G. BELL AND SONS.
1886.

Price 5s.

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REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 24, 1886.

WITH APPENDIX.

Cambridge:
DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.; MACMILLAN & BOWES.
LONDON: G. BELL AND SONS.
1887.

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REPORT.

In presenting the Forty-sixth Annual Report, the Council has to deplore the death, at the early age of 54, of Henry Bradshaw, University Librarian. He had been a Member of the Council of this Society since 1858, and had served the offices of Treasurer in 1867–69, of Secretary from 1869 to 1873, and of President 1874–75; his many Communications have made an abiding mark on the history of the Society.

Twenty other members have been lost by death or withdrawal. Thirty-five new members have been elected, and the Society's roll now numbers 333 names.

Eight General Meetings have been held.

Alderman Samuel Newton's Diary is nearly ready, and Mr Hailstone's *History of Swaffham Bulbeck* is in the press, as also are two numbers of *Reports and Communications*. Mr James Essex's *Journal of a Tour in the Low Countries* is being edited by the Treasurer, and will, it is hoped, be printed in the course of the next academic year.

The *History of the parish of Fen Ditton*, left in manuscript by the Rev. W. Cole, has been handed over to the Society for publication, and will be edited by Mr J. W. Clark.

An exhibition of portraits lent by the University and Colleges ranging from the death of Queen Elizabeth to the death of King Charles II, was organized last May by our late President, Mr J. W. Clark, and was on view until the 13th of June.

Successful excursions have been made to Bury St Edmund's, where members of the sister archaeological Society (and Mr Dewing in particular) rendered kindly assistance; to Peterborough, Thorney and Crowland, which were ably illustrated by communications from the Dean of Peterborough, Canon E. Moore and Mr G. W. Prothero; and to Audley End by the kind permission of Lord Braybrooke.

The following have been added to the list of Societies in union for the interchange of publications:

The British and American Archaeological Society of Rome (May 24, 1886).

Die Historische Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen (May 10, 1886).

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I. AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 24, 1886.

October 26, 1885. The President (the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.) in the Chair.

The following new members were elected:

H.R.H. Prince Edward of Wales, K.G., Trinity College.
Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, D.D., Trinity College.
W. Angerstein, Esq., Weeting Hall, Brandon.
Rev. W. Ayerst, M.A. (Caius College), Ayerst Hostel.
Dr G. Cunningham, B.A., Downing College.
C. H. Fison, Esq., Ford Place, Thetford.
Rev. Lord C. E. FitzRoy, M.A., Trinity College.
E. W. Gibson, Esq., Queen Anne Terrace.
N. M'Coll, Esq., M.A., Downing College.

In the course of some remarks made on taking the chair as President, Mr Browne mentioned the loss the Society had sustained in the death of Dr Corrie, the late Master of Jesus College. Few if any had done more for the progress of the Society in its earliest days than Dr Corrie, and his interest in its welfare continued to the end. The first of the quarto series of the publications of the Society, *A Catalogue of the original library in St Catharine's Hall*, 1475, was edited by him, in 1840, one of the many evidences of the interest he took in the College which owed so much to him. Another loss of a member who had more recently joined the Society, it was impossible not to mention, that of the Bishop who was then lying dead in the Palace at Ely.

The PRESIDENT exhibited and described a stone Cross-head presented by the Royal Architectural Museum, Westminster, to the Museum of General and Local Archaeology. In *Archaeologia*, Vol. xvii. p. 228, there is a letter from the Rev. T. Kerrich, Librarian of the University of Cambridge, dated March 29, 1813, describing a number of sculptured stones found in the course of demolishing Cambridge Castle in 1810. They were found under

part of the original ramparts, so that Mr Kerrich took them to be at least as early as the erection of the Castle by William I. The letter is accompanied by two Plates (xv, xvi), which shew, besides some small stones, five complete stones like coffin-lids, and portions of two others, all ornamented with interlacing work. Mr Cutts in his *Manual of Sepulchral Slabs* shews two of these stones, and states that one of them is in the Fitzwilliam Museum. His engraving (pl. xxxiv) however does not represent this stone, now in the portico of the Fitzwilliam Museum, but merely reproduces that one of Mr Kerrich's engravings which is most like it. The Fitzwilliam stone was found more recently[1], 10 or 12 feet from the foundation of the Castle, to the south. It lay outside the Castle, in gravel, about 6 feet deep, and north and south. Mr Way gives as its date "about tenth century." It deserves a more protected position, especially now that the discovery of like stones under the early work at Peterborough has shewn that the Cambridge stones are not isolated specimens in this district. One in particular of the stones shewn by Mr Kerrich must have been a remarkably handsome example.

In the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xi. p. 70, there is a woodcut and a description of the head of a stone cross found at the same time with the stones described by Mr Kerrich, i.e. in 1810. It had been in the possession of the Camden Society, and at the date of the description in the *Journal*, 1854, it was in the Royal Architectural Museum, Westminster. Mr Browne's attention was called to its existence there by Mr J. Romilly Allen, C.E., and he thereupon wrote to the Secretary of the Museum, Mr J. P. Seddon, setting forth the efforts the University was making in connexion with Archaeology, and the fitness of this cross-head being restored to its original home, now that Cambridge possessed a proper place in which to put it. The President of the Royal Architectural Museum is Mr Beresford Hope, and it will be seen from the following letter that we are indebted to him in this matter not only as President of the Museum but also as Trustee of the Camden Society.

Royal Architectural Museum and also School of Art, in connexion with the Science and Art Department, 18, Tufton Street, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.

21 July, 1885.

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Council of this Museum to thank you for your very kind communication of the 14th inst. and to say that they heartily welcome the good work which you describe as being in progress at Cambridge; and they learn with pleasure that Archaeology is now recognized and appreciated there.

[1] Mr Way, in the *Archaeological Journal*, xii. 202; a woodcut is given on page 201.

It will afford them pleasure to present to the Cambridge Museum (having the consent of A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., M.P., the Trustee of the Camden Society, now dissolved, and to whom the cross belonged) the portion of the Stone Cross you name, now in this Museum.

* * * * * * *

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

JOHN P. SEDDON.

To the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.

The Cross-head is about 18 inches high, 14 wide, and 6 thick. It is a simple but interesting and unusually perfect example of a "wheel-cross," probably the only one in all East Anglia. The upper limb and the two arms are of the same size; the lower limb expands into the shaft without any boundary line. The portion of the shaft which remains shews the commencement of simple interlacing bands, of the same character as those on the stone in the Fitzwilliam Museum. So far as style and material are concerned, there is no reason why this Cross-head, with its shaft, and the stone in the Fitzwilliam Museum or one of those shewn in Mr Kerrich's plates, should not have formed respectively the head-stone and body-stone of the grave of some East Anglian magnate a hundred or a hundred and fifty years before the Norman conquest. The account in the *Archaeological Journal* states that the Cross is plain on the back. That is not so, for the back, though somewhat damaged, is ornamented in the same way as the front. The edge, too, is ornamented, and in a very unusual manner, by a single band forming a rectangular scroll; this perhaps developed lower down the shaft into the key pattern so usual on the Anglian sculptured stones.

The Rev. W. F. Creeny (Vicar of St Michael's, Norwich) then proceeded to give a lecture upon foreign monumental Brasses. His remarks were illustrated by thirty magnificent rubbings, which were hung round the room and excited universal admiration. For a full account reference may be made to the folio volume which Mr Creeny has recently issued on this subject.

November 9, 1885. The President (the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.) in the Chair.

The following new members were elected:

Rev. J. C. Ambrose, M.A., Corpus Christi College.
A. M. Ellis, Esq., Newmarket.
Rev. J. B. Lock, M.A., Gonville and Caius College.
H. Nunn, Esq., St John's College.

Rev. F. Wallis, M.A., Gonville and Caius College.
H. J. Whitehead, Esq., 43 Hills Road.
Rev. E. G. de Salis Wood, M.A., Emmanuel College.
S. L. Young, Esq., Petersfield Villa.

Mr E. W. Gibson exhibited two mother-of-pearl beads lately found with several others at the depth of 4·ft. on Mr Gunnell's farm at Great Shelford by coprolite-diggers.

Mr O. Johnson exhibited and kindly presented to the Society a pewter spoon-bowl $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. × $1\frac{1}{16}$ found on the surface at Horningsea, in a field called Lowlands, in March, 1884.

Professor T. M'K. Hughes described what he thought might be traces of a Roman village on the property of Mr Ingle Ellis near Shepreth, by whose kindness he had recently been able to carry on some explorations upon the site.

He pointed out the interest of the district lying between Barrington, Foxton and Shepreth, referring to the objects of interest of various dates which had been discovered there, and speculated upon the period of the conversion into a swamp of an area once occupied by Roman houses.

He remarked that the villas of the wealthy Romans had been frequently described, but that little was known of the dwellings of the artisan and the tiller of the soil.

Traces of three houses had been found at Shepreth; but so little had been opened up, that he thought we could not yet infer with any certainty whether they were the offices and less richly furnished rooms of a large country residence, or the greater part of some houses belonging to less well-to-do people.

There was a suggestion of better rooms near in the tessellae of white sandstone and the brightly painted wall plaster found within the walls. But he reminded the Society that similarly painted plaster had been found in the rubbish-pits of Chesterford, where it probably came not from a large country residence, but from some of the houses in a small Roman town. He referred to the villa found near Ickleton, and to that explored by Mr Seebohm and Mr Ransom near Hitchin.

There was very little pottery found in and about the houses at Shepreth; but on the adjoining gravelly bank nearer Foxton Mr Walter Foster had collected a large quantity, of various types. Bones and oyster shells occurred, as is usual wherever the Romans had been; but there were not large quantities of such remains.

When the houses were dug into, it was found that there was in each a tiled passage, which in one case was traced round the corner of a room with a smooth concrete floor made of fine broken brick and mortar. There was frequently a considerable thickness of grey chalky clay, representing

the fallen plaster of the walls and the decayed concrete, on which the tiles had been set.

There were also some roof ridge-tiles having a semi-circular section, and as these occurred at the lowest point reached, it raised hope that there might still be much buried up.

Prof. Hughes then drew the attention of the Society to some earthworks between the railway-station and Mr Ellis's house. From their size he thought they were not mere field enclosures; but he had not as yet any evidence to offer as to whether some of them might be the remains of a mediaeval moat or perhaps even the ramparts of a Roman Station. He thought they deserved investigation.

Further south there was a pit in a bed in the lower chalk known as the Burwell Rock, which from its hardness stands out in bosses here and there. This was a likely place for the Romans to have procured lime for their houses, and recent quarrying revealed pits of unknown age, which apparently had been sunk for the purpose of making lime, of which there was a considerable quantity found, now slaked of course by the percolation of rain-water.

At the southern end of the chalk hill the quarry cut across several shallow graves, sunk through the soil into the surface of the chalk. They lay like what elsewhere had been referred to the poorer class of Roman interments; but no relics had been found to indicate their age. On the whole he thought that the district suggested many interesting archaeological problems, and would well repay careful investigation.

Mr C. P. Tebbutt read a communication "On the existence and cause of the crooked lands" found on clay soils in the eastern and midland counties of England. He stated that the high-backed lands found in so many fields round Cambridge and elsewhere had been evidently raised by ploughing for purposes of drainage: they were separate properties like the strips or "selions" described by Mr Seebohm in *The English Village Community*. Mr Tebbutt claimed to have discovered the important fact that they are all curved in the form of the letter S reversed, and he was of opinion that this fact was one of great significance. He believed this form was caused by certain tendencies in the process of ploughing, and endeavoured to shew that the curved high-backed lands now to be seen must have assumed their present form in the *tribal* period, before ownership in strips of land existed. They are therefore among the oldest monuments of antiquity around us.

Mr F. Seebohm confirmed the facts mentioned by Mr Tebbutt both as to the wide prevalence of the high-backed lands and to the peculiar lines of the inverted S almost universally observed, and no doubt due to something connected with the ploughing. It was noticed in Germany as well as in England. He also stated that these "lands" belonged to the ancient

open-field system. The strips between turf balks and these "lands" were in fact the same thing treated in different ways according to the soil. The "lands" and strips were generally acres, half-acres or roods, and when the customary acres of various parts of the British Islands and other countries had been more carefully ascertained, their antiquity and importance for historical purposes would be more and more recognized. He referred to the recurrence of the same acre in the ancient district of Powys and in Brittany, and also of the Irish acre on both sides of the Irish Sea, as examples of this. But it would be premature to draw any wide generalization from the facts, till they had been more completely collected and examined.

November 30, 1885. The President (the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.) in the chair.

The PRESIDENT exhibited a 15th century Italian casket in his possession, $8\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $5\frac{3}{8}$ in., and $4\frac{5}{8}$ in. high. The lid is mitred, with a sunk panel. There is a vertical plinth, with a slope at foot. The material is wood, probably sycamore. The whole has been coloured red with Armenian bole, and then gilded. On the gilt surface of the sides, ends, and lid there are a number of bas reliefs of men, women, horses, and winged lions with Arabesque tails, in a white composition of plaster chalk (gesso). The vertical plinth has 24 bas reliefs of the cornucopiae, 20 standing bouquets, and 42 single flowers. The margin of the lid has a plait of four interlacing bands in a cable edging, with 5-pointed stars in the free spaces. The sloping plinth and the eaves of the lid have the roll of two bands usual on Roman pavements, with a row of pellets on each band and a cluster of 5 pellets in each of the free spaces. A band of gesso work, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, runs round the sides and ends of the casket immediately above the plinth; it is *semé de fleurs* and forms the ground on which most of the figures stand. There are remaining 62 human figures from 1 to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, 4 horses, and 8 winged lions; several men and horses have been broken off. The men are almost entirely Roman soldiers. There is a representation of Mutius burning off his right hand, the towers of Rome in the distance with the label S. P. Q. R.; each end of the casket has a female figure standing on a pedestal, with a group of ten or twelve soldiers in the attitude of acclamation, possibly representing the statue erected to Cloelia for another achievement in the same war, though in that case it should have been an equestrian statue. There is a casket similarly ornamented in the South Kensington Museum, lent by Lord Zouche, and the authorities there only know of two others. Lord Zouche's casket is merely a rectangular box, but it is in much better preservation. It has on the top a bas relief of the arms of Gonzaga of Mantua, with the device of a fagot and the motto *Unitas*. The winged lions on the top, and several at least of

the human figures, are evidently from the same moulds as those on Mr Browne's casket, but the grouping does not seem to have any reference to historical scenes. Mr Browne urged that this effective style of ornament should be restored, its delicacy and the costlessness of the materials and the form of the casket entitling it to rank as pure art. The raised figures on the screen at Southwold Church are of gesso work, and it is said that the material was procured from the neighbouring cliffs.

Mr F. Cope Whitehouse read a paper, illustrated by numerous diagrams, maps, surveys and photographs, on 'The Lake of Moeris.' (See *Communications*, Vol. VI, No. VI.)

Professor Macalister made some remarks (1) "On an inscription containing the name of Amasis."

Among the "Clarke Marbles" in the Fitzwilliam Museum there is a block of black basalt which originally formed the pedestal of a statue. It is referred to in the catalogue of these marbles printed in 1809, as No. 11, and is described as "The base of a statue supposed to be of that kind called by Herodotus 'Androsphinx,' from the ruins of the city of Saïs in Egypt. Larcher believed the Androsphinx to have been represented by the body of a lion with the face of a man. The remains of Egyptian sculpture, and particularly those found at Saïs, rather induce an opinion that it was the body of a man with the head of a lion.

"This monument exhibits an inscription perfectly entire in the Hieroglyphical Writing. A representation of the Ibis is given among the characters used in the inscription. If any inference may be drawn from the prototypes of the sculptured images or symbols the inscription commemorates victories in the sacred games. An account of the prototypes was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by the author." The circumstances under which it was found are given in Clarke's *Travels*, vol. III. p. 220, where there is a copy of the inscription.

The block is about thirty-three inches in greatest length, by sixteen inches in breadth, and about six inches in thickness. The statue was that of a man, the right leg was broken off below the ankle, so the foot remains in place though much chipped: the left foot, which was advanced in front of the right, has been almost entirely destroyed. As each foot measures nearly twelve inches, I infer the statue was life size, or perhaps a little larger.

The inscription is enclosed in a rectangular border, and is placed at the right side of the upper surface of the stone. The characters are clearly cut, and but little damaged. They are arranged in vertical lines, which are consecutive from right to left, and being translated read:—"Give royal oblations Great God Neith in the Temple. Give oblation to all the Gods of the West, oblations to Isis, funeral meats, bread, beer, and wine, ducks and oxen, breezes. The opening year by year of the weekly Feast of

Thoth and Socharis, all the Great Festivals. The opening of the doors of the Temple, the Feasts of the two Gods. All the Feasts of the second of the months, the Feasts of the middle of the months, all annual Feasts for ever to the all-worthy one before the Great God, the good Horus the most exalted Pharaoh (Great House), the good God Chnum-ab-ra (Amasis), the worthy Psamtik."

The King thus referred to, Chnum-ab-ra, is better known by his Greek name Amasis. He was the fifth King of the Saïte dynasty, and succeeded Apries, the Biblical Hophra, whom he conquered and dethroned, as had been predicted by Jeremiah the prophet (xliv. 30). Although originally a plain man from Siuph, the modern Seffeh, he assumed, as we have seen, all the titles of royalty, and by his marriage with Anχnes, daughter of Psammis and of his Queen Nitocris, he thereby, in accordance with the old law of Binothris, claimed to be legitimate sovereign. Much of his history is recorded by Herodotus (ii. 162–182), as well as by Diodorus, and he reigned 44 years according to Herodotus (iii. 10), or 42 according to Manetho. As during his reign there was much intercourse with Greece, Pythagoras, Solon, and others sojourning in Egypt, so it is probable that the Greek writers may be trusted in their chronicles of his reign.

According to Herodotus he was a great patron of the Arts, and raised many buildings. There are many monuments of his reign extant, among others, the sarcophagus of his wife, Anχ nes ra nefer hat, in the British Museum. Several monuments of his age are in the Museums of Boulaq, Leyden, Florence, Stockholm, Rome, and Paris, and several tombs at Thebes bear inscriptions of his date; we read of statues of himself being given by him to temples (Herodotus ii. 182), this may have been one.

In the wording of the prayer there is not much requiring special comment. It is not easy identifying the specific feasts referred to, and the feast *ap ruu neter ha heb*, which begins the second column, is one I do not recollect meeting any reference to elsewhere.

The reference at the end to his son Psammetichus, the Psammenitus of Herodotus, is interesting. This ill-fated king, who only reigned six months, and with whom the Saïte dynasty ended, was general of his father's forces, and his history is recorded by Herodotus (iii. 10–16).

The name of Amasis is differently rendered in different monuments *Aahmes sa Neith* (Aahmes son of Neith) and *Se-men-mat*. In the Greek text of Eusebius as well as in Syncellus it is Ἄμωσις, while Herodotus and Diodorus both render it Ἄμασις. Here it is his throne name which is used. Psammenitus was also known as Anχkara during his short reign.

(2) "On a Fragment of a Statue bearing the name of Psammis."

The statue of black basalt to which I wish to call attention is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, and formed a part of the Clarke Collection. It is

marked No. 9 in the printed catalogue (1809) and is described thus (p. 8): "Egyptian statue found among the ruins of the city of Saïs in the Delta after the expulsion of the French by the English army in 1801. It is exquisitely wrought in the substance called green Egyptian Basalt or Trap, one of the rarest materials of ancient art. The beautiful polish given to it by the ancient artist has resisted all the attacks to which it has been exposed.

"A zone with hieroglyphs fastens the drapery round its waist, which is believed to represent the leaf of some Egyptian plant. But that which particularly entitles it to the attention of historians of the Fine Arts is that behind the figure, the process used in carving the hieroglyphical symbols may be discerned, part of the figures there delineated being completely finished, and the rest sketched with great taste and correctness preparatory to their incision. This monument is made to turn on a pivot for the purpose of exhibiting that appearance with facility.

"Note—A remarkable circumstance characterizing hieroglyphical sculpture may be distinctly observed upon this figure. The characters, although all of them intaglios, are cameos as to their inferior surface." The account of the finding of this torso is given in Clarke's *Travels*, III. p. 226.

The fragment is 22 inches high and has lost its head, breast and left arm, its right wrist and hand, and all from the top of the thighs downward. The kilt of ribbed cloth is sustained by a belt of a pretty pattern. The front of the belt is marked out with a long elliptical enclosure inscribed from right to left. The translation reads:—"The good God Nefer-ab-ra, Son of the Sun, Psammetichus, eternal as the Sun."

A broad flat stripe passes vertically down the middle of the back, 4 inches wide and 20 inches high, included in an incised straight border. Of the hieroglyphs included herein in a vertical row, the first pair are completely carved, the succeeding are in more or less distinct outline, and there were probably other characters below which are untraced.

Monuments of this monarch are not very numerous, as his short reign of six years (from 596—591 B.C.) was comparatively uneventful, except for the loss, during it, of the last of Egypt's Asiatic possessions, scarcely counterbalanced by his successful Ethiopian campaign. He succeeded his illustrious father *Necho*, the conqueror of Josiah, married his aunt, Nitocris, daughter of Shep-en-Apt, and was succeeded by his better known, though ultimately more unfortunate son Apries or Pharaoh Hophra.

His name *Psamtik* and his throne name *Nefer-ab-ra* are those by which he is known on the monuments. He is also called the Horus *Men-ab-ra Useraa*, the name which is used in the back inscription on our monument. He is also called *Nefer-se-tau*. Herodotus names him Ψάμμις and Eusebius in the Armenian version, Psamôute, which becomes Ψαμμήθις in the Greek, as in Syncellus and Africanus.

There seems to be in the Chronicles a little confusion about this reign;

Eusebius quotes Manetho as giving two successors to Necho II, Psammuthis who with another Psammetichus reigned 17 years. This monument is that of a king ruling by himself.

February 8, 1886. The President (the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.) in the Chair.

The following new members were elected:

W. G. Bell, Esq., M.A., Trinity Hall.
R. U. P. Fitzgerald, Esq., LL.M., M.P., Trinity Hall.
W. Fowler, Esq., Newport, Essex.
F. Seebohm, Esq., The Hermitage, Hitchin.
C. P. Tebbutt, Esq., Bluntisham, St Ives, Hunts.

The PRESIDENT made the following communication upon "Some early sculptured stones and symbols in Ledsham Church, Yorkshire."

All Saints' Church at Ledsham, a few miles east of Leeds, was carefully restored some years ago. The original building was rectangular and lofty, with a Romanesque arch at either end, the one leading to an apse, the other to what is now the base of the tower, and was probably a *porticus ingressus*. The northern wall was pierced later, to form an arcade for the addition of the north aisle. The outlines of all the original Romanesque windows in the north and south sides are clearly visible. There is a similar opening above the western arch; as there is at Monkwearmouth. A low, narrow door-way on the south side of the base of the tower had been closed up. When it was opened out, the capitals of the jambs were found to be ornamented with interlacing work, the bands unusually narrow and in high relief; the patterns on the two capitals are different, and though the known varieties are counted by hundreds, both of the patterns are new to me. Up the sides and round the head of the door-way a band of ornament 7 inches wide is let into the wall. The original had perished so much that it was removed and restored, but the portions which have been protected by the accumulated soil remain, and they bear members of a singularly graceful scroll with flowers and fruit: there were probably 30 of such members, on 12 or 13 lengths of stone. In the more recent north wall of the aisle two beautiful fragments of a like band or of the shaft of a cross, 8 inches wide, are used as building materials. One of these has a pair of interlaced birds feeding on the fruit of two scrolls which spring from conventional roots; the other is a graceful and new variety of the continuous scroll, with four heart-shaped leaves meeting at the centre of one member, and four tendrils interlacing in the next. These ornaments have an interesting bearing on the question of sculptured mural ornament in the Romanesque churches of England, on pilasters, internal string-courses, jambs of arches, and so on. I shew rubbings of some examples from

Lastingham, Bishop Auckland, &c., part of the considerable amount of evidence that I am collecting. The capitals of the eastern arch have an ornament of circles intersected by semicircles, studded with bosses, which has a somewhat Norman look but is a reproduction from Roman pavements, two of the Leicester pavements having exactly this pattern. It is 6 inches wide and extends 4 ft. 6 in. with the east wall of the nave. On a stone in the apsidal wall, at the point where it leaves the east wall of the nave, is an almost perished incised symbol, which had escaped the keen eyes of the restorers, formed of a capital S three times repeated, the head of each hooking into the tail of another, forming a sort of triangle, with curved sides of 4 inches. It is startling and suggestive to find this symbol, cognate with the three legs of Man and of Greek shields, and found in Hibernian and "Pictish" work, in a Yorkshire Church on the borders of the ancient kingdom of Elmete. On a stone in the west wall of the nave, within the church, a weapon which is either a chopping-knife or the head of a one-barbed lance, is cut in bold relief. The blade is 6 inches long and the handle or socket three; on the stone next to it on the handle-side are deep and much worn incisions which may be S I C^{s} or S : T^{s}. In the former case it may be that *Sanctus Jacobus* is meant, with the executioner's knife which beheaded St James; in the latter *Sanctus Thomas*, with the lance-head. On another stone in the west wall of the nave, outside the church, there is a rectangular frame in bold relief 12 inches by 9. It is conceivable that the church had at one time the instruments of martyrdom of various Saints sculptured on its walls, and that this is the iron frame or bed to which St Lawrence was fastened. There are, however, no cross-bars.

Dr E. C. Clark suggested that the knife shewn in the diagram greatly resembled the Roman sacrificial knife, and that the letters were of Roman character.

Mr W. M. Fawcett had not seen any example of the three S's, and suggested the *ter Sanctus*. Nor had he seen scroll work in the position shewn; the work was certainly of a Romanesque character.

Mr Rule summed up a communication upon Eadmer's elaboration of the first four books of the *Historia Novorum* (see *Communications*, Vol. VI, No. VII.), by stating the following propositions:

I. That the revised text of *Gesta Regum* v. was made known in or a little before the year 1135 A.D.

II. That in or a little after the year 1135 *Gesta Pontificum* I. was given to the world.

III. That the revised text of the second, third, and fourth books of the *Gesta Pontificum* was issued at intervals down to, say, 1140.

IV. That the longer life of St Aldhelm, which in some manuscripts ranks as a fifth book, is an enlargement of the shorter life, which had been

written as far back as 1125: the opinion hitherto received makes the shorter life an abbreviation of the other.

v. That the successive instalments of the *Gesta Pontificum* gave occasion to the larger portion of Eadmer's editions to the *Historia Novorum*, and that the said portion was written after the death of Henry I.

The foregoing propositions he claimed to have proved; the following also seemed probable:

VI. That William of Malmesbury's first or unrevised text of the books just named was not divulged in Henry's life-time.

VII. That Eadmer died not earlier than the January of 1144, but more probably in the January of 1145.

Mr C. C. Moore Smith exhibited five books, all of them in the handwriting of Mr John Hall of Kipping at Thornton-in-Craven, Yorkshire. The writing was remarkably clear, though for the most part very minute. Mr Hall was born about 1630, and lived some ten years into the next century. In religion he was a Presbyterian of the party of Baxter, but besides he had studied medicine and astrology, and he had acquired a system of short-hand. One of the books exhibited was a medical work completed 1661, and apparently ready for press, though as there is no copy in the British Museum, it seems not to have been printed. It is called 'A Compendium & Treasury of Physicke & Chirurgery .... with An Epitomie of Anatomie and an Index of ye English, Latin & Greeke names of medicinall materialls,' &c. The remedies prescribed seemed to have been borrowed from Leonardo Phioravante, Philbert Guibert, Rhenodeus, Thomas Gale, &c. There are some curious astrological tables at the end of the book. The other four volumes shewn contained chiefly sermons apparently copied by Mr Hall as he heard them, chiefly during the years 1683—1686. Prefixed to most of the sermons are contemporaneous jottings on public affairs, (the persecution of Non-conformists, the Monmouth rebellion, &c.), at first written only in shorthand, afterwards in part transcribed by the author. When fully transcribed they seem likely to give an interesting picture of the agitations in a Non-conformist household under Charles II. and James II.

March 1, 1886. The President (the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.) in the Chair.

The following new members were elected:

G. W. Blenkin, Esq., B.A., Trinity College.
J. Oakley Coles, Esq., Corpus Christi College.
E. M. Farrar, Esq, Pembroke College.
Rev. J. Watkins, M.A., Gamlingay Vicarage.

A communication by Mr W. L. DE GRUCHY upon the Land-measures mentioned in the early records of Jersey, was read in his absence by the Secretary. (See *Communications*, Vol. VI, No. VIII.)

Mr LEWIS exhibited and commented on one large and two small terra-cotta lamps discovered in a barrow at Kertch (the ancient *Panticapeum*) in November, 1885.

The Rev. W. GRAHAM F. PIGOTT gave an account of the site of a Roman veteran's holding at Abingdon Pigotts in the county of Cambridge, from observations made during the excavation of coprolite from 1879 to 1884. (See *Communications*, Vol. VI, No. IX.)

A sample of wheat and two remarkable pieces of sun-dried brick, mentioned in his paper, were kindly presented by Mr Pigott to the Society.

The PRESIDENT remarked that Sir Henry Dryden had informed him of the discovery of triangular bricks, exactly like those described by Mr Pigott, in a camp near Northampton; Sir H. Dryden had sent drawings of these bricks in all directions, but had received no guess as to their purpose which seemed satisfactory. Mr Browne thought it possible they were meant to have a withe rove through the three holes, which are run through the angular parts of the brick and parallel to the flat faces, and that when thus prepared they were used as missiles. Another suggestion was that they were loom-weights. One of them has signs of wearing by a rope. Mr Browne detected a + in each of the three angles of one face, a v on another brick, and xv on another, all rudely incised when the clay was moist.

March 15, 1886. The President (the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.) in the Chair.

The following new members were elected:

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ely, D.D., Trinity College.
E. W. Bealey, Esq., Trinity College.
Rev. J. F. Bullock, B.A. (Peterhouse), Radwinter Rectory.

Mr FAWCETT gave the following account of his visit to a chained Library at Zutphen.

On arriving at Zutphen, we went to the Cathedral, which we found to be a large church, somewhat dismal, like most other Dutch churches; but it has two things worthy of note: one is a beautiful brazen font and cover, and the other a large Library of chained books.

The Library occupies the south aisle of the choir, and is continued partly round the apse: the desks are set at right angles to the walls, as in most libraries: they are 9 feet 2¼ in. long, and between every two desks there is a seat.

Ten of these desks are fairly finished with carved ends, which are however only 1½ in. thick. The quaint finials, each formed by a couple of

dolphins with a pine-apple between, are effective, and there is a subject on each end immediately below the finial. These subjects are as follows:

The Trinity,
The Dove,
Agnus Dei,
Head of our Saviour,
Pelican,
Head,
Virgin and Child,
Female saint with Book and Palm (doubtless St Katharine, as the President observed);
Grotesque head,
Rose.

The eight others were plain and had no carving,

The books were chained by a light chain, each link $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 in. long and quite narrow, and made of $\frac{1}{8}''$ metal. The chain was attached at the top of the last cover of the book, and the upper end slid on a rod: this rod passed simply through the wall-stand, and finished at the outer standard with a hasp, which fitted on a lock-plate, and held the rod when locked, so that it could not be drawn forward.

It seems now to be nailed, so that the books cannot be taken away at all; but there was evidently a system of locking originally, so that books could be removed with special leave.

There are in all 316 books chained in this manner. Those I looked at were seventeenth-century books, and well bound, but in lamentable condition. I rubbed several of the bindings and exhibit them.

The whole place is damp and utterly uncared for, and I fear that there will not be many books left in a few years, unless more care is taken of them.

The desks are not unlike those in the Library at Trinity Hall, but *there* the rod is below the shelf, and the chain was attached to the book at the fore-edge of the cover. None of the old chaining remains at Trinity Hall; but the arrangement by which it was done is quite clear, and one or two books have been chained as examples.

Mr Fawcett proceeded to give some extracts from a journal of a tour made by Mr Essex in Flanders. This journal has a good deal of interest in that it describes many buildings which perished in the troublous times which this century opened with, and is a valuable record of the changes that have taken place.

The President concurred in the strong wish expressed by Mr J. W. Clark that the whole journal, from which these extracts had been taken, should be published by the Society[1].

Mr J. E. Foster read and commented on extracts (1662—1670) from Alderman S. Newton's diary, which he is engaged in editing for the Society.

[1] The *Journal*, edited by Mr Fawcett, forms No. xxiv. of the Society's Octavo Publications.

May 10, 1886. The President (the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

The Rev. the Master of Jesus College, M.A.
A. Hill, Esq., M.D., Downing College.
J. C. Watt, Esq., M.A., Jesus College.
Rev. R. S. Wilson, M.A., Girton Rectory.

Mr Bidwell exhibited six large round horse-shoes of an early pattern, which had been lately found in Stuntney Fen; three of these he presented to the Society.

Dr Bryan Walker, continuing his paper on the British Camps in Wilts and the adjoining counties, read to the Society on December 1, 1884, said that in 1885 he visited thirty more camps in the counties of Dorset, Somerset, Gloucester, and Hants, in addition to the thirty-two or thirty-three which he had visited in 1883 in Berkshire, Wilts and Dorset. He considered he had clearly traced a line of Ligurian or Lloegrwyn forts from the Western border of Dorset into Cambridgeshire. This series of camps includes two forts on or near the Dorsetshire coast, Chalbury, near Weymouth, and Abbotsbury, near the commencement of the Chesil Bank; and an inland line, the members of which are Pillesdon, 7 miles from Axminster, Eggardon, near Poorstock, Maiden Bower, near Dorchester, Hamildon Hill and Hod Hill, near Blandford. The line goes on into Wiltshire, and there are Ligurian camps at Whichbury, 4 miles S. of Salisbury, Yarnbury towards the S. of Salisbury, Battlesbury and Scratchbury close to Warminster, Bratton Camp near Westbury, Broadbury and Casterley, overlooking the Vale of Pewsey; and on the other side of the Vale of Pewsey there are Martinsell Camp, Knap Hill Camp and Rybury near Devizes; Oldbury is the next in the series, overhanging Cherhill, which is close to Calne; Barbury, half-way between Marlborough and Swindon; then in Berkshire, Liddington and Uffington, looking down into the Vale of White Horse. The Ridgeway runs past Casterley, Rybury, Barbury, Liddington, Uffington; and possibly "the hollow with a low bank on each side of it" which runs behind Bratton, Battlesbury and Scratchbury is a continuation of it, going on to Yarnbury, and then to Vespasian's camp near Amesbury; which, I suppose, was the capital of the Ligurian Subri, being fortified like their other camps, but in the centre of their territory. There is a continuation of this road, called the Ackling Ditch; and this seems to go on to Maiden Bower, Eggardon and Pillesdon. The Ridgeway bifurcates as it goes through Berkshire and crosses the Thames at Streatley and Wallingford, and is defended by Sinodun in Berkshire. Thence it goes, under the name of the Ikenild

Way, through the counties of Buckingham, Bedford, Hertford, and Cambridge; still defended by camps at Kimble and Cholesbury in Buckinghamshire, at Totternhoe and Hexton in Bedfordshire, at Welbury and Arbury in Hertfordshire, and at Vandlebury in Cambridgeshire.

Dr Walker gave equally detailed accounts of the Gaelic forts raised to stop the advance of the Ligurians; and the line of forts enumerated above he considered to mark the ultimate limit of the Ligurian occupation in the South. He indicated the Eastern boundary of forts of the Subri; attempted to fix the boundaries of the various Ligurian tribes mentioned by Caesar, and made some remarks on the forts along the three successive boundaries of the Belgae; which, he thought, with all due deference to Dr Guest, ought to be resolved into four. He also gave an account of the forts of the Cotswold Hills, which he attributed to Caesar's Cassi, or the Catti, as they called themselves on their coins, or in popular speech, the Cassivellauni: the Cassi conquered the Dobuni a little while before Aulus Plautius' expedition, and probably made, or, at any rate, improved these forts as a barrier against the Silures. He also thought that Dio Cassius, who called the Dobuni *Boduni*, and told us about their conquest by the Cassi, was more correct in the spelling of their name than other authors, on the evidence of the coins found in the district which they occupied, and marked BODVOC.

The PRESIDENT made the following remarks upon sculptured columns at Stapleford (Nottinghamshire) and Rothley (Leicestershire) in respect of their bearing on the question of the dedication of places as apart from that of churches:—

The column at Stapleford is a pillar nearly cylindrical, with the upper part cut into four plane faces. Unlike other cylindrical pillars in England (except those at Penrith), it is covered with ornament throughout its whole length, and the ornamentation on the cylindrical part is elaborate and skilful, consisting of various patterns of interlacing bands, some of them very intricate. On two of the four faces are similar interlacements; the third has a cornucopiae scroll; the fourth has what is known in the village as a Danish bird. It is in fact a winged creature, with the feet of a man and the head of an animal with ears and horns. This points to St Luke, but the dedication of the church is St Helen. The village feast is the last Sunday in October, or, if that be the last day of the month, the last Sunday but one. This rule of thumb replaces the original rule, of which an old inhabitant dead many years ago has left a record, that the village wake is governed by old St Luke: "we mun hae him i' t' wake week."

The pillar at Rothley is a rectangular shaft, 12 ft. high, and ornamented on the whole of its four faces with interlacing bands, and foliage scrolls of unusual character and much beauty. Three of the base panels

present the very uncommon feature of a broad border of interlacing bands, enclosing an inner panel of interlacements and scrolls. Besides these ornaments, there are three large panels of a different character, one of which contains a winged dragon with serpent-like body interlacing in an intricate manner with its legs, and the other has a winged figure, evidently a bird, greatly resembling the figure at Stapleford. The feet are bird's claws, and the head is the head of a large bird. This points to St John. The dedication of the Church is St Mary; but the village feast is St John Baptist; the wrong St John, but confusion between the two St Johns is not unknown.

Rude monoliths have been found in Scotland bearing an incised cross and the words *locus Sancti Nicolai*, *locus Sancti Petri Apostoli*. Mr Browne suggests that the early Christian missionaries took possession of each place in the name of some Saint, selecting the Saint so as to have his day as near as possible to the day of the chief pagan celebration of the place. When in the course of time a church was erected, two or three or more centuries later, the dedication of the church would not of necessity be in accordance with the original dedication of the place, but might be guided by other considerations, as for instance, the personal predilection of the founder, or the prevailing fashion regarding saints, or some local circumstance, as the ford at Stapleford connecting two geographical divisions, St Helen having to do with wells and water. Thus many of the puzzling anomalies connected with dedications may be explained in a manner simple, interesting, and new. A fresh light is thrown, too, on the use of the earliest sculptured stones. It has long been known or supposed that sculptured shafts or crosses were erected long before churches in many places; archæologists may now look to them for indications of the original dedication of the place to Christ or an evangelist or a saint, indications as clear though not as direct as the simple Scottish method + *locus Sancti Petri Apostoli*.

May 24, 1886. Annual General Meeting. The President (the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.) in the Chair.

The following new members were elected:

R. M. Lewis, Esq., Downing College.
Prof. J. H. Middleton, M.A., Exeter College, Oxford.
Major-General E. W. S. Scott, 18, Brookside.

The following Officers were elected for the next year:

President:—the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., St Catharine's College.
New Vice-President:—Prof. C. C. Babington, M.A., F.R.S.
Treasurer:—W. M. Fawcett, Esq., M.A., Jesus College.
Secretary:—Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., Corpus Christi College.

New members of Council:

J. E. Foster, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.
Rev. Bryan Walker, LL.D., Corpus Christi College.
Rev. Prof. M. Creighton, M.A., Emmanuel College.
G. W. Prothero, Esq., M.A., King's College.
C. Waldstein, Esq., M.A. King's College.

The Annual report alluded with great regret to the loss that the Society had sustained by the death of Mr Bradshaw. (See p. liii.)

The PRESIDENT exhibited a triangular pierced brick (kindly presented to the Society by Mr Pickering Phipps, of Collingtree Manor, through Sir Henry Dryden), of the same character as the brick presented lately to the Society by the Rev. W. G. F. Piggott. The brick presented by Mr Phipps was found in the excavations at Hunsbury, or Danes' Camp, near Northampton; and those concerned in the excavations were completely unable to determine what the use of these triangular bricks was.

Professor E. C. CLARK gave an exhaustive history of the Law School from 1470 A.D. down to the present time; and exhibited and discussed several drawings illustrative of the successive changes in University costume.

After the meeting,

Baron A. von HÜGEL exhibited some antiquities found with Saxon skeletons at Girton in a field recently acquired by the College. The field, extending along the high road, lies to the east of the present buildings, and the skeletons were found within a stone's throw of the College. The collection included a pair of circular and five cross-shaped bronze fibulæ, strings of glass and amber beads, a bangle of Kimmeridge clay, a bronze girdle-hanger (?), a pair of tweezers, a buckle and two pairs of clasps. A large bone comb, two spear heads and several iron knives were also found. Besides the skeletons two rough, plain urns were exhumed, but it was impossible to get them entire out of the earth, and their contents yielded nothing worth preserving.

Mr Walter K. FOSTER, who in conjunction with Baron von Hügel, carried on the excavation, has most generously presented the entire "find" to the Museum of Archaeology. The best thanks of the Society are due to the authorities of Girton College for allowing these excavations to be made.

II. LIST OF COUNCIL ELECTED MAY 24, 1886.

President.

Rev. GEORGE FORREST BROWNE, B.D., St Catharine's College.

Vice-Presidents.

GEORGE MURRAY HUMPHRY, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., King's College, *Professor of Surgery.*

THOMAS MCKENNY HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Clare College, *Woodwardian Professor of Geology.*

CHARLES CARDALE BABINGTON, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Botany.*

Treasurer.

WILLIAM MILNER FAWCETT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Jesus College.

Secretary.

Rev. SAMUEL SAVAGE LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A., Corpus Christi College.

Ordinary Members of Council.

*NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, Esq., M.A., LL.M., Downing College.

*Rev. WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, M.A., Litt. D., Christ's College, *Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon.*

*ALEXANDER MACALISTER, Esq., M.A., M.D., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Anatomy.*

*Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Trinity College, *Registrary.*

*E. C. CLARK, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., St John's College, *Regius Professor of Civil Law.*

*JOHN WILLIS CLARK, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Superintendent of the Museum of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.*

*FRANCIS JOHN HENRY JENKINSON, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

JOHN EBENEZER FOSTER, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

Rev. BRYAN WALKER, M.A., LL.D., Corpus Christi College.

Rev. Canon MANDELL CREIGHTON, M.A., Emmanuel College, *Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History.*

G. W. PROTHERO, Esq., M.A., King's College, *University Lecturer in History.*

C. WALDSTEIN, Esq., M.A., King's College, *Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum and Reader in Classical Archaeology.*

Excursion-Secretary.

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, Esq., M.A., LL.M.

Auditors.

SWANN HURRELL, Esq., J.P.

F. C. WACE, Esq., M.A., *Esquire Bedell.*

* Remaining from the old Council.

III. SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1885.

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.
Balance, Dec. 31, 1884	145	16	5
Subscriptions	222	12	0
Sale of Publications	7	7	4
Interest on G. E. R. stock	7	15	6
	£383	11	3

Payments.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Museum of Archaeology:						
Part of Curator's salary (5 quarters)	62	10	0			
Show-cases	34	18	3			
Lamps	0	10	0			
Library	2	15	0			
				100	13	3
Printing				20	18	0
Portrait Exhibition				11	19	6
Miscellaneous Expenses				3	1	6
Balance, Dec. 31, 1885				246	19	0
				£383	11	3

April 6, 1886.

F. C. WACE,
SWANN HURRELL, } *Auditors.*

IV. LIST OF PRESENTS

RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 24, 1886.

ANTIQUITIES, &c.

From Mr O. Johnson:

The bowl of a spoon found at Horningsea in 1884.

From Mr Pickering Phipps, Collingtree Manor:

A triangular pierced brick, found at Hunsbury, Northamptonshire.

BOOKS.

A. From various donors:

From Messrs Mears and Stainbank:

Church Bells.

From the United States Department of the Interior:

Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. v.

From the United States Bureau of Education (Washington):

Circulars of Information (1885), Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4.
Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1883–84.

From F. W. Putnam, Esq., Curator of the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A.

Remarks upon chipped stone implements, &c.
On Jadeite ornaments from Central America.

From the Brookville Society of Natural History:

Bulletin of the Society, No. 1.

From the Author:

Handbook of Engraved Gems, by C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College; second edition, London, 1885.

From Mr T. Hughes, Chester:

The Cheshire Sheaf, parts 14—22.

From J. E. Foster, Esq., M.A.:

Report presented to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society at its First General Meeting, May 6, 1841.

From the St Alban's Architectural and Archaeological Society:

Transactions, 1884.

From Mr E. A. Barber, Philadelphia, U.S.A.:

The Museum, nos. 1—4 (May—August, 1885).

From Mr Walter Lovell:

The Archaeological Journal, nos. 5, 9.

From Dr W. J. Hoffman (Washington):

Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Washington, Vol. III.

Report of the Comptroller of the Currency, 1885.

B. From Societies, etc. in union for the exchange of publications:

1. The Society of Antiquaries of London (C. K. WATSON, Esq., M.A., *Secretary*, Burlington House, London, W.):

   Proceedings, Vol. IX, Index and Title-page, Vol. X, Nos. 2, 3. 8vo.

2. The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (R. H. GOSSELIN, Esq., *Secretary*, Oxford Mansions, Oxford Street, London, W.):

   The Archaeological Journal (Vol. XLII) Nos. 166, 167, 168, (Vol. XLIII) 169.

3. The St Paul's Ecclesiological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, E. J. WELLS, Esq., Mallinson House, Wandsworth Common, S.W.):

   Transactions, Vol. I, part V.

4. The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society (*Hon. Secretary*, F. S. PULLING, Esq., M.A., 69 Walton Street, Oxford):

   Nothing received this year.

5. The Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*), R. FITCH, Esq., Norwich):

   Norfolk Archæology, Vol. x, part ii.

6. The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History (*Hon. Secretary*, J. MACHELL SMITH, Esq., Bury St Edmunds):

   Proceedings, Vol. vi, part 2.

7. The Essex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, H. W. KING, Esq., Leigh Hill, Essex):

   Transactions, Vol. iii, part 1.

8. The Kent Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. Canon W. A. SCOTT ROBERTSON, M.A., Throwley Vicarage, Faversham):

   Nothing received this year.

9. The Sussex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Librarian*, R. CROSSKEY, Esq., Lewes):

   Facsimile of Domesday Book in relation to the county of Sussex. 4to.

10. The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society (*Curator*, P. B. HAYWARD, Esq., Cathedral Yard, Exeter):

    Nothing received this year.

11. The Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, W. F. FREER, Esq., Stonygate, Leicester):

    Transactions, Vol. vi, part 2.

12. The Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, Bedford, Leicester, etc. (*General Secretary*, Rev. Canon G. T. HARVEY, Vicar's Court, Lincoln):

    Reports and Papers during the year 1884.

13. The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (*Hon. Secretary*, C. T. GATTY, Esq., 18 Pelham Grove, Sefton Park, Liverpool):

    Transactions, 1874–1882 (8 volumes).

14. The Liverpool Numismatic Society:

    Nothing received this year.

15. The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (THE SECRETARIES, The Old Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne):

    Archaeologia Aeliana, Vol. xi, no. 1. 8vo.
    Proceedings, Vol. ii, nos. 5—20.

16. The Cambrian Archaeological Association (*Treasurer*, Rev. E. L. BARNWELL, Melksham, Wilts.):
    Archaeologia Cambrensis (Fifth Series), nos. 6, 7, 8.

17. The Powys-Land Club (*Hon. Secretary*, M. C. JONES, Esq., F.S.A., Gungrog, Welshpool):
    Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. XVIII, parts ii, iii, Vol. III, part i.

18. The Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Association (*Hon. Secretary*, ARTHUR COX, Esq., Mill Hill, Derby):
    Journal of the Society, Vol. VIII. 1886.

19. The Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. F. GRAVES, A.B., Inisnag, Stonyford, co. Kilkenny):
    Journal of the Association, nos. 60, 61, 62, 63.

20. La Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (*Archiviste*, M. E. NICARD, Musée de Louvre, Paris):
    Mémoires, Tome XLV.

21. The Norwegian Archaeological Society (Antiqvar N. NICOLAYSEN, *Sekretær*, Kristiania):
    Nothing received this year.

22. Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale de Norvège à Christiania (*Bibliothécaire*, A. C. DROLSUM):
    Nothing received this year.

23. La Commission Impériale Archéologique de la Russie (*Secrétaire*, M. TIESCHHAUSEN, à l'Hermitage, Pétersbourg):
    Nothing received this year.

24. Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρία (Mr ET. A. COUMANOUDIS, γραμματεύς, Athens):
    Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική, Vol. III, parts 3, 4.
    Πρακτικά, 1884.

25. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (F. W. PUTNAM, Esq., *Curator*):
    Nothing received this year.

26. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. (SPENCER F. BAIRD, Esq., *Secretary*):
    Annual Report for 1883.

27. The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia (H. PHILLIPS, Jun., Esq., Ph.D., *Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer*, 304 South Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.):
    Report of the Society for 1885.

28. The Archaeological Institute of America (*Secretary*, E. H. GREENLEAF, Esq., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.):

Sixth Annual Report, 1884–85. Cambridge, U.S.A.

29. The Bureau of Ethnology, Washington (W. J. HOFFMANN, Esq., M.D., *Secretary*):

Annual Report, 1881–82.

30. The Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences (W. H. PRATT, Esq., *Corresponding Secretary and Curator*):

Nothing received this year.

31. La Société Jersiaise (*Secretary*, M. EUGÈNE DUPREY, Queen Street, St Helier, Jersey):

Dixième Bulletin Annuel.

32. The London and Middlesex Archaeological Society (JOHN E. PRICE, Esq., *Secretary*, Albion Road, Stoke Newington):

Transactions, Part xix (Vol. VI, part 2).
East Barnet, by the Rev. F. C. Cass, M.A. Part 1.

33. The Surrey Archaeological Society (THOMAS MILBOURN, Esq., *Hon. Sec.*, 8 Dane's Inn, London, W.C.):

Collections, Vol. IX, part 1.

34. The Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (WM. BIDGOOD, Esq., *Curator*, Taunton Castle):

Proceedings, Vols. IV, VIII, IX, XII, XIII, XV, XVII, XIX—XXVIII, XXX.

35. Die Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde (*President*, Dr DIETRICH SCHÄFER, Jena):

Zeitschrift des Vereins, Band XII, heft 3, 4.

36. American Antiquarian Society: (*Foreign Secretary*, Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, Hartford, Conn.):

Nothing received this year.

37. The Johns Hopkins University (N. MURRAY, Esq. *Publication Agency*, Baltimore, Maryland):

University Circulars, November, 1883—May, 1885, Vol. V, no. 43.
Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Annual Reports of the President of the University.
Studies from the Biological Laboratory, Vol. II, nos. 2, 3, 4, Vol. III, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.
Studies in Historical and Political Science, First Series, Second Series, Third Series, Fourth Series, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

New Testament Autographs, by J. Rendel Harris.
Annual Report of the Maryland Historical Society. 1884–85.
Proceedings of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund for the Education of Freedmen, 1883 (Baltimore).

38. Die Historische Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen (Dr EHRENBERG, *Sekretar*, Posen, North Germany). [10 May 1886.]

Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft, erster Jahrgang, heft 3, 4.

39. The British and American Archaeological Society of Rome (*Secretary*, The Hon. A. J. STRUTT, 76 Via della Croce, Rome). [24 May 1886.]

V. LAWS.

(*Revised Feb.* 28, 1881.)

I. This Society shall be called The Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

II. The object of the Society shall be to encourage the study of History, Architecture and Antiquities, to meet for the discussion of these subjects, and to collect and print information relative thereto.

III. The subscription of each member of the Society shall be *One Guinea* annually, such subscription to be due on the first day of January in each year; on the payment of which sum he shall become entitled to all the publications of the Society during the current year.

IV. A member shall be allowed to compound for his future annual subscriptions by one payment of *Ten Guineas;* or, after the payment of fifteen annual subscriptions, by the payment of five guineas.

V. If the annual subscription of any member be twelve months in arrear, the Treasurer shall make application for it, and if it be not paid within one month, a second application shall be made for it, and if that is not attended to within one month, a notice of the same shall be suspended in the Society's usual place of meeting, and the Secretary shall inform the member thereof: if the said subscription be still unpaid at the expiration of two years from the time when it became due, the name of such person shall be announced at the next Annual General Meeting as having been struck off the list of the Society.

VI. No Member whose subscription is in arrear, and has been applied for (according to Law V), shall be entitled to vote at any meeting of the Society.

VII. Any person who is desirous of becoming a member of the Society shall be proposed by two members at any of the ordinary meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting: but all Noblemen, Bishops, Heads of Colleges, and Professors of this University shall be balloted for at the meeting at which they are proposed.

VIII. Honorary Members may be proposed with the sanction of the Council by at least two members of the Society at any of the usual meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting. No person shall be so proposed who is either resident within the county of Cambridge or a member of the University. Honorary Members shall receive all the current publications of the Society.

IX. In the voting by ballot for the election of members and honorary members one black ball in four shall exclude.

X. The management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a President (who shall not be eligible for that office for more than two successive years), three Vice-Presidents (of whom the senior shall retire at each Annual Meeting and be ineligible for re-election during the next two years), a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not more than twelve nor less than seven other Members, to be elected from amongst the Members of the Society who are graduates of the University. Each member of the Council shall have due notice of the meetings of that body, at which not less than five shall constitute a quorum.

XI. The President, one Vice-President, the Treasurer, and the Secretary, and at least three ordinary members of the Council, shall be elected annually by ballot, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May, the three senior ordinary members of the Council to retire annually.

XII. At the Meetings of the Society or of the Council the Chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, by the senior Vice-President, the Treasurer, or senior ordinary member of the Council then present. The Chairman shall have a casting vote in case of an equality of numbers, retaining also his own right to vote upon all questions submitted to the meeting.

XIII. The accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society shall be audited annually by two Auditors, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting; an abstract of such accounts shall be printed for the use of the members.

XIV. The Meetings of the Society shall take place once at least during each term: the place of meeting and all other arrangements, not specified in the Laws, shall be left to the discretion of the Council.

XV. No alteration shall be made in these Laws, except at the Annual General Meeting or at a special General Meeting called for that purpose, of which at least one week's notice shall be sent to all the members at their last known place of abode: and one month's notice of any proposed alteration shall be communicated, in writing, to the Secretary, in order that he may make the same known to all the members of the Society.

It is requested that all Communications intended for the Society, and the names of Candidates for admission, be forwarded to the Secretary, or to the Treasurer, 1 *Silver Street, Cambridge.*

Subscriptions received by the Treasurer, or by his Bankers, Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge; or at the Bank of Messrs Smith, Payne, and Smith, London, "To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's account with Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge."

VI. LIST OF COMMUNICATIONS (No. XXVIII) ISSUED WITH THE PRESENT REPORT, BEING PART II OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

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VI. The Lake of Mœris and the Patriarch Joseph. Communicated by F. Cope Whitehouse, Esq.

[November 30, 1885.]

Sixty-two miles above Memphis, or seventy-seven miles from where the Nile divides into the different channels forming the Delta, a lake, according to Pliny[1], had been formed by artificial means, which was described by the distinguished Mutianus as 450 miles in circumference and 50 paces deep. If, as the Roman historian seems to imply, its circuit had been diminished in his own day, it was still an immense artificial piece of water, cited by the Egyptians among their wondrous and memorable works, containing, indeed, two pyramids of conspicuous dimensions[2]. Strabo standing upon the roof of the Labyrinth noted that its borders resembled a sea beach, following the sinuosities of a coast and subject also to an annual tide of at least twenty feet. This sagacious and accurate traveller describes Egypt as having attained, in his time, the highest conceivable development. The attention and care bestowed upon the Nile was so great that industry had triumphed over nature. By nature a greater rise of the river irrigated a larger tract of land; but industry had completely succeeded in rectifying the deficiency of nature, so that in seasons when the rise of the river had been less than usual, as large a portion of the Delta was irrigated by means of canals and embankments, as

[1] A.D. 47; *Nat. Hist.* v. 9.
[2] *ib.* xxxvi. 16.

in seasons when the rise of the river was greater. The country above the Delta was irrigated in the same manner, except where the Nile was diverted by a canal into a large lake or a tract of country which it irrigated, as the Lake Mœris and the Arsinoïte nome, or where the canals discharged themselves into Lake Mareotis at Alexandria. The irrigation of lower Egypt was controlled by a reservoir which, in extent a sea, and in the colour of its waters resembling the sea, was by its magnitude and depth able to sustain the superabundance of water which flowed into it at the time of the rise of the river so as to prevent the flooding of the raised inhabited parts, and the tracts devoted to the cultivation of trees. On the subsidence of the inundation the excess was discharged into the river by the canal at its two mouths, but a supply was retained in both the lake and canal for irrigation. In addition to the natural and independent properties of the lake, as a backwater for the Nile, there were on both mouths of the canal locks by which the engineers stored up and distributed the water which entered or issued from the canal[1]. Diodorus had given additional particulars of interest. Meris (sic) was a monarch who built a Pylon in Memphis towards the north, more stately and magnificent than any other entrance to that ancient fortress. He cut a channel for a lake, bringing it down in length from the city 325 furlongs, whose use was admirable, and the greatness of the work incredible. The Egyptians said that it was in circuit 3,600 furlongs, and in the majority of places 300 feet in depth. Who is he, exclaimed the Sicilian geographer, that considers the greatness of this work, that may not justly ask the question—What myriads of men were employed, and how many years spent in finishing it? Considering the benefit and advantage brought by this great work to the government, none ever could sufficiently extol it, according to what the truth of the thing deserved. In words

[1] Strabo XVII. 1.

similar to those employed by the Pontic Greek, he recounts its usefulness and object, adding that the barrages and cleaning of the sluices cost 50 talents annually. This lake, he said, continues to the benefit of the Egyptians for these purposes to our very days, and is called the Lake of Myris or Meris to this day. In earlier times the queen received as a royal perquisite a talent of silver daily from the fisheries. Multitudes of people were engaged in curing twenty-two sorts of fish, and were hardly able to salt up the vast number caught. Thus in the full light of history, at the commencement of our era, with greater facility for travel and study than any period has afforded down to our own time, three men, a Roman admiral, a gentleman of high birth and extreme accuracy well received in the political world, and a geographer from the important port of Syracuse, pledged their reputations to support the assertion that the marvel of the age was to be found in Egypt, but not on the banks of the Nile, and due to a monarch whose splendid bid for immortality rested upon the benefits which for about two thousand years had been conferred by his agency.

In order to establish a scale by which to estimate this engineering triumph recourse was had by the same writers to works which still remain. It now stands on record that "in the pyramids of Gizeh one may fully realize a result that human labour has not achieved elsewhere; and, that no monuments of man's raising elsewhere afford any scale by which to estimate the greatness of the Pyramid of Cheops." (*Encyc. Brit.* "Egypt.") Repulsive as may be the thought, if this remains uncontradicted and uncorrected for another forty years, the future historian will point to English literature in the nineteenth century as a proof of our incapacity to judge the achievements of the human race with the sober common sense of Herodotus. The Egyptians told him that the first man who ruled over Egypt was Mên, and that in his time all Egypt, except the Thebaic canton, was a marsh, none of the land below

Lake Mœris then showing itself above the surface of the water. This is, he added from his own observation, a distance of seven days' sail from the sea up the river. (Herodotus, Book II. c. 4.) In a later chapter he repeats that the priests said that Mên was the first king of Egypt, and that it was he who raised the dyke which protected Memphis from the inundation of the Nile. Before his time the river flowed entirely along the sandy range of hills which skirts Egypt on the Libyan or Western side. The hills on the east are precipitous rock. Mên, however, by banking up the river at the bend which it thus formed about a hundred furlongs south of Memphis, laid the ancient channel dry, while he dug a new course for the stream halfway between the two lines of hills. To this day, wrote the Ionian, the elbow which the Nile forms at the point where it is forced aside into the new channel is guarded with the greatest care by the Persians, and strengthened every year; for if the river were to break out at this place and pour over the mound there would be danger of Memphis being completely overwhelmed by the flood. Here at all events no one will question his accuracy. Where is Memphis? Mên, the first king, having thus, by turning the river, made the tract where it used to run, dry land, proceeded in the first place to build the city now called Memphis, which lies in the narrow part of Egypt; after which he excavated a lake outside the town, to the north and west, communicating with the river which was itself the eastern boundary. Probably the excavation which was a needful adjunct to the metropolis was also the quarry for the material used in the embankment which gave to Memphis its names Men-Nofer, the good abiding place, and Anbu-Hat, the White wall[1]. "While the other kings, said the Egyptians, were personages of no note or distinction, and left no monuments of any account, Mœris left several memorials of his reign;—the lake excavated by his orders, whose dimensions I shall give

[1] Herod. II. 99, 100, 101.

presently, and the pyramids built by him in the lake, the size of which will be stated when I describe the lake itself wherein they stand."

In the description of these works Herodotus stated that: "I have the authority not of the Egyptians only, but of others also who agree with them. I shall speak likewise in part from my own observation." For the history he was indebted to the natives; for the visible objects he made himself responsible. He then recounts his visit to the Labyrinth, which he found to surpass description. "For if all the walls and other great works of the Greeks could be put together in one, they would not equal, either for labour or expense, this Labyrinth; and yet the temple of Ephesus is a building worthy of note and so is the temple of Samos. The pyramids likewise exceed description and are severally equal to a number of the greatest works of the Greeks, but the Labyrinth surpasses the pyramids. The upper chambers I myself passed through and saw; of the underground chambers I can speak only from report, for the keepers of the building could not be got to show them, since they contained (as they said) the sepulchres of the kings who built the Labyrinth and also those of the sacred crocodiles. The upper chambers, however, I saw with my own eyes and found them to excel all other human productions." With what striking candour the traveller acknowledges that his desire to enter the lower part of this mysterious and splendid edifice remained ungratified! How wisely also he prefaces his high estimate of its importance by citing the opinion of his predecessors, and the common consent of the scientific world of his day! The Egyptians considered it superior to the monuments of the Nile Valley. Those monuments ranked above all the works of the great age of Greek religious architecture. It was of remote antiquity and strange plan. Its devious passages were foreign to the rectangular structures of the Egyptians. It had been built, it was said, shortly after an

uprising against a hierarchy, but, as one might assume, on lines which were those of the priestly caste which had been expelled. The renaissance of a Reformation had not yet supplanted the Gothic curves. Yet from 1854 to 1882 this description served as a standard to measure the mendacious ignorance of the Greek writer. For Dr Lepsius, having assured the world that the miserable mud-brick walls of the Greco-Roman necropolis of Arsinoe were the remains of the Labyrinth, insisted that they gave a measure of value for the intelligence of not only Herodotus, but Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny and all who preceded or followed them from Hecatæus to Stephen of Byzantium. But the pyramids of Gizeh are an indisputable monument of how grandiose ideas had assumed permanent form at the hands of some race in Egypt, a thousand years before the visit of Herodotus. "Wonderful as is the Labyrinth, the work called the Lake of Mœris, which is close by the Labyrinth, is yet more astonishing. The measure of its circumference is sixty schœnes, or 3,600 furlongs, which is equal to the entire length of Egypt along the sea-coast. The lake stretches in its longest direction from north to south, and in its deepest part is of the depth of fifty fathoms. It is manifestly an artificial excavation, for nearly in the centre there stand two pyramids, rising to the height of fifty fathoms above the surface of the water and extending as far beneath; against (not on) each of them is a colossal statue sitting upon a throne. Thus these pyramids are one hundred fathoms high, which is exactly a furlong (stadium) of six hundred feet: the fathom being six feet in length, or four cubits, which is the same thing, since a cubit measures six, and a foot four palms." The pyramids of Gizeh rise six hundred feet above the Nile. The pyramids of Mœris were of equal height above the bed of the lake. If pyramidal, how could they be crowned each with a statue? How too would the sitting figure serve to give an exact measure of height, and how could such mon-

strous violations of æsthetic propriety have been executed? No colossal (presumably monolithic) statue could have been raised over five hundred feet above the ground or two hundred feet above the water! Herodotus and the later writers were wrong in their inference that this lake was an excavation. Diodorus says that these two pyramids and a sepulchre were constructed on a natural island. The hollow was an erosion or depression, similar to the parallel basin of the Gulf of Suez and of the same depth below the Mediterranean. Whether it had been eroded (ὀρυχθῆναι) by the Nile when the stream flowed freely in and out of the basin, and a large amount of friable rock had been swept away, or the Egyptians had quarried a certain amount of rock and referred to their own labour, it is obvious, that the Greek and Roman historians were misled by a pure assumption which in no respects affects their integrity or competence as witnesses to fact. They looked across a surface of comparatively shallow water but a few feet deeper than the Nile. But under the western hills of the desert, the plummet sank into a deep basin of fifty fathoms, which they saw indicated above them by the height of the artificial remnants of the pyramid island. It seems scarcely credible that these circumstantial accounts should have been rejected in their entirety. In 1881, the world of letters had accepted the position thus stated by Dr Brugsch. "The great attention which king Amenemhat III. bestowed upon the question of the rise of the Nile will be best proved by noticing the enormous basin which he caused to be dug by the hands of men in the modern province of the Fayoum for the reception and storage of the superfluous water of the inundation. This lake, so rich in fish, was protected by artistic dams on all sides, and had a communication with the river by a tunnel for water, and locks which were constructed for the influx or the complete shutting off of the water. For a long time it was supposed that this basin was the same as the Birket-el-Keroon, a great natural lake to the West of the

Fayoum, until by his researches, M. Linant-Bey proved that the ancient lake Mœris was situated in the south-east part of the province of the Fayoum, where the depression of the ground and the ancient dykes exactly describe its site. At the epoch of the inundation the waters of the river entered by means of a canal into the lake, where locks retained them. At the time of the low waters, the gates were opened to irrigate the great plains of the districts in the neighbourhood of the lake." (Brugsch's *Hist. of Eg.* I. p. 167, 1879.) This may be found with variations of phraseology in all the standard works on Egypt. The area is indicated under the name of Mœris on the official maps of the Egyptian and English War Offices, as well as on the later maps which are not reprints of those published prior to 1840. The map and section given by Dr Lepsius in the *Denkmäler aus Ægypten*, 1859, and the original map of M. Linant-Bey show that he substituted for the vast inland sea of the ancients a shallow reservoir, less than one-tenth of its circuit and depth. Considering this a fatal blow to the integrity of all the ancient records I determined to test the value of his observations. It was easy to indicate inherent error. It was easy also to prove that a lake might be formed with a surface of two thousand square miles by filling the Fayoum, when its greatest depth would be about fifty fathoms. It was necessary, however, to show that in the time of Herodotus, the lake extended much farther to the South. It was also desirable to include in some way the text of Claudius Ptolemy, and if possible verify my conjecture that the mediæval draughtsman had worked from maps of early date. Such a map had been seen by Masūdi (A.D. 958). The Mt. Athos MS. still retained an imperfect representation of a reservoir in the desert with its centre forty miles south of the centre of the Fayoum. The map of the French expedition shows a vast and monotonous table land broken only by a single "*butte pyramidale nommée Heram.*" There could be no *butte* in stratified limestone where

there was not also a depression or erosion. On March 2nd, 1882, I visited this "Haram," which I found in a valley beyond the Western limit of the Fayoum basin, known as the Wadi Reian. It was erroneously said to be pyramidal in shape, but called a "pyramid" (*haram*) by the Arabs. It was at a point near the middle of the Mœris Basin according to Claudius Ptolemy, and where the greatest depth might be anticipated beneath "montagnes à pic" similar to those which rose above the western shore of the Birket el-Qerūn. These considerations should have induced the cartographers and the Egyptologists to retain the outline of a southern basin similar to that marked "Meridis lacus" on those Ptolemaic manuscripts where Lakes Mareotis and Sirbonis are not represented conventionally. In April 1882 I crossed the ridge to the S.-W. of the Gharaq basin, accompanied by an English engineer specially qualified for the task, provided with a theodolite and aneroid barometer. He is responsible for the map (exhibited) which shows a depth of not less than 250 feet below the level of the Nile. About the same time, Dr Schweinfurth told me that Dr Ascherson had traversed this part of the valley with the following results: Beni-Suef +91 feet, Medinet el-Fayoum +75 feet, the town at Gharaq +6·5 feet, and the Wadi Reian at the edge of the desert plateau – 95 feet (*Zeit. Ges. f. Erd.* 1880, p. 160). This difference of 186 feet between high Nile at Beni-Suef and the dry bed of the Wadi Reian was not a maximum. Dr Ascherson had no interest, as I had, in finding the lowest place, but would rather have avoided any unnecessary descent. My engineer had no suspicion of these independent observations, made eleven years previously, until after his own report was in my hands. In the May number (116) of the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* (Berlin), 1885, Dr Kiepert has given a map draughted from the observations made by Dr Ascherson, including those communicated by me.

In 1883 I spent two months in the Gharaq desert in the Fayoum, near Qasr Qeroun, and on the Bahr Jūsuf and contiguous Bedouin pasturages, but I was not able to induce either the Arab or European engineers, detailed to assist me, to accompany me to the points which I had reached when alone, to seek for the colossal statues at the Haram, or follow the beaches plainly visible in a photograph (exhibited) near the hill "Musquiqeh" (see Map, *R. Geog. Soc. Bull.* Nov. 1885). Dr Schweinfurth was similarly unable to induce his strong escort of experienced Bedouins to follow him to the South-west of Qasr Querūn. The Eastern end of this basin seems to approach to within about fifteen miles of Behnesa. The map of Dr Ascherson shows that we only know it, in modern times, from the report of the Bedouins. But a hieroglyphic inscription is given by Dr Brugsch (*Dict. Geog.* pp. 1188—1191), which describes a canal of 40 cubits, serving to conduct the inundation into "the lake of the West" at a point near Behnesa. This town of the Phoenix (or Phoenicians, see Lieblein, *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.* June, 1882), would be fitly represented by the mythical bird, if the waters followed a subterranean channel similar to those which "run among the hills" of Syria to gush out in a fountain as at Barada, or the source of the Jordan, or the Ain es-Sultana of Jericho. "I have seen," says Masūdi (chap. IX. p. 204), "in the Geography (of Ptolemy) a map representing the twelve sources of the Nile, filling two lakes," and this map, strange as it may seem, remains the only source of information for the valley with which I have ventured to complete that of the Berlin Geographical Society. It was good authority in the nineteenth century, as it was in the tenth, for the two lakes of Nyanza. It may prove correct here.

Masūdi, who died in A.D. 958, describes the state of Egypt as far inferior in his time to the antecedent period when with "dykes, bridges and canals in excellent working order the whole of Egypt, with its cultivated lands and pasturages was irrigated

even by the scant rise of sixteen cubits. These canals were seven in number: The canals of Alexandria, Sakha, Damietta, Memphis, and those of the Fayoum, Serdous and el-Menhi. According to the accounts of the learned, Egypt was at that time, beyond any other country, covered with gardens. They succeeded one another without interruption on both sides of the Nile from Houlwan to Rosetta. When the inundation had attained nine cubits, it filled the canals of el-Menhi, of the Fayoum, of Serdous and Sakha. As for the canals of the Fayoum and of el-Menhi they were excavated by Joseph, son of Jacob, under the following circumstances: Raian ibn-Walid (الريان بن الوليد), king of Egypt, satisfied with the interpretation of the kine and sheaves seen by him in his dream, associated Joseph with him in his government. This Allah himself teaches us, when he puts in the mouth of the prophet Joseph these words: 'Trust to me the store houses of this land, for I am a prudent steward' (Koran xii. 55.)." This citation from the Golden Fields (chap. XXXI.) of Masūdi (ca. A.D. 950) is sufficient to show the error of the assertion made by every modern writer that the Bahr Jūsuf, the canal of el-Fayoum, owes its name to Saladin who built the citadel of Cairo in A.D. 1166. This canal, which is in fact the oldest and most important artificial water-course in the world, was known to Herodotus as the canal of Mên. It has supplied the Fayoum with water since the foundation of the Labyrinth not less than 4,000 years ago. Many other Arabic historians give a more or less extended account of the manner in which Joseph was led to undertake the vast work. In the "Wonders of Egypt" by Murtadi there are several versions. The most interesting, perhaps, is that given on the authority of a certain Hassam ibn-Isaac. "When Joseph, to whom may Allah show mercy and grant peace, was master of Egypt and high in favour with Raian his sovereign, after that he was more than a hundred years old was the object of envy on the part of the favorites of

the king and the puissant seigneurs of the court of Memphis, on account of the great power which he wielded and the affection entertained for him by his monarch. They accordingly thus addressed the king. 'Great King, Joseph is now very old; his knowledge has diminished; his beauty has faded; his judgement is unsound; his sagacity has failed.' The king said: 'Set him a task which shall serve as a test.' At that time Alphiom was called el-Hun, or the Marsh. It served as a waste basin for the waters of Upper Egypt, which flowed in and out unrestrained. The courtiers, having taken counsel together what to propose to the king, gave this reply to Pharaoh: 'Lay the royal commands upon Joseph that he shall divert the water of the Nile from el-Hun, and drain it so as to give you a new Province and an additional source of revenue.' Thereupon the king summoned Joseph and said: 'You know the high esteem in which I hold my daughter and you see that the time has arrived in which I ought to carve an estate for her out of the crown lands, and give her a separate establishment, of which she would be the mistress. I have, however, no territory available for this purpose except el-Hun. It is in many respects favorably situated. It is at a convenient distance from the Capital. It is surrounded by desert. My daughter will thus be independent and protected.'" Here Murtadi cites from another author who says that the Fayoum is in the middle of Egypt, as Egypt itself is in the middle of the earth, because it cannot be approached without traversing tracts of dangerous desert. "'Quite true, great King,' answered Joseph, 'when would you wish it done? for accomplished it shall be by the aid of the All-Powerful.' 'The sooner the better,' said the king. Then Allah inspired Joseph with a plan. He directed him to make three canals; one, from Upper Egypt; a canal on the East; and a canal on the West. Joseph collected workmen and dug the canal of Menhi from Ashmūnin to el-Lahūn. Then he excavated the canal of Alphiom, and the Eastern canal

with another canal near it called Benhamet, beyond the inhabited parts of Alphiom, from the desert of Benhamet to the West. In this way the water was drained from [the upper plateau of] el-Hun. Then he set an army of laborers at work. They cut down the tamarisks and bushes which grew there, and carried them away. At the season when the Nile begins to rise the Marsh had been converted into good cultivable land. The Nile rose. The water entered the mouth of the Menhi canal and flowed [down the Nile Valley] to el-Lahun. Thence it turned towards Alphiom and entered its canal in such volume that it filled it and made it a region irrigated by the Nile." I have retained the form Alphiom instead of el-Fayoum, to explain a fanciful etymology of the name which has, nevertheless, a special interest. "King Raian came to see his new Province with the courtiers who had advised him to set Joseph this task. When they saw the result they marvelled at the skill and inventive genius of Joseph, and exclaimed: 'We do not know which most to admire, the draining of the Marsh, and the destruction of the noxious plants, or the conversion of its surface into fertile and well-watered fields.' Then the king said to Joseph: 'How long did it take you to bring this district into the excellent state in which I find it?' 'Seventy days,' responded Joseph. Pharaoh thereupon turned to his courtiers and said: 'Apparently one could not have done it in a thousand days (*alph-iom*)'. This remark of the king led to its being called Alphiom, or the land of the thousand days, and that very year it was sown and cultivated like other parts of Egypt."

It was further narrated by Hassam that Joseph having thus regained his hold upon the king, and won the confidence of his courtiers, whose pardon he solicited from Pharaoh, said: "You have not yet seen all that my skill and energy can accomplish. I shall put in the Fayoum a family from every district in Egypt and cause each to build a town. So there will be as many towns in the Fayoum as there are districts in Egypt. Then I

will supply each town with water in proper quantity. I will conduct it by an aqueduct at the time when the water can only reach the town under ground. I will make the conduits on different levels according as the towns are higher or lower, and regulate the flow by the seasons and the hours of day and night. I will measure the quantity of water so that it shall be equitably allotted." Pharaoh replied: "That is the work of God." Then Joseph commenced to construct the towns. The first was called Betian. Here the daughter of Pharaoh lived. Then he made canals and dykes, apportioned the land and water and thus gave rise to geometry, up to that time unknown in Egypt. For they simply followed Joseph, and this is one of the things which he was taught by Allah. It is said also that he was the first to construct a Nilometer and measure the inundation.

The king Menes, Mœris, Myris or Mēris of the Greeks, is thus identified with the patriarch Joseph. It will be observed, however, that greater stress is laid upon the creation of the fertile district of the Fayoum and less is said of the lake. There is also nothing here which corresponds to the story of countless thousands of labourers employed in excavating the basin. The Arabic historian is right. The work was the result of engineering skill and did not require the fabulous expenditure of time and toil to which the Greeks attached so much importance. At the time (1881) when I read these Oriental accounts there was no possible explanation of the western canal. The modern maps were at fault. The maps of the Ptolemaic manuscripts give this Wadi Reian in its proper place in the desert to the south. We are not therefore in the dilemma of Diodorus. The utility of Lake Mœris fully deserved his commendation, while the simplicity of the means in no respect detracts from the splendor of the achievement. It is also plain that we have here a clue to that story which every reader of Herodotus has hitherto wished might have been omitted. The daughter of Cheops is the daughter of Pharaoh. The papyrus of the

Museum of Boulaq represents Mœris as a noble female with the ornaments and dress of the daughter of a king. One can readily surmise that the evil mind of the informant of Herodotus, rightly connecting the construction of the Pyramids with the revenues derived from Mœris, had concocted the foul tale which the Ionian did not venture to suppress.

The Latin hymnologists have accustomed us to associate Mariam, Maria or Mary with the bitterness of maternal grief. When one considers the widespread use of the name it seems more probable to derive it from that word, which is English as well as Egyptian, and find in it allusion to the beauty and fruitfulness of the "Meres" or pools of the East.

On the first of August (1885) the Council of Notables of Egypt held a session. The business before it was the consideration of a Minute addressed to it by Col. Scott Moncrieff, Under Secretary of State. In it he said: "Il n'y a pas en Egypte un champ d'études plus intéressant que la province du Fayoum. J'espère, en outre, que ces études amèneront la solution du problème de la situation exacte de l'ancien lac Mœris. Une somme de £100,000 est jugée nécessaire pour ces travaux" (§ IX). On the "Carte Hydrographique de la moyenne Egypte," by M. Linant de Bellefonds (Paris, 1854), one may read the vain assertion "Le Mémoire publié par M. Linant sur le lac Mœris, donne tous les éclaircissements désirables sur ce point de l'histoire ancienne de l'Egypte." It is a warning to those who have challenged antiquity with undue precipitation. There are innumerable questions which the skill and experience of Col. Scott Moncrieff will enable him to solve. A thorough survey of the entire coast line of 450 miles, the canals which I found in the desert, and the channel which is to be sought at Behnesa are studies which will be watched with the keenest interest by the world. In the same session Abd-el-Rahman pasha Roudy said: "L'histoire nous apprend qu'un grand bassin où étaient emmagasinées les eaux pendant la crue du Nil existait autrefois

dans la province du Fayoum, et qu'à l'époque de l'étiage les eaux de ce bassin étaient rendues aux irrigations. C'est de ce réservoir dont M. Moncrieff parle dans le neuvième paragraphe de sa Note, et dont il espère pouvoir déterminer exactement l'emplacement. M. Moncrieff est également d'avis que de grands bénéfices résulteront à l'Egypte de ses recherches à cet égard." Ahmed Bey El-Sabahi employed almost the very words of Strabo when he added: "Personne n'ignore que l'irrigation constitue pour le pays l'unique source de prospérité." But not only did the ancient historians fail to teach these important facts to the modern student, but they were pilloried for their pains. It was left for me to stand alone in the desert, and in the market-place, in 1882, crying: "Si le gouvernement égyptien examine cette partie de la dépression et constate les observations que j'ai faites la question sera pour toujours résolue; mais l'emplacement du lac immense de l'antiquité ne sera dans aucun cas celui du réservoir de M. Linant de Bellefonds Pacha" (*Revue Archéologique*, Paris, June, 1882).

The advantages to be derived from Lake Mœris are too obvious not to ensure hearty support for any scheme, however magnificent in its proportions, which may commend itself to the present enlightened administration of Egypt. The danger of an excessive rise of the Nile will be averted. The marshes of the Fayoum will be reclaimed. The Wadi Raian will be filled to the brim at each recurring inundation. Fertilizing streams will once more run in the north-eastern Delta towards the long-lost Pelusiac mouth. In A.D. 872, according to Masūdi, Ahmed ibn-Touloun heard from an aged Copt how the salt marshes of Bourlos and Menzaleh were once a vast territory, the best in Egypt, the most uniform and fertile. It was covered with gardens, palmgroves, vineyards, and plantations of trees. Nothing could compare with the beauty of this region. The only province which resembled it was the Fayoum, and it was even superior to the Fayoum in the wealth of its inhabitants,

in the abundance of its crops and the variety of its productions. Irrigation continued without interruption in summer and winter, and the orchards and fields were watered at the pleasure of its inhabitants, while the excess at high Nile passed off to the Mediterranean. This province became a salt lake and brackish fen about a century before the Muhammedan conquest. A petty prince, living at Farama, attacked the shêkh of Beliana. Each, in turn, cut the dykes between the river and the sea. The Nile, quitting its proper channels, gradually flooded the country.

The student of ancient history therefore must place upon the map of Egypt two basins. The northern must be conceived as having been at first a lake and marsh serving as a backwater for the Nile, while the southern was dry. Engineers, of an alien race, then conceived the idea of diverting the flood water of the Nile into the dry Wadi to the south-west. Evaporation speedily dried the Fayoum, and a system of canals converted it into a fertile province. In the meantime the other basin was gradually filling, and when full varied with the Nile and became a vast reservoir. The great bulk of the lake lay below low Nile, and was valuable only for its fisheries. The upper stratum of several hundred square miles in surface and about twenty feet in depth was annually renewed. Its volume was sufficient to receive the superabundant water of high Nile and to confer upon Middle Egypt and the Delta the benefits ascribed to Lake Mœris. If the Fayoum was fully redeemed fifteen centuries before our era, it had its vicissitudes, and at some later period, by neglect or by the yielding of the dyke, was filled to a depth of over one hundred feet above the present surface of the Birket el-Qeroun. The Egyptian temples, of uncertain date, in the desert on the north, stand on a well-defined shore. The Arsinoïte nome was carefully cultivated throughout its entire extent in the second century. The southern basin participated in the decay of public works at the

decline and fall of the Roman Empire. Its canal was choked. When the annual supply was arrested it would scarcely require a century to evaporate even its fifty fathoms of water. In 1881 no one conceded its existence. The name lingered about the tiny spring which furnished brackish water to the four European travellers who passed it on their way to the little Oasis. Now no one doubts that there is a depression which seems to satisfy all necessary conditions. The restoration of the lake is under consideration. A reservoir of fresh water three hundred feet deep and sixty miles long, blue in colour, surrounded by the desert, with the ruins of a town upon it corresponding to Dionysias, whose latitude and longitude were officially determined by the Alexandrine astronomers, would be formed in a few years by a short canal, three hundred feet in width, connecting the Wadi Raian with the Nile. The cardinal facts are fully established. It remains for the engineers to work out a plan by which the depression may be most advantageously utilized. The student will also find abundant occupation in tracing the influence of Lake Mœris in history and science, in literature and religion.

VII. On Eadmer's Elaboration of the first four books of the "Historia Novorum in Anglia." Communicated by Martin Rule, M.A., Pembroke College.

[February 8, 1886.]

The following monograph is the outcome of researches which were begun when I was engaged in editing my volume of Eadmer for the Rolls Series. Those researches were cut short by the discovery that the amount of space allowed me, by a rare and most kind concession, for my Preface was already needed for the preliminary investigations. If anything could console me for the disappointment that ensued on the discovery, it is the fact that I am now privileged to make my labours known under the patronage of an *alma mater* with whom minute and painstaking work is always sure of recognition.

When the duty was assigned me of preparing an edition of the *Historia Novorum*, I resolved to number myself amongst those editors who transcribe and collate for themselves, and not by deputy; and I did so not without hope of discovering some clue that might be of good service to others. A clue I did discover. With what success I have followed it up the learned will determine.

It cannot be necessary that I should again adduce all the facts which go to prove that Eadmer, so far from dying (as all

my predecessors have, on confessedly insufficient grounds, assumed) as early as the January of 1124, lived on for many years. The January of 1144 is the earliest date which can reasonably be assigned to his death. I think it more likely that he lived to see the year 1145, and that he may even have survived it.

There is, however, another chronological question on which it seems proper to dwell before I invite the reader to follow me in my analytical examination of Eadmer's great work. What I say shall be said as briefly as possible.

Not only has it been the fashion to say that Eadmer died as early as 1124; it has also been the fashion to say that William of Malmesbury completed the *Gesta Pontificum* as early as 1125, on the ground that his *Life of St Aldhelm*, which in some copies ranks as a fifth and supplementary book, was originally finished in that year. I cannot accept the inference; for the evidence of the MSS, so far from proving the *Life of St Aldhelm* to have been originally written as an integral and inherent portion of the *Gesta Pontificum*, proves it to be an adjunct which may have been composed in entire independence of it; and every extant copy of the *Gesta* contains in Book III. an allusion, as to no recent event, to the promotion of Archbishop Ralph's brother, Sefred, to the see of Chichester, an event which appertains, precisely, to the year 1125.

The truth is that there are two distinct texts both of the *Gesta Pontificum* and of the *Life of St Aldhelm;* in the case of the former an unexpurgated text (represented by MS. B of Mr Hamilton's collation), when begun I cannot say, but completed after the year 1125, and a recensed text of later date (represented by Mr Hamilton's MS. A); in the case of the latter a short text (as in MS. B) completed as early as 1125, and a longer text (as in MS. A) completed after the recension of Book III. of the *Gesta.*

It is a remarkable fact that whilst the longer and later text

of the *Life of St Aldhelm* contains references[1] to the castigated and later text of the *Gesta*, the first and shorter text of the biography contains none to the first and unexpurgated text of the history.

To determine the dates at which the four books of the *Gesta Pontificum* were severally completed in their first and unexpurgated form would be a difficult and perhaps an impossible task. But, as regards the recensed text of the work, we are not without help.

That portion of the revised text of Book II. which relates to the see of London mentions William of Corbeuil, Archbishop of Canterbury, as one who is no longer living, Book I. being silent about him. I infer, therefore, that the revision of Book II. was completed in or after the year 1137, for the Primate died on the twenty-sixth of November 1136; but that Book I. had been issued before receipt of the news.

The revision of Book III. seems to have been completed after the death of Archbishop William, but before that of Thurstan, the northern metropolitan, in the early days of 1140.

[1] William of Malmesbury says in the later text of the *Life of St Aldhelm* (§ 192) "Cum Wilfridus episcopus de quo non pauca in tertio libro dixi, exul ageretur," &c.; and on turning to *Gesta Pontificum* III. (§ 100) we find that the "non pauca" cannot be meant of the first text (B) of that work, which dismisses St Wilfrid in a few lines, but of the later text (A) which gives him more than six leaves of closely-written manuscript. And another passage in § 231 in like manner proves that MS. A of the *St Aldhelm* was written after MS. A of *Gesta Pontificum* III.

The assumption that the shorter life of St Aldhelm is an abbreviation of the longer has thrown the chronology of William of Malmesbury's literary career into strange confusion. The four MSS. of which I speak in the text were completed in the following order:

1. *St Aldhelm*, B (about A.D. 1125).
2. *Gesta Pontificum*, B.
3. *Gesta Pontificum*, A (about A.D. 1136—1139).
4. *St Aldhelm*, A.

I think I have read all that Sir T. D. Hardy and Mr Hamilton have written on the subject. They assign the last, not the first, to A.D. 1125.

That of Book IV. before the spring of 1148, but how long before it is impossible to say[1].

The years 1135, 1137, 1139, 1141, or, more probably, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1139 may serve as a fair approximation to the dates at which Books I. II. III. and IV. of the *Gesta Pontificum* were given to the world in their revised form. They were followed by the *Life of St Aldhelm* in its new and longer form. This now ranked as a fifth book.

As to the date, or dates, at which the several books of the uncorrected text were divulged, the case of these is so like that of the fourth and fifth books of the *Gesta Regum* that it would be unwise to give a decided opinion as to the one group without having made a careful study of the other, not as they are known to us in existing editions but as they will in due time be made known to us by the right reverend prelate who is at this moment working on the first of William's two great works. Subject, however, to such instruction as may and will accompany the forthcoming edition, I do not hesitate to say that I am very strongly of opinion that neither the uncastigated *Gesta Pontificum* nor the uncastigated *Gesta Regum* was known outside the Malmesbury cloister during the life of Henry I.

In the course of the following pages I make frequent mention of Eadmer's own working copy of the *Historia*. By this I mean, not necessarily the volume which was handed to him by the scribe after the transcription of the work upon its first completion in, say, the year 1111, but the volume which he had in use during the latter years of his life, the years in which he expanded his treatise by the introduction of Amplifications I.—VIII. and X.—XXXVIII. What, then, was it like?

Each of its leaves may be presumed to have contained forty-eight lines; and, whatever the precise number of lines (whether forty-eight or fifty), each of its leaves had the

[1] See *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Edition, §§ 73, 125, 169.

textual value of, as nearly as may be, any such forty-nine lines as are to be found in the second and succeeding quires of the C. C. C. archetype[1]. I cannot emphasize this fact too strongly if I wish to spare my readers trouble in the sequel.

The volume, then, consisting of leaves each of them ruled to hold the quantity of text just indicated, comprised eight quaternions. The first of the sixty-four leaves carried nothing but the name of the author and the title, which had already, as I believe, been lengthened from *Historia* to *Historia Novorum in Anglia*[2]. Then came the Prologue on one leaf; then the first book on twenty-nine leaves, then the second on twenty-two, and finally a third on eleven[3]. The very remarkable brevity of this last portion of the work can be by nothing more plausibly or more satisfactorily explained than by the theory that Eadmer, treating of the relations of St Anselm with Henry I. and writing while that prince was still alive, deemed it his wisdom to write with a very considerable reserve. Its first nine leaves will be easily disintegrated by the reader from the accretions which now outnumber them in the proportion of two to one. As to the tenth and eleventh, I give them in my essay as they seem to have stood in the first instance; and I am bold to say that, every abatement made for possible error in a word or two here and there, I have recovered Eadmer's original narrative of the last eight years of his master's life. Those eight years fell within the reign of Henry I. Nothing can, I think, be more instructive than the contrast between the first picture painted

[1] See facsimile of MS. p. 17.

[2] See MS. p. 260. My references throughout the essay are to the pages of the C. C. C. archetype, as notified on the inner margins of my Rolls edition.

[3] There had been a first transcript of the first book, including Amplification A (MS. pp. 10—12), and there was yet to be a final transcript of the entire work which was to accommodate Amplification IX; but of these I will not now speak more particularly than to say that both the former and the latter were identical, as regards the content of their leaves, with the first quire of the C. C. C. archetype. (See below, pp. 285—289.)

while Henry was on the throne and that same picture reproduced after his death on a canvas more than six times as ample, filled in with new details and intensified with higher lights and deeper shadows[1].

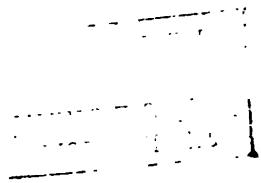
I dwell on this theory with all the greater emphasis not only because I believe it to be proved by the following pages, but because I am not aware that the very probable presumption of such reticence as I have indicated has been brought forward by any of my predecessors, or, if brought forward at all, enforced as it deserves to be enforced. Read in its light, William of Malmesbury's prologue to the fourth book of the *Gesta Regum* and Henry of Huntingdon's *Epistola de Contemptu Mundi* are most suggestively eloquent.

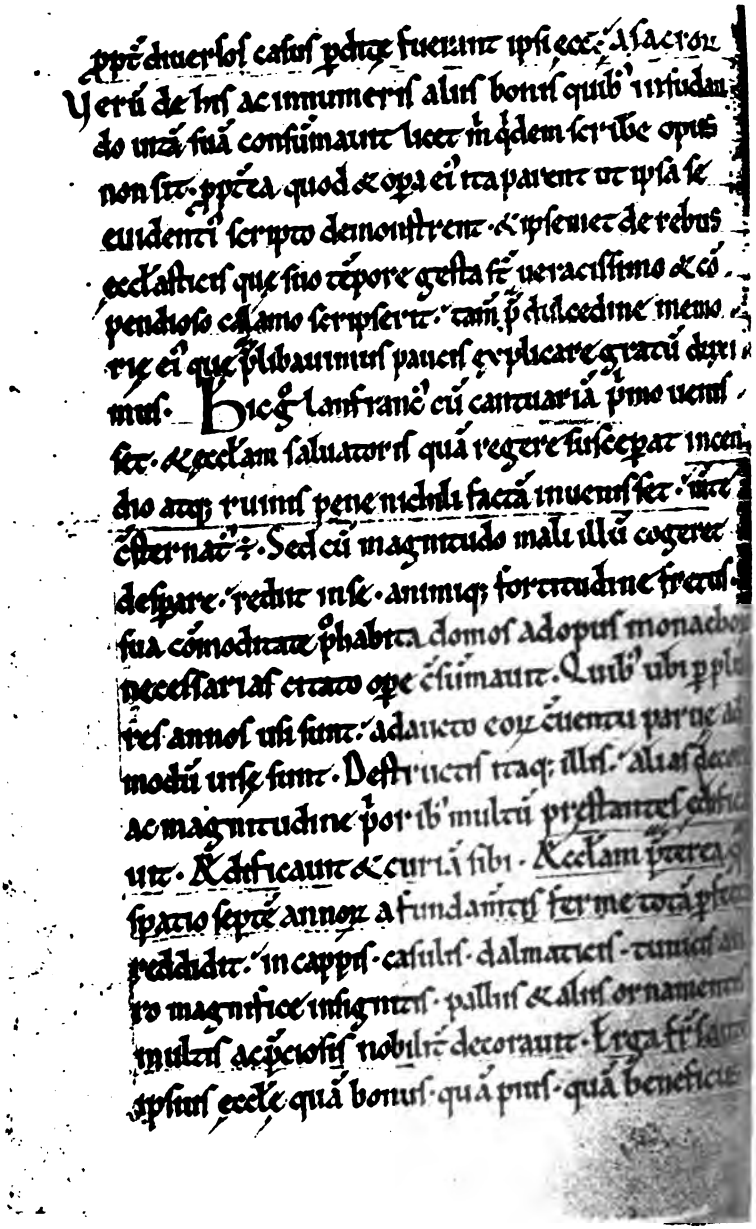
Although, then, no copy of Eadmer's first text is known to

[1] The *Historia* known to John of Salisbury would seem to have been the *Historia* of early days; that known to the Worcester chroniclers was a later, but not the last recension. Of William of Malmesbury I need not speak at present.

Eadmer's own copy of Book V. was written on leaves of the same textual content as that of the ninth and following leaves of the C. C. C. archetype, each of them bearing to a leaf of his own copy of the *Historia* proper the proportion of fifty-four to forty-nine. A curious trace, I apprehend, of the difference is to be seen in the digression on MS. pp. 287—289, "Lugdunum ...progrediemur." As we now know it, it has the value of a leaf of Eadmer's own Book V; but it seems in the first instance to have lacked the expletory clause "ubi dominus...inquam cum venissemus." I suspect that Eadmer "dictated" it on his tablets for introduction into the volume which had been destined to accommodate the additions to the *Historia* proper pending their final incorporation into it; but that, perceiving its proper place to be in a corresponding volume ancillary to Book V, and therefore ampler in the capacity of its leaves, he was fain to expand it by the simple but awkward expedient of foisting in the clause I have indicated.

The first issue of the present Book V. was probably (I think, certainly) made prior to the division of the third book of the pristine work into what are now known as Books III. and IV. The Worcester chronicler who carried on Florence's labours worked, not improbably, on a copy of it, a copy having the same parentage as the stray leaf which I have described and collated in my Rolls volume (pp. xi, l).





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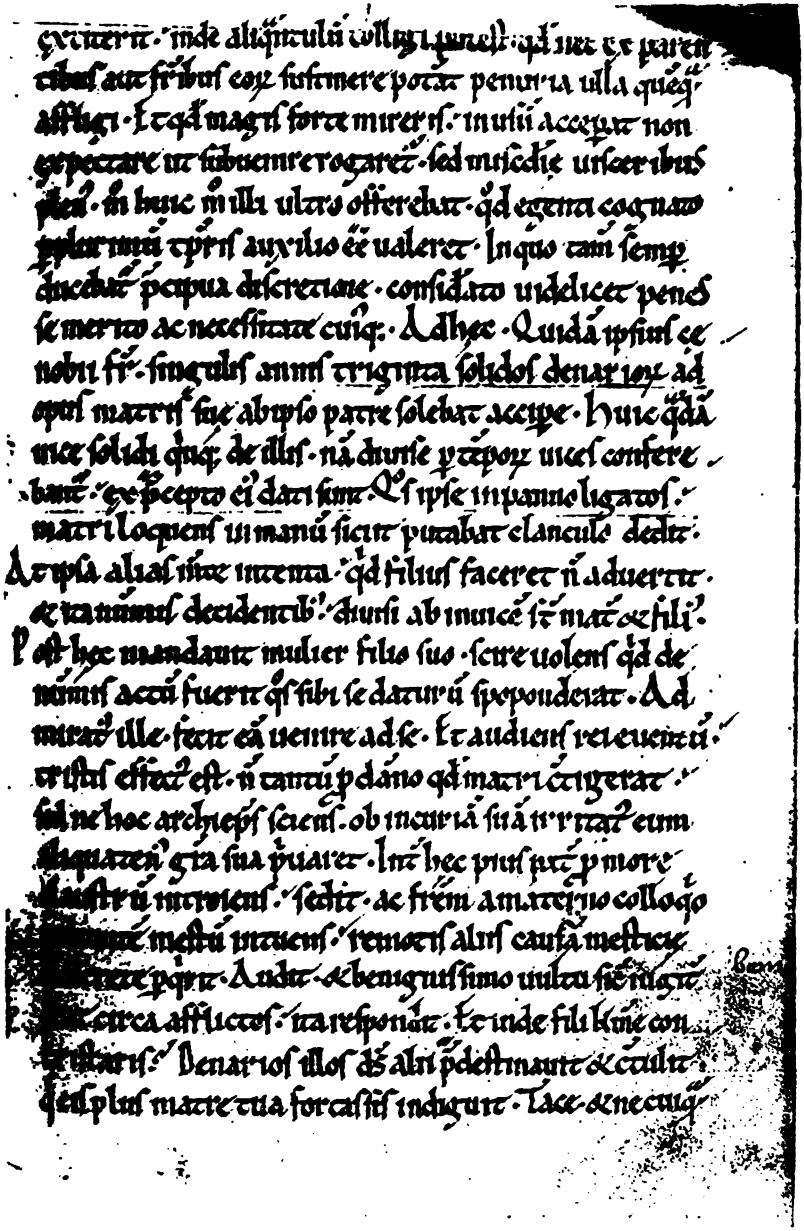

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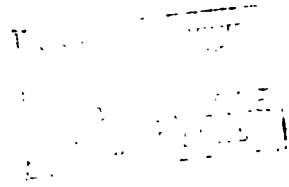

exist, there can now be little doubt as to its scope, its textual content, and its political tone. A planet has vanished from the firmament; but its orbit, its size, and the inclination of its axis are ascertained.

The writings of Eadmer and of William of Malmesbury have long been before the world; but it has been my good fortune to think, and, as I believe, to prove, that Eadmer did not die in the first quarter of the twelfth century, but lived to make acquaintance with William's two great works; and, whatever may come of the theory that no part of the *Gesta Pontificum* was made known before the year 1135, it has further been my good fortune to think, and, as I believe, to prove, that we are indebted to that work mainly, and in a less measure to the fourth and fifth books of the *Gesta Regum*, for the stimulus that urged to new activity a pen set free by the death of Henry I. to obey the will of its owner.

Henceforth, if I am not mistaken, Eadmer and his rival will be read together; with the presumption that where, on subjects likely to interest him, our author did not correct his Wiltshire competitor, he saw little or nothing to correct; and that where the two witnesses present a striking resemblance in phraseology, Christ Church has copied Malmesbury, and not Malmesbury Christ Church.

I have but two more remarks to make before leaving my essay to the reader:—

1. That the accompanying list gives evident proof of the fact that out of thirty-seven amplifications no less than thirty-five have, severally, the textual value of an even multiple of, as nearly as may be, 24½ lines[1]; and that the two exceptions are, after all, exceptions which prove the rule, as will be explained in due course.

[1] The later additions lessen gradually down to an even multiple of barely 24 lines. But the reader need not trouble himself to remember this fact just at present. It will be investigated in due course. (See below, p. 277.)

LIST OF AMPLIFICATIONS

	Number	Reference to MS. C. C. C. 452		Textual Content	
				1. In terms of lines of MS. C. C. C. 452 (pp. 17—259)	2. Aggregate for each book in terms of leaves and pages of Eadmer's own copy
Book I	I	pp. 12—28	"In hujus regni.....vixit fuisse"	$393\frac{1}{8} = 8 \times 49\frac{1}{8}$	eleven leaves
	II	43—45	"Sed quid ?.....prælibavimus"	$49\frac{5}{8} - \frac{1}{2} = 49\frac{1}{8}$	
	III	52—56	"Veniens autem.....intendit"	$103\frac{1}{2} - (\text{IV} + 5\frac{3}{4}) = 49\frac{1}{4}$	
	IV	52—54	"Anselmus tamen.....dispensans"	$48\frac{1}{2}$	
Book II	V	83—89	"Ad quam missam.....Normannia"	$151 - 3\frac{3}{8} = 147\frac{1}{8} = 3 \times 49\frac{1}{9}$	ten leaves
	VI	104—108 bis	"Quo cum.....viæ reddidimus"	$158\frac{3}{8} - 11\frac{1}{8} = 147\frac{1}{8} = 3 \times 49\frac{1}{9}$	
	VII	113—116	"Erat præterea.....concordare"	$97\frac{3}{8} = 2 \times 48\frac{5}{8}$	
	VIII	122—125	"Et quia.....redeamus iter"	$99\frac{1}{8} = 2 \times 49\frac{3}{8}$	
	IX	132—134	"Siquidem illa die.....subtraxit"	See below, page 288	
Book III	X	137—150	"Hæc Anselmus...disponat. Amen"	$5 + 344 - 5 = 344 = 7 \times 49\frac{1}{7}$	twenty leaves
	XI	150 bis—156	"non quidem..... ultionem exerceat"	$5\frac{1}{2} + 32 + 110\frac{1}{2} = 148 = 3 \times 49\frac{1}{3}$	
	XII	158—161	"Et de litterarum.....conserere nolo"	$52\frac{1}{3} - 3\ (?) = 49\frac{1}{3}\ (?)$	
	XIII	162—166	"multa ecclesiasticæ.....concessit"	$104\frac{1}{4} - 6\frac{1}{4} = 98 = 2 \times 49$	
	XIV	166—170	"quatinus pro suo .....obsecrat"	$98 - \text{XV} = 49$	
	XV	166—168	"Erat quippe.....desistere voluit"	49	
	XVI	172—175	"Acta sunt.....Romam pervenisse"	$99\frac{7}{8} - 1\frac{3}{8} = 98\frac{1}{8} = 2 \times 49\frac{1}{16}$	
	XVII	178—182	"Et ne.....Placentinos fines"	$98 - \frac{1}{8} = 97\frac{7}{8} = 2 \times 48\frac{7}{8}$	
	XVIII	183—185	"Directis interea.... redigi præcepit"	$49\frac{1}{8}$	

Book IV	XIX	185	"Cura tamen.....mensibus quatuor"	$24\frac{2}{3}$	one page
	XX	186—189	"Quæ autem.....revocaret"	$100\frac{1}{3} - 2\frac{2}{3} = 97\frac{2}{3} = 2 \times 48\frac{5}{6}$	
	XXI	190—191	"Ad quod.....suscepit, inspexit"	$49\frac{2}{3} - \frac{2}{3} = 48\frac{2}{3}$	
	XXII	192—194	"Cum ergo.....inter eos colloquio"	$55\frac{1}{2} - 6\frac{1}{2} = 49$	
	XXIII	194—200	"Hæc autem.....legatum mittam"	$146\frac{1}{2} = 3 \times 48\frac{5}{6}$	
	XXIV	200—204	"Scripsit quoque.....posse putamus"	$102\frac{1}{2} - 4\frac{1}{2} = 98 = 2 \times 49$	
	XXV	204—209	"Attamen dicendum.....redeunt"	$144 = 3 \times 48$	
	XXVI	209—214	"Suspensus autem.....De his ita"	$145\frac{2}{3} = 3 \times 48\frac{5}{6}$	
	XXVII	214—217	"Itaque Willelmus.....pollicitus est"	$62\frac{2}{3} - 14 = 48\frac{2}{3}$	
	XXVIII	217—219	"His et aliis.....reversus est"	$52\frac{1}{3} - 3\frac{1}{3} = 49$	thirty-nine
	XXIX	219—223	"Adunatis autem.....Lundoniensi"	$110\frac{1}{2} - (\text{XXX} + 12\frac{3}{4}) = 49$	leaves
	XXX	220—221	"Inter hæc.....destitutæ"	$48\frac{3}{4}$	
	XXXI	223—226	"In subsequenti.....ecclesiæ"	$97\frac{1}{3} = 2 \times 48\frac{2}{3}$	
	XXXII	226—228	"Inter hæc.....præsentatus"	$48\frac{3}{4}$	
	XXXIII	228—232	"Inter ista.....adulteræ"	$106 - 8 = 98 = 2 \times 49$	
	XXXIV	232—234	"His diebus.....ordinavit"	$48\frac{2}{3}$	
	XXXV	234—247	"Deinde.....scissuram"	$341 = 7 \times 48\frac{5}{7}$	
	XXXVI	247—259	"Notæ tamen.....Amen"	$345\frac{1}{2} - \text{XXXVII} - 8\frac{2}{3} = 287\frac{5}{6} = 6 \times 47\frac{35}{36}$	
	XXXVII	257—259	"Prius tamen.....Decembris"	49 (corrected to 48)	

*** To these must be added Amplification A, "De quo prœlio.....satis dictum," on MS. pp. 10—12, introduced at an early date. It has the textual content of a leaf of the first quire (pp. 1—16) of MS. C. C. C. 452 (see facsimile of p. 16).

2. That, where it has seemed desirable to do so, I have quoted passages from the preface to my Rolls edition of Eadmer. I have not, indeed, reproduced its last paragraph, because that paragraph is no longer an adequate expression of the obligation under which I have been laid by the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College since it was written, or of my sense of the unfailing kindness of the official custodian of their precious manuscript. Last, but not least, of the favours I acknowledge has been the permission granted for the execution of the facsimiles which illustrate this essay.

§ 1. BOOKS I. AND II.

The first book of the *Historia Novorum*, as at present known to us, contains in the C. C. C. archetype 1960 lines[1], an even multiple ($49 \times 40 = 1960$) of 24½ lines. And the Lanfranc memoir (MS. pp. 12–28), which may be presumed to have had no place in the first issue, and which may by reason of its length be accepted as a fair sample, contains 393⅓ lines; again, with the insignificant error of rather more than a line (for $49 \times 8 = 392$), an even multiple of the same quantity of text.

Forty-nine lines, therefore, which in their turn represent the textual sum of the Prologue and its rubrics, may be assumed as having constituted the textual content of a leaf of Book I. in Eadmer's own working copy.

Amplification I. I have nothing to add to the short account which I have elsewhere[2] given of the Lanfranc memoir,

[1] The content of the first gathering being reduced to terms of lines of the second and subsequent gatherings. A leaf in the first group is to a leaf in what follows in the proportion of 46⅔ to 54.

[2] "The first of these incorporated passages is, perhaps, the memoir of Archbishop Lanfranc which begins on page 12 and ends on page 28. The paragraph which immediately precedes it is devoted to an account of the

unless it be to say that it may have been provoked by the panegyric in *G. P.* §§ 43, 44. A comparison of the two accounts brings to light some curious differences; and if Eadmer read William's as it seems to have been written, he must have noted with surprise that his rival had described stone houses as built of wood and wooden houses as built of stone[1], and had assigned them, not to the city of Canterbury, but to the city of Rochester.

Amplification II. The precise amount of added text in the case of the addition on MS. pp. 43–45 is 49⅛ lines; for to the 48¾ lines in "Sed quid? Plurima.....sermo recurrat" must be added ⅜ line for the resumptive "secundum quod prælibavimus" of the succeeding paragraph[2].

Not only does it contain the remarkable sentence, "Hæc de rege ad præsens succincte memorasse sufficiat, jamque ad destinatum narrandi ordinem sermo recurrat" and the phrase "huic opusculo inserere"; the words "qui illius recordatur" are such as could not well have been employed within two decades of the events to which they refer.

Amplification V. Separated by a brief interval from the

innovations introduced by the Conqueror in the ecclesiastical order, and ends with these words, 'Ut itaque cœptum peragamus iter, de his satis dictum'; that which immediately follows is the real commencement of the 'Historia'; and towards the end of the memoir Eadmer tells us that he is now going to begin the narrative which he had been on the point of beginning fifteen pages back. There can be no question that the entire passage is a digression." *Preface*, p. xvi.

[1] *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 72 (Rolls Edition). William may have written from an untrustworthy memorandum. We have his first account in MS. B, and also in MS. A, but corrected in this latter conformably with Eadmer's narration.

[2] Such phrases as "ut diximus," "ut præfati sumus," "ut prælibavimus," "secundum quod prælibavimus" occur either in, or in direct relation with, additions to the original narrative. I do not think that any exception to the rule can be discovered. See, especially, the instances to be found in MS. pp. 104, 108, 116, 156, 166, 171, 172, 185, 217, 219, 230, 269, 294, 304. 310, 327, 342.

passage on MS. pp. 85—89 to which attention has been already drawn ("Quæ pecunia.....hos dies rex, Normannia") there is another ("Ad quam missam.....Gundulfo Rofensi") which claims admission into the category of subsequent additions to the narrative. For the following reasons:

1. The words "Ad quam missam" are in false correlation with the "missarum solennia" of the preceding sentence. Had Eadmer written the passage at the time of the first composition he would have said "Ad quæ solennia", not "Ad quam missam."

2. The passage records the coincidence between St Anselm's *prognosticon* and the Gospel read when he assumed the pallium. But in the *Vita*, published in the year 1112, Eadmer makes no record of the later event, an event which he could not have failed to recollect, had he recorded it two years earlier in the *Historia*; particularly as he wrote the *Vita* with the *Historia* lying open before him, and reproduced in the shorter work the account of the *prognosticon* which he had given in the longer.

3. When William of Malmesbury (*G. P.* p. 84) records the incident of the *prognosticon* he quotes the sacred text as Eadmer does, ".....misit *servum suum*.....cœperunt *simul omnes* excusare"; but when (*G. P.* p. 91) he records that of the Gospel, he gives two various readings in the course of one brief quotation, ".....misit *servos suos*.....cœperunt *omnes simul* excusare." This fact raises two presumptions; first, that though he owed the former he did not owe the latter story to Eadmer, and, secondly, that Eadmer's record of the latter was provoked by his.

Nor is it likely that the two succeeding paragraphs ("Revocato...suscipitur" and "Eodem...Rofensi") can have figured in the earliest issue of the work. The first of them records the consecration of Samuel, Bishop of Dublin, and the second that of Samson, of Worcester, and Gerard, of Hereford; Samuel.

Samson, Gerard, and a fourth, Malchus, Bishop of Waterford (MS. pp. 87, 88), being four out of the five prelates whose consecration Eadmer has commemorated in that portion of the work with which we are at present concerned.

4. Now, the *Historia* from beginning to end commemorates twenty episcopal consecrations[1], fifteen of which are, in their turn, commemorated by the Worcester chroniclers, and in Eadmer's own words. Of the other five, one, indeed, is recorded by the Worcester writers, but neither in Eadmer's words nor under Eadmer's date. It is that of Samson of Worcester[2]. And of the residuary four not one is recorded by the Worcester writers; and three of the four are those of Samuel of Dublin, Gerard of Hereford, and Malchus of Waterford. It seems fair, therefore, to conclude that when the Worcester chronicler drew up his record of the year 1096 the copy of Eadmer which he then used said nothing about these three consecrations.

But the two passages "Ad quam missam.....Rofensi" and "Quæ pecunia.....Normannia" would seem to be not so much two amplifications as one; for they both have to do with episcopal consecrations and are both concerned with the quasi-patriarchal authority of Canterbury in Ireland.

Between "Ad quam missam" and "rex, Normannia" there are 151 lines; but from this total $3\frac{2}{3}$ lines must be subtracted for "Eo tempore.....tradidit. Quæ," which is evidently old work. The remainder is $147\frac{1}{3}$, an even multiple of $24\frac{5}{6}$ lines.

Amplifications III. and IV. This is the proper place for a few words on the one remaining episcopal consecration of the four which have been recorded by Eadmer but not by the Worcester chroniclers; that of Robert Bloet, Bishop of London.

1. The most remarkable feature in Eadmer's account of this event ("Morati vero.....detraheret," MS. pp. 54, 55) is

[1] Cf. MS. pp. 85, 88, 222, 223, 234, 236, 282, 283, 307, 309, 344, 345, 349; and Florence of Worcester (ed. Thorpe) II. 40, 56, 59, 68, 73, 74, 76.

[2] Eadmer's date is June 8th; the Worcester date (II. 40) is June 15th.

the fact that it contains the only favourable word which he seems ever to have written about the Red King. Assuredly, the York dispute must have reached a very acute stage before he can have been betrayed into so singular a complacency.

2. And the passage which immediately follows ("Eo tempore.....intendit") is curious. Certainly, it looks like a paragraph foisted in by way of what is now called padding. As certainly, it has no discernible bearing on the subject-matter of Eadmer's work at this part of it. And, in the third place, it must have been written at a time when the wearing of long hair had been for some years out of fashion at Court, and therefore not as early as 1109, for the custom was in full vogue as recently as the Easter of 1105[1].

3. These considerations are sufficient to raise, at least, a doubt about the whole passage "Morati vero.....studiosius intendit." But, since it has not the content of a leaf; since what immediately precedes (namely, "Evolutis dehinc...ducturus") is necessary to the general narrative; and since this in its turn is preceded by a proved augmentation, we are thrown back upon the paragraph "Veniens autem...consistant" on page 52, a story which has as little to do with Eadmer's proper subject as the shearing of the *criniti* or the consecration of Robert Bloet.

Between "Veniens autem," then, and "studiosius intendit" there are 103½ lines which are reduced to 97¾ lines by the subtraction of "Evolutis...ducturus," the necessary link of connexion between the narrative that precedes "Veniens autem" and that which follows "studiosius intendit."

4. Eadmer's *Life of St Anselm* (Rolls edition, p. 362) makes the journey to Hastings take place "*paucis* diebus interpositis" after the consecration of Harrow Church, in contrast to the "evolutis dehinc *aliquantis* diebus" of the passage just noticed, a passage which is *ex hypothesi* a portion of the

[1] See Orderic, *H E.* xi. xi.

pristine treatise. The "pauci dies" were days counted from the consecration at Harrow; the "aliquanti dies" were days counted, not from that event, but from St Anselm's departure from Gloucester at the beginning of January.

Excerpting, then, "Evolutis...ducturus" from what is presumably late work, we find that 97¾ lines remain; and that 48½ of these are concerned with that correspondence with St Wulstan which has been already marked off as a subsequent addition to the first narrative. That is to say, we here have what may be called a compound augmentation, of which the earlier constituent comprises the episodes about Harrow Church, Bishop Bloet, and the *criniti*, the later constituent comprising the Wulstan correspondence.

5. To the foregoing considerations the following may be added:—

Eadmer in the *Vita* (II. vii) lays no stress on the detention at Hastings by adverse winds; whilst the first text of the *Gesta Pontificum* (p. 85 a) must have been written in ignorance of the fact which the *Historia* known to us records, that the prince was kept waiting for fair weather for more than a month. Hence the sentence "Morati...prohibente" must be held to coalesce, not with the old work "Evolutis...ducturus"[1] which precedes, but with the new, "In qua mora," &c. which follows it.

Amplification VI. Few things could be more remarkable than the general agreement, and, in very frequent instances, the verbal identity, which are to be perceived between those portions of the *Historia Novorum* and of the *Vita* which relate to the first exile of St Anselm. In this part of the story

[1] After Eadmer had realized the fact that the delay at Hastings was a long one, his "transfretaturum" in this sentence was scarcely tolerable; but he allowed it to stand until very late in his life, when he changed it to "transfretare volentem." Meanwhile William of Malmesbury (*G. P.* 85 a) appropriated and retained the unsuitable word; and John of Salisbury (Migne, S. L. cxcix. 1022 D) many years later did the same.

the shorter work is the merest echo of the longer, with the exception of that part of it which is concerned with the sojourn at Lyons at the close of 1097 and the beginning of the next year.

The *Historia* (MS. p. 104) says "Quo cum demoraremur didicit Anselmus ex iis quæ fama ferebat non multum suæ causæ profuturum si ipse in ulteriora procederet. Imbecillitas quoque sui corporis residuæ viæ laborem perhorrebat, et insidiæ quæ ab indigenis illarum regionum ea tempestate commeantibus, et maxime religiosi ordinis viris, struebantur, eum nonnihil retardabant. Itaque Lugduni resedit cunctis valde acceptus et honorabilis. Scriptam dehinc epistolam unam sedis apostolicæ præsuli destinavit, in qua quid de iis quæ acciderant suggesserit, quoque animi sui desiderium intenderit, tenor ipsius epistolæ quam subscribimus designabit."

That is to say:—

1. Whilst we were staying at Lyons Anselm learnt that he could not better his cause by continuing his journey. 2. Besides, he shrank from the attendant fatigue, and, 3, the road was beset by brigands. 4. He therefore took up his abode at Lyons. 5. When settled there, he wrote to the Pope telling him (i) what had happened and (ii) what was the desire of his heart. Then comes the letter, and, soon after it, the following sentence,—"Sed ille, ut diximus, Lugduni remansit, reditum nunciorum suorum ibi opperiens."

6. This "ut diximus", however[1], is unfortunate, for, as the work now stands, another reason has been given for the sojourn at Lyons.

On the other hand the *Vita* (II. xxvii) says:—"Post dies paucos missis litteris consilium a domino papa de negotio suo quæsivit, et quia partim imbecillitate sui corporis, partim aliis pluribus causis præpeditus, ultra Lugdunum progredi nequa-

[1] See *Preface*, p. liii.

quam posset ei suggessit. Ita ergo Lugduni resedit, reditum nunciorum suorum ibi expectans."

That is to say:—

A few days after our arrival at Lyons he wrote to the Pope (i) asking for advice, and (ii) explaining that from ill health and other causes it was impossible he should go any further on the way to Rome. 2. Therefore, and after the letter was written, he fixed his abode at Lyons, where he awaited the return of his messengers.

I need not dwell on the general discrepancy between these two accounts. Suffice it to remark that, while the description of the letter given in the *Historia* is true, that given in the *Vita* is false; for (i) so far from soliciting advice, Anselm in the "Novimus" begged to be released from the primacy, and (ii) so far from setting forth the causes which had induced him to stop at Lyons, he was studiously reticent on the subject.

I infer, therefore, that the account in the *Vita* cannot have been based on that which now figures in the *Historia*; that Eadmer cannot have written it with any knowledge of the real contents of the letter; that in the first instance the *Historia* gave an account substantially identical with that which we now find in the *Vita*; and that, when Eadmer had made acquaintance with the Lyons letter, and had resolved to introduce it into the *Historia*, he changed his description of it from what it was to what it is.

If these inferences be accepted by the reader (and they are strongly recommended by the unlucky "Sed ipse...Lugduni remansit, reditum nunciorum suorum ibi opperiens," which would seem to be salvage from the suppressed account) we now have 158⅔ lines in the whole passage "Quo cum demoraremur...viæ reddidimus" (MS. pp. 104—108 *bis*) instead of 11⅓ lines containing an account identical in purport with *Vita* II. xxvii. Their difference is 147⅓ (= 3 × 49⅓) lines.

And here I may pause for a moment to say that these

investigations concerning a letter written by St Anselm in his first exile confirm the opinion suggested by a letter received by him in his second, that Eadmer was not happy in divining the precise purpose of his master's movements[1].

Amplification VII. The digression on the Red King's impieties ("Erat præterea...concordare" MS. pp. 113—116) occupies $97\frac{2}{3}$ lines; and must have filled two leaves, each of which fell short by an insignificant fraction of the full complement of 49 lines.

Amplification VIII. The digression on the Archbishop of Benevento's cope (MS. pp. 122—125) should perhaps be computed to begin with the words "Et quia"; the paragraph having in the first instance filled $3\frac{1}{3}$ lines,—"Inter hæc ego Anselmo per omnia præsens aderam, paratus videlicet ad servitium ejus. Itaque finito concilio a Baro discessimus, comitatum papæ Romam usque non deserentes." The extant paragraph fills $102\frac{2}{3}$ lines; $102\frac{2}{3} - 3\frac{1}{3} = 99\frac{1}{3} = 2 \times 49\frac{2}{3}$[2].

Of the eight additions[3] thus far noticed the first four occur in Book I, and have the aggregate value of $540\frac{5}{24}$ lines; or, eleven leaves of the average content of $49\frac{29}{264}$ lines. The second four occur in Book II, and have the aggregate value of $491\frac{8}{15}$ lines, or ten leaves of the average content of $49\frac{23}{150}$ lines.

Deducting 540 lines from the whole extant content of Book I, we have for the pristine text $1960 - 540$ lines $= 1420$ lines; that is to say, twenty-nine leaves of $48\frac{28}{29}$ lines.

And, deducting 492 lines from the whole extant content of Book II, together with the 28 concluding lines "Hic occurrit animo," &c. which will be discussed hereafter, we have $1584 - (28 + 492)$ lines $= 1064$ lines, or twenty-two leaves of $48\frac{4}{11}$ lines.

[1] See *Preface*, pp. xxxvi, xlvi, cxii.

[2] If we suppose the preceding paragraph to have ended "factus est *et veneratione dignissimus comprobatus*" (see *Vita* II. xxxiv), we have $102\frac{2}{3} - 3\frac{1}{3}$ ($= 98\frac{1}{3} = 2 \times 49\frac{3}{10}$) lines of new work.

[3] I believe none of them to be amongst the earliest of Eadmer's amplifications.

Slight as is the difference between $48\frac{88}{119}$ and $48\frac{4}{11}$, I am unwilling to neglect it; and am disposed to think, pending the discussion of Amplification IX, that after the word "expirantem" on p. 132 there was a comparatively short account which has been suppressed in favour of the passage, "Siquidem illa die... subtraxit." But of this hereafter[1].

§ 2. THE FIRST PORTION OF BOOK III.

("Secundo itaque...investitura subrogatus": MS. pp. 134—166.)

It is probable beyond reach of question that Eadmer's original work, ending, as we are informed in the Prologue to the *Gesta Regum*, with the death of St Anselm, was comprised, not in four books, but in three.

Nor need we be surprised to learn that the third instalment of the original treatise was much shorter than either of the others. The relations with the civil power which had issued in the first exile of St Anselm extended over five years; those which issued in the second extended over two and a half. The most interesting incidents in the earlier period were more dramatic and more susceptible of a copious delineation than the most interesting incidents in the latter, which were, for the most part, brief and official. And even had it been in Eadmer's power to give us in his third book descriptions comparable as regards their length with his accounts of Anselm's election, or of the Rockingham council, or of the Westminster episode in the October of 1097, the very temptation to write minutely would have been accompanied with the most potent of correctives. William Rufus was dead, but Henry I. was living; William of Saint-Calais had gone to his account, but Renouf the Firebrand was alive and in the royal favour. The *Historia Novorum* was given to the world during a vacancy of the see of

[1] See below, p. 288.

Canterbury, and within few years of a concession made at most heavy cost by Henry; and it would have been worse than foolish in the Christ Church monks to allow a prominent member of their body to provoke the resentment of an electoral rival so influential, so tenacious, and so vindictive as was the reigning sovereign.

The third book is divisible into seven sections:—

1. "Secundo itaque...ad sua secessit" (pp. 134—138), in 102 lines.
2. "Hinc paucis...disponat. Amen" (pp. 138—150) in 344 lines.
3. "Cum igitur...subrogatus" (pp. 150—166) in 483 lines.
4. "Mittens ergo...appulimus" (pp. 166–172) in 148 lines.
5. "Acta sunt...pervenisse" (pp. 172—175) in 99 lines.
6. "Itaque venientem...invicem, et Anselmus" (pp. 175—183) in 197 lines.
7. "summo cum honore...actu elongans" (pp. 183, 184) in 49 lines.

The first of these seven sections has the textual content of 2 leaves and 4 lines.

Amplification X. The next comprises two passages which in another connexion have been treated as distinct amplifications[1]. They would seem, on the contrary, to be part and parcel of the same amplification. The digression on the king's marriage (MS. pp. 138—143) must, indeed, have begun as early as "Negotium itaque" and may have begun seven lines earlier; but, even if the shorter computation be preferred, it gives the passage the unprecedented length of 151 lines; and the paragraph which immediately follows ("Eodem anno...functus") has by no means the appearance of early work.

Again. The "Legationis tuæ" on MS. p. 146 must be presumed, on the authority of William of Malmesbury (*G. P.* p. 113) to have been added to the treatise after the first issue; but there is no precedent for the opinion that it may have been added on a fly-leaf[2]. If, then, it formed part of an amplification, such amplification must necessarily have consisted of more than

[1] *Preface*, pp. xxiv—xxvi, xxviii, xxix.
[2] As suggested in *Preface*, p. xxix.

three leaves. In short, we are compelled to choose between two alternatives. Either the digressions on the King's marriage and on the papal letter are unlike all others we have examined, in not being reducible to a proved standard of measurement, or they are parts of a whole, that whole being the 344 lines that intervene between "Hinc paucis" and "disponat. Amen." And, indeed, the fact that 344 is an integral multiple of 49¼ would silence question were it not that a connecting link is needed to unite the preceding with the following context[1].

Our search, however, for such uniting bond is rewarded not only with success, but with a very interesting discovery. The sort of paragraph we need is found in the words "Exinde cum ad tempus induciarum, Pascha, ventum esset, et qui missi fuerant nuncii necdum redissent, usque ad adventum illorum induciæ dilatæ sunt," as on p. 144, and, further, in the words "Post hæc Anselmus ad curiam regis venire mandatur, responsurus de negotio de quo induciæ dilatæ fuerunt," as on p. 146. A paragraph equivalent to these two statements must certainly have stood at the beginning of the third leaf of Eadmer's own copy of the third book: but when the necessity of following the sequence of events had obliged its incorporation into the new batch of text, the author was constrained to erase it from its first position and to compose a sentence of the same textual value to compensate the loss thus created. That sentence he introduced at the beginning of the first of the seven leaves devoted to the graft, in the words "Hæc Anselmus...in sua secessit" (p. 137). This done, he accommodated 339 lines of the augmentary 344 in the remainder of his seven leaves, and then, on the erasure at the beginning of what was now the tenth leaf, the remaining five lines.

Analogous instances of the absorption of old text into

[1] That is to say, to connect the suspended narrative on MS. p. 138 ("ad sua secessit") with the resumed narrative on p. 150 ("Cum igitur ad curiam").

new have already occurred, and others will occur in the sequel[1]. (See below, p. 303.)

The tenth leaf (Leaf IV of the first computation) carried on the narrative to about the word "commodum" on the eleventh line of MS. p. 150 *bis* ($11 + 27 + 11 = 49$).

Amplification XI. The next four leaves, when the finished work left the hands of its author, comprised all that now intervenes between "commodum" (MS. p. 150 *bis*, l. 11) and "mandasse" on the nineteenth line of p. 157 $\{(156 \times 27 + 19) - (149 \times 27 + 11) = 7 \times 27 + 8 = 197 = 4 \times 49\frac{1}{4}\}$. But the greater portion of their content was new, comprising the "Regi regum," the "Non ignoras" and the "Et patrum." What, then, we have to determine, if we can, is how much, precisely, of these four leaves is old, and how much new. From "Quæ ut melius pateant" (p. 152) to "exerceat" (p. 156), a batch of text which, certainly, was not in the original, there are $110\frac{1}{2}$ lines, a figure which is raised to $142\frac{1}{2}$ lines by the addition of the passage "Sed horum...magis putavit" (pp. 150 *bis*, 151), and to 148 lines by a slight and very probable abbreviation of the two sentences which precede this last. This gives us the value of three leaves of new text; leaving, as the content of what was originally the fourth leaf of the book, "quod inde singulis annis habere solebat perditurum. Ab archiepiscopo igitur missi sunt monachi duo, præfatus scilicet Balduinus Beccensis et Alexander Cantuariensis; et a rege tres episcopi, Girardus videlicet de Herefordensi nuper factus archiepiscopus Eboracensis, Herbertus Tydfordensis, et Robertus Cestrensis" (as on p. 150 *bis*), "Emensa igitur longitudine viæ...primatus dignitate" (as on p. 152) and "Reversis... mandasse" (as on p. 157).

On the whole, then, the most probable account that can be given of Leaf IV of Eadmer's own copy of the first issue of the book is, that it was removed, and its contents blended, in batches of 3 lines, $2\frac{3}{4}$ lines, $16\frac{3}{4}$ lines, and $26\frac{1}{2}$ lines, respectively,

[1] See particularly Amplifications III, V, VI, XI, XX, XXII, XXIV.

with 147 lines of new text. In other words; the fourth leaf of the first computation were replaced by the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth of the new, this last ending at or about the word "mandasse" on MS. p. 157[1].

The fifteenth and sixteenth leaves of the new computation comprise the text that intervenes between "mandasse" on MS. p. 157, l. 19 and "communionem" on p. 161, l. 12[2]. We shall see in the sequel that the more probable of two alternative opinions about this batch of text is that half of it is old and half new; in other words, that the fifteenth and sixteenth leaves of the last computation have replaced Leaf v of the first.

The sixth leaf of the first, seventeenth of the final, computation remained untouched.

Amplification XIII. This (MS. pp. 162—166) is, I think, the last addition which Eadmer made to the present Book III. It must have been provoked by that account of the *concilium Lundoniense* of 1102 which survives in some copies of the *Gesta Pontificum*[3].

The continuator of Florence of Worcester agrees with Eadmer in the list of bishops present at the Synod, and also in the next words, "In hoc concilio." After this point the narratives diverge. Eadmer continues, "multa ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ necessaria servari Anselmus instituit quæ postmodum sedis apostolicæ pontifex sua auctoritate confirmavit." The chronicler continues, "plures abbates Francigenæ et Angli sunt depositi et honoribus privati quos injuste acquisierant, aut in eis inhoneste vixerunt, scilicet, Wido Persorensis, Aldwinus Ramesiensis, et ille de Tavestoce, Haimo de Cernel, et ille de Micelnei, Ægelricus de Middeltuna, Godricus de Burh, Ricardus de Heli, Rotbertus de Sancto Eadmundo[4]."

[1] In the sentence "Requisiti quæ contestati sunt," &c.

[2] The interval comprises 101 lines. The reason of this will appear in the sequel.

[3] See *G. P.* p. 121, n. 1.

[4] See Florence of Worcester (ed. Thorpe) II. 51.

It would appear, then, that the Worcester writer copied Eadmer's first account; and that when Eadmer came to introduce the *textus concilii* he suppressed a portion of it, as being partly inaccurate and wholly redundant; in other words, that where we now have 104¼ lines of text ("In hoc concilio... postponi concessit") there were in the first instance 6¼ lines, "In hoc concilio plures...de Sancto Eadmundo." Their difference is 98 (= 2 × 49) lines.

Such, then, would seem to be a probable account of so much as intervenes between the beginning of Book III. and the words "pari investitura subrogatus" on MS. p. 166. Let us now make further survey of this portion of the work.

§ 3. FURTHER SURVEY OF THE FIRST PORTION OF BOOK III.

Amplification X (continued). And first for the augmentation in seven leaves near the beginning of the book.

Unless at some time or other the work underwent at this part of it a manipulation as to which there is no proof, and not a semblance of probability, this addition was introduced as we now know it and at a date posterior to the earliest moment at which any one portion of it can have been composed. One would suppose that so much as relates to the marriage must have been written after Queen Matilda's death in 1118; but it is fairly open to question whether what we next read about the mutual mistrust of King and barons in the year 1101, about the mortal alarm of Henry, about his explicit promise of obedience to the spiritual power, and, besides all this, Eadmer's implied inference that the promise had been broken; it is, I repeat, fairly open to question whether all this can have been written, or, if written, divulged, before the King's death in 1135.

And a like doubt is suggested by the compensatory five lines prefixed to the story of the marriage. These inform us that the King, presumably to gain time, made proposals in the autumn of 1100 which the Primate knew to be utterly worthless and altogether useless; but that the Primate allowed himself to consent to them lest any one should suspect him of an intention, willingness, or disposition, to transfer the crown from Henry to the Duke of Normandy. All this is as unlikely to have been written before Henry's death as the very positive assurance in the latter part of the amplification (on page 146) that, had it not been for Anselm's interposition in the summer of 1101, an interposition purchased by promises that were not kept, the barons would have dethroned the King. Whenever written, this can scarcely have been given to the world before the Christmas of 1135.

Amplification XII. The fifteenth leaf of the final computation begins at or about the words "mandasse per se quoniam" on MS. p. 157, and the sixteenth ends at some point in the sentence "Verum quia" &c. on p. 161. Are these two leaves old work, or are they half old and half new?

The question is suggested by the fact that thus far we have not found a letter which has not been proved to be part of some addition made to the work subsequently to its first completion, and it is justified by the fact that a like experience awaits us in the sequel.

That Eadmer did not turn the "Adversus illam" to account at the same time with the "Regi regum," the "Non ignoras," and the "Et patrum" is morally certain[1]; and it is absolutely

[1] I say in my Preface, p. xxviii :—

"No one can, I think, have read our historian's account of the strange scene enacted at Westminster in the August of 1102 without being puzzled to know what letter of the Pope's to Anselm it was which was read on that occasion. Immediately after his account of the failure of the joint embassy to turn the Pope from his resolution he gives us the purport of the two letters which Paschal charged the envoys to deliver on their return to England,

certain that he made an egregious blunder in turning it to account at all in the present connexion.

The question resolves itself into two alternatives. Either Eadmer in the year 1111 turned one, and only one, of Pope Paschal's letters to account, and lived for more than thirty years without discovering the chronological error he had per-

one for the King and the other for the Primate; then comes the text of those documents; and then Paschal's letter to the bishop and canons of Exeter, an irrelevant digression introduced with a 'huic opusculo indere.' At the conclusion of the Exeter letter, however (page 156), he resumes the narrative which had been dropped on page 152, and soon brings us into the thick of the famous dispute at Westminster and the quarrel about the Pope's letter to the Primate. That letter we naturally believe to be the 'Non ignoras' we had read on page 154, until to our amazement he concludes on page 159 with 'Textus autem litterarum hic est' and the 'Adversus illam.'"

"Curiously enough, however, the truth is that the 'Adversus illam,' so far from being in Anselm's possession, and carried by him to the palace of Westminster and read there in the hearing of king, prelates, and barons in the summer of 1102, was not yet in existence at that date. It was written in the following December. By what ill luck Eadmer contrived to make this preposterous blunder we need not just now enquire; but we may be sure that he would not have set forth the 'Adversus illam' in the connexion in which we now find it if, when writing his account of the scene at Westminster, he had just copied out the 'Non ignoras.' A stronger presumption that the 'Non ignoras,' and with it the 'Regi regum,' and the 'et patrum,' had no place in the first text of the 'Historia Novorum' it would be difficult to imagine."

I believe that the ill luck by which Eadmer made the blunder of saying that the document in dispute was the 'Adversus illam' was the misfortune, in his emulation of William of Malmesbury, of following the false guidance of that author. But more of this in its proper place.

I am bound, however, to add that the foregoing extract, although satisfactory in so far as it proves that the four letters cannot all have been introduced into the work at the same time, does not prove that the 'Adversus illam' figured in the original, for there may have been—and, I think was—a second recension. That the first three had no place in the first issue is amply proved by the "legentium oculis ecce præfigimus" which introduces the "Regi regum" and the "Non ignoras," by the "huic opusculo indere" which introduces the "Et patrum," and by the evidence of William of Malmesbury.

petrated when he did so, or he introduced that letter into his work subsequently to the "Regi regum," the "Non ignoras" and the "Et patrum." If the latter be deemed the preferable alternative, Eadmer's new work must, I think, be sought after the sentence ending with "quam te esse judicemus" (MS. p. 158); for after those words there are two remarkable repetitions of phrase borrowed from the antecedent context, "qui Roma venerant episcopi," and "in episcopali veritate contestari"; and, also, four points of contrast with William of Malmesbury's narrative (*G. P.* p. 109) which are well worthy of our attention. (1) William says, after his account of the dispute about the Pope's letter, "Diu ergo fluctuavit Anselmi sententia quo vergeret"; Eadmer is very different, "Quid ageret, quo se verteret, aliquandiu dubitavit." (2) William says that it might have looked proud and overbearing to reject the testimony of the bishops; Eadmer says that it would certainly have given scandal to reject the testimony of bishops who vowed by their priesthood that what they said was true. (3) William says that it would have been stupid to discredit the sealed letter of the Pope; Eadmer says that it would have been a grave matter to let it be supposed for a moment that a pope's letter might be deemed untrustworthy. (4) More than this, however. William says nothing either about the King's fresh demand of homage from the Archbishop, or about what is incomparably the most extraordinary incident in a very strange episode, the message which the three prelates professed to have received from the Pope for the Primate, and which they delivered to the latter on the faith of their episcopal word and under the sanction of an appeal to the Holy See. Of the two alternatives suggested by these contrasts, it is much more likely that Eadmer should have corrected and supplemented William in an additional leaf than that William with all of Eadmer before him that we now have should have given so confused and broken an echo of it.

Here, however, let me pause to note the strange nemesis which attended Eadmer's vigilant care to correct and supplement the labours of his rival. He had given, and correctly given, the "Non ignoras" as the document over which the two opposed parties in Westminster Hall expended their artillery of sarcasm and repartee; and yet now he rectifies the errors and omissions of William at the cost of following William's lead into the absurdity of saying that the document under dispute was, not the "Non ignoras," but the "Adversus illam"; for that is evidently the letter designated by William in the sentence (*G. P.* p. 108) "Siquidem et epistola quam Anselmo attulerant vulgo jam lectitabatur, in qua non solum investituras non concedere sed etiam statuta Urbani pertinaciter probabatur Paschalis urgere servandaque monere."

When then, the forty-four lines that intervene between "Et de litterarum" and "ii Idus Decembris" have been eliminated[1], together with the eight lines of the passage "Ad quæ qui Roma venerant...conserere nolo" (on MS. pp. 160, 161), there remains precisely such an account as William of Malmesbury seems to have followed.

The difficulty presented by the excess of fifty-two lines over forty-nine is by no means insurmountable; for the Cottonian copy, representing a stage in the history of the work prior to that at which the C. C. C. copy was written, bears witness to an abbreviated superscription and thus to a difference of probably more than a line of text[2]. Nor can I conceal the suspicion that the strange little sentence on pp. 158, 159, "O hinc simultatis detecta confusio," the elimination of which would bring the

[1] "Et de litterarum.....simultatis" = 5 lines;
"detecta.....se iterum" = 27 lines;
"negotiis.....Decembris" = 12 lines;
"Ad quæ.....nolo = 8½ lines.

[2] All difficulty would vanish if I could be sure that the letter was given without any superscription at all. "O hinc...confusio" = ¾ line, "Paschalis ...benedictionem" = 2¼ lines.

amplification almost within normal bounds, is a marginal note, and no part of the amplification, no part of the marvellous repartee, "Væ, væ, nonne et evangelia pellibus ovinis inscribuntur?" But more of this on a subsequent page[1].

§ 4. THE SECOND PORTION OF BOOK III.

("Mittens ergo...elongans": MS. pp. 166—184.)

Amplification XV. William of Malmesbury (*G. P.* p. 109) wrote two versions of the conduct of the King and the Archbishop of York in the case of the bishops-elect of Winchester, Salisbury and Hereford. The first account tells us that Henry, taking an unhandsome advantage of Anselm's moderation, appointed two members of his household to bishoprics by the forbidden ceremony of investiture; the second and castigated account merely says that the two clerks were elected. The first says that Henry, *ira concitatior*, bade Archbishop Gerard consecrate William Giffard, Roger and Reinelm; the second tells us, in gentler phrase, that the King was *paulo commotior*. The first calls Gerard a law-breaker; not so the second. The first tells us that Reinelm by his surrender of ring and crosier roused the King's mind to a vehement agitation, and that he was banished the King's court and the King's favour; there is nothing of all this in the second. The first informs us that William Giffard was driven into exile; the second is mute on the subject.

Similarly (*G. R.* p. 500 and *G. P.* pp. 104—106), much that William had said about the impieties of William Rufus, much that he had said about the early anxieties of Henry I. was suppressed in subsequent recensions of the *Gesta Regum* and the *Gesta Pontificum*.

Just, then, as William's suppressed account of the Red King's

[1] See below, p. 239.

impieties was resuscitated and given to the world by Eadmer in Amplification VII; just as William's suppressed account of King Henry's early anxieties was resuscitated and given to the world by Eadmer in Amplification X; so was it with the passage "Erat quippe...desistere volent" on MS. pp. 166—168.

In this passage our author records the very incidents which William of Malmesbury had suppressed in his recension of the *Gesta Pontificum*, and, further, takes care to inform us that as far back as the summer of 1100 William Giffard had refused to receive the crosier at the King's hand, but that he had subsequently received it, and with it the *cura pontificalis*, at the hand of the Primate.

The bearing of this passage on the *Gesta Pontificum*, its textual content of forty-nine lines, the presence in its first sentence of the formula "ut prælibavimus," and the extreme unlikelihood that such revelations concerning Henry I. should have been made by a prominent member of the Christ Church chapter during the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, or, indeed, at any time or on any account during the lifetime of the royal offender, signalize it as an addition to the first narrative, and as an addition made after the later of two events, whatever may have been their chronological order, the King's death and the divulgation of the unrecensed text of *Gesta Pontificum I.*

Amplification XIV. But, like the "Anselmus tamen..... suosve dispensans" on MS. pp. 52—54, the passage we have just examined would itself seem to have been engrafted into an existing amplification of the text. That is to say:—

Leaf VI of the first computation recorded the death of Roger the larderer, and ended, as nearly as can be computed and surmised, with the words "Post hæc ergo rex rogavit Anselmum quatinus ipse per se Romam ire et quod alii nequiverant sua sibi industria conaretur adquirere...et respondit," (as on MS. p. 170), the next leaf continuing, "Differantur hæc," &c.

This became, at an early manipulation of the volume, after an erasure of the last lines of Leaf VI, "Mittens ergo rex rogavit Anselmum quatinus pro suo jure hos noviter electos cum Willelmo jamdudum Wentanæ civitati electo...inter me et illum convenit," (as on MS. p. 166). Then came, on a fresh leaf, "non mutabo. At ille...interposito sacramento asseruit," and then (as on p. 168) "Subsequenti dehinc media fere... et respondit," filling the remainder of the leaf. I must now give the reasons for my opinion.

Something will be said on another page about John of Salisbury. At present it may suffice to remark that there is nothing in his pages, and nothing in those of William of Malmesbury, from which it can be inferred that either of these writers knew anything of the King's extraordinary visit to Canterbury in the spring of 1103. The King, according to Eadmer, remained for three days at Canterbury under some pretext about the Count of Flanders; but people, he adds, soon learnt what had brought him thither, and penetrated the pretext about the count. The truth was (I still follow Eadmer) that Henry had come to fight it out with the Archbishop; for he had resolved either to do him some grievous bodily injury, or to drive him out of the kingdom, should he not consent to comply with all his demands. Henry was in a mighty passion; Anselm's monks were in an ecstacy of alarm, men like Robert of Meulan bathed in tears. Anselm alone was calm. Affairs seemed to be verging on some fatal cataclysm, when suddenly the King turned from threats to prayers, from boisterous rage to bated breath and abject supplication, and begged his placid foe to stoop to his succour.

Now, neither William of Malmesbury nor John of Salisbury gives the remotest hint of all this, nor of the very significant oath (Henry's oaths were solemn things, solemnly made and solemnly remembered; this as well as the rest) which the King had sworn in the previous autumn, that the three bishops

elect should be consecrated together or not at all. John seems to have worked on Eadmer's first text, William on an early recension; and it is as unlikely that, having read these things, they should have said nothing about them as that Eadmer should have made them known during the lifetime of Henry.

If anything more be needed on this subject it may be found in the following considerations:—

On MS. p. 171 we read, "Vulnerabat enim quodam modo mentem ejus quod rex nec per se nec per suos, ut dixi, audire volebat quod litteræ Roma nuper allatæ continerent in se." (1) A very proper and opportune explanation if nothing had been said about the Canterbury incident, but feeble in the extreme as the work now stands. (2) Nor is it to be believed that, if our author had just recorded that incident, he would have described the Pope's letter as "nuper allatæ" after an adjournment of five weeks' duration[1]. And (3) the "ut dixi" is a formula which Eadmer frequently, and perhaps exclusively, uses either in or in relation to amplifications of his narrative.

And (4) yet again. Both William of Malmesbury's account and John of Salisbury's lack that chronological perspective which those writers would unconsciously have given to them, had they been aware that the King's request was made at Midlent and the Primate's reply given after Easter. Neither of them seems to have had any suspicion of this.

Between "quatinus pro suo," &c., on MS. p. 166, and "quatinus ipse per se," &c., on p. 170, there are ninety-eight lines, the precise content of two leaves; forty-nine of them being, as we have seen, a distinct insertion.

Amplification XVI. The next subject that claims our notice is St Anselm's second journey to Rome (MS. pp. 172—175)[2].

[1] Similar instances of what I venture to call false perspective will occur in the sequel. Cf. meanwhile the uncorrected "aliquantis diebus" on MS. p. 54.

[2] See *Preface*, p. xxxi.

William of Malmesbury, in his account (*G. P.* p. 111) of this portion of the history, gives us to understand, and, indeed, seems to have thought, that there was no delay in the Archbishop's journey: "Anselmus continuo prosperis flatibus marina pericula transvectus, bona etiam fortuna terrenum iter Romam usque emensus est." It is, I think, to this inaccuracy that we are indebted for the precise date (MS. p. 172) of St Anselm's arrival at Wissant, and for the approximate date (p. 175) of his final departure from Le Bec four months later.

Eadmer's narrative of the early part of the journey is written in the plural number,—"Venimus...properavimus...ingressi... appulimus." But after the words "Acta sunt hæc anno Incarnati Verbi millesimo centesimo tertio, v. Kal. Mai" we have (i) the singular number instead of the plural, and with no expressed nominative[1], a strange grammatical lapse, (ii) a fresh record of the passage of the strait, and (iii) textual peculiarities which I now proceed to notice.

1. The zeugma by which, as the text now stands, it is necessary to place "pace" as well as "omnibus" in regimen with "investitus" (p. 172) is scarcely tolerable and is by no means in Eadmer's style. Either some such word as "potitus" has disappeared, or there has been some awkward manipulation of the text.

2. The termination of the journey is thus recorded (p. 175), "Quapropter paucis dictum accipiatur eum, Divino ubique vallante præsidio, summa pace ac prosperitate iter peregisse atque incolumem cum suis omnibus Romam pervenisse." Here the "paucis dictum accipiatur" seems to shew that Eadmer is reaching the limit of his allotted space; whilst the "summa pace" and the "cum suis omnibus" by their similarity to the "regia igitur pace" and the "suisque omnibus" that occurred about a hundred lines[2] before give us no untrustworthy hint of

[1] A similar instance will be found in Amplification XXXIII.

[2] The repeated "pace" and "suis omnibus" have their analogy in the repeated "amplius concordare" on MS. p. 116 (Amplification VII.).

what the first account must have been. It was, I suspect, pretty much as follows:—"Summa igitur pace Anselmus cum suis omnibus iter Romam veniendi assumpsit. Quem venientem ille Willelmus[1]." Instead of this, which would have filled 1¾ lines, we have the extant "Acta sunt...Romam pervenisse" in 99⅞ lines.

Amplification XVII. In some such manner Eadmer's account of St Anselm's departure from Rome in the autumn of 1103 would seem to have been cut up and redistributed, the "Post hæc" appearing on MS. p. 178 and "Romam deserentes" surviving in "Roma discedentibus" on p. 179[2]. Here, again, it would seem to have been part of Eadmer's design to correct William of Malmesbury, who in the *Gesta Regum* (§ 417)

[1] The "Guilielmus quidam" of the resumed narrative in the extant copies is very curious. When writing my Preface, I suggested that we owe the "Guilielmus," instead of Eadmer's usual "Willelmus," to a scribe who, writing at a later date, employed a new form, just as in other late work we have "Guarnerius," "Edmundus," "Edmerus" for "Warnerius," "Eadmundus," "Eadmerus," and I characterized the "quidam" as absurd. This William of Veraval is called "quidam Willelmus" in the letter of remonstrance sent by Prior Ernulf to the Archbishop in the course of the year 1104—"pro uno verbo cujusdam Willelmi" (MS. p. 188)—and, again, "quidam Willelmus" by William of Malmesbury (*G. P.* p. 202, note 2). If we could be sure that in these instances the name was spelt "Willelmus," the most that we could fairly infer would be that it was the habit of some, for whatever reason, to call him "a certain William"; but if, on the contrary, it could be proved that in all three instances it was written "Guilielmus" then we might infer that the sarcasm lay in the spelling, and in the pronunciation, the Norman affecting a foreign mode not in fashion, and perhaps not in favour, with Englishmen. It certainly is a remarkable fact that the only occasion on which Eadmer honours the man with "quidam" is the only occasion on which the name is spelt "Guilielmus." There were many Guillaumes in that age; but I am not aware that there were many Williams. As to the "quidam," Eadmer seems to have substituted it, late in the day, for some such phrase as "cujus supra meminimus" (see *Vita*, II. li) or the like, in reply to his Wiltshire rival who had suppressed the word (see as above, *G. P.* p. 202, note 2). Here, as in some other cases, zeal outran discretion, for the absurdity of which I complained cannot be explained away.

[2] Cf. "Cluniaco" and "Cluniacum" on MS. p. 192. See below, p. 230.

tells us that the "In litteris," a document dated on November 23rd, 1103, was written during St Anselm's second exile at Lyons..."erat...tunc...tempore...Lugduni"—and, therefore, on November 23rd, 1104, an error which would almost inevitably misplace by a year the birth of the King's son William. On the other hand, however, the "Adversus illam" owes, as we have seen, its misplacement in Eadmer to the oscitancy of the Wiltshire historian, whose account of the scene at Westminster in the autumn of 1102 leaves it beyond question that he supposed the "Adversus illam" to have been the subject of dispute, not the "Non ignoras."

Here, however, I may be permitted to repeat what I have said elsewhere (*Preface*, p. xxxii).

"William of Malmesbury in the *Gesta Regum* (pp. 644—647) gives us the text of the 'Suavissimas' and the 'In litteris'; but his record is marked by two noteworthy peculiarities. First, he introduces the two letters, and with them another, the 'Quod Anglici regis,' with a remark which would seem to imply that they were not in his copy of the *Historia Novorum*, not, that is to say, in the copy which lay before him as he wrote the earlier of his two great works, 'Harum causarum tenorem multo verborum circuitu egit domnus Edmerus; nos *pro pleniore notitia* Paschalis sæpe dicti apostolici scripta ad hanc rem pertinentia subnectemus.' And, secondly, he inverts the order of the 'Suavissimas' and the 'In litteris,' making the latter, which was written in the winter of 1103, take precedence of the former, which had been written twelve months before...On the other hand, there can be little doubt that it (the 'In litteris') formed part of the copy which he used for the *Gesta Pontificum* (p. 113); since, writing in this latter of the message which the royal envoy delivered to the Primate on the road from Mont Cenis to Lyons, he says:—'Anselm wrote on the subject to the King. But the letters from the Pope to the King, from Anselm to the King,

and from the King to Anselm, are a long and interminable series which I have no mind to introduce here. Those who wish to read them will find them in Edmer, who added (*or* has added) them to his narrative ut nullus eum mendacii carperet, et ut ipse invictum robur dictorum assumeret.'

"It would seem, then, that the truth of Eadmer's story of the message delivered to Anselm by the King's envoy had been questioned by some readers of his first text, and that it was in order to defend himself from the charge of inaccuracy that he enriched a later edition with the 'In litteris,' a document which certainly goes to prove his story. Where the intercalated passage ended may perhaps be surmised from the fact that the present narrative brings the whole party, including William, to Lyons, and then 'harks back' to say what had happened on the road, and to observe that William did not go near the city of Lyons....The pristine text had not improbably been 'Post hæc Romam deserentes protecti gratia Dei sani et incolumes Lugdunum usque pervenimus.'" This last sentence, however, must be so far modified as to keep the interpolated text within the limit of 98 lines or 99 at the very utmost[1]. The pristine text must rather have been, "Post hæc Anselmus... ...ipsemet optas (as on p. 178). Romam itaque (as on p. 179) deserentes protecti gratia Dei...Lugdunum usque pervenimus" &c. (as on p. 182). The corresponding passage in the *Vita* is, "In his negotium regis finem ita tunc temporis sumpsit, et Anselmus, aliis atque aliis cum papa de rerum institutionibus actis, in iter reversus civitatem Florentiam usque pervenit."

On the whole, the most probable account that can be given of the twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth leaves of the final computation is that, comprising the contents of Leaf IX and ninety-eight lines of new matter, they were set by

[1] By an error which at this distance of time I am unable to trace I made the distance between "Post hæc Anselmus" on p. 178 and "protecti gratia Dei" 99 lines. It is 104 lines.

Eadmer into his volume after the composition of *Gesta Regum* V, but before the issue of *Gesta Pontificum* I; Leaf IX being removed and giving place to them.

The history of the twenty-ninth leaf is very curious.

Amplifications XVIII and *XVIII**. There cannot be a doubt that the original tenth leaf, beginning at or about "Anselmus" (MS. p. 183), and ending at or about "Eo tempore" on p. 193, embraced the whole interval of St Anselm's second exile at Lyons. Of this Eadmer transferred the first few lines to a new leaf,—"Anselmus summo cum honore...habitus." Then followed ninety-eight lines of fresh matter, beginning with "Directis interea nunciis" and ending on the fourth line of the first page of the next leaf but one. For here, unquestionably, here where now we have the ending of Book III.[1] and the beginning of Book IV, here was that letter of the king's which William of Malmesbury[2] (quoted above, page 230) has mentioned but taken care not to copy, and which Eadmer at a later date expunged, for whatever reason, from his own pages. The narrative then continued, "Cum igitur quidam" &c. (see MS. p. 189).

When, then, Eadmer had resolved to suppress the King's letter, he further resolved, if he could, to obliterate the trace of it. The last leaves of his original work had grown to many, and were likely to grow to many more; and here, if anywhere, was the place at which to divide his third book into two. He therefore cancelled the letter and its context, probably fifty-six or fifty-seven lines in all, and on such erasure as lay at the end of a leaf[3] wrote the sentence "His ita gestis" &c.[4] and after it "EXPLICIT LIBER TERTIUS." On such erasure as lay on

[1] I believe the 'leaf' of lines within which the royal letter lay to have been part and parcel of Amplification XVIII; but for the sake of clearness I call it XVIII*, giving XVIII its present value of one leaf.

[2] *G. P.* p. 113.

[3] Twenty-ninth of the final computation.

[4] Borrowed from *Vita* II. lii.

the beginning of a leaf he wrote "INCIPIT QUARTUS," and then the sentence "Igitur...præcepit."

§ 5. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF BOOK III.

If we may be allowed to speculate as to the order of time in which the several additions to Book III. were made, I should say that that which held the "Regi regum," the "Non ignoras," and the "Et patrum," that which held the "Fraternitatis" and "In litteris," and that which held the "Quamvis per Willelmum" and the royal letter subsequently suppressed (i.e. Amplifications XI, XVII, XVIII, and XVIII*), were made at an early date.

The next claimants for priority, but after an undetermined interval, are that which, introducing the "Adversus illam," gave fresh particulars about the scene at Westminster (Amplification XII.), and those which recorded the King's visit to Canterbury and St Anselm's second journey to Rome (Amplifications XIV. and XVI.).

Amplifications X. and XV. would seem to have been composed after the divulgation of the first text of *Gesta Regum* V. and *Gesta Pontificum* I; and the *textus concilii Lundoniensis* (in Amplification XIII.) to have been introduced either then or at a slightly later date.

Amplifications XXII and XXIV. It was, I think, before the division into two books of the third instalment of the original work that Eadmer introduced into what had in the first instance been Leaf x. additional text, which, together with Amplifications XVIII and XVIII*, expanded it from one leaf to four, and again from four to six. But as these two batches of new work now form part of Book IV, I defer my examination of them to a later page.

§ 6. THE ORIGINAL NARRATIVE OF EVENTS FROM CHRISTMAS 1103 TO JULY 1105.

Here, then, I will so far anticipate the result of further research as to attempt a theoretical reconstruction of the original Leaf X. The text must have been pretty much as follows:—

> "Anselmus summo cum honore et gaudio a venerabili Hugone Lugdunensi archiepiscopo et toto clero susceptus in majorem ecclesiam ductus est, ibique ut pater et dominus loci ab omnibus habitus. Cum igitur quidam regi insisterent ut eum revocaret, ipse, tam religiositate viri inductus, quam et immanium malorum exuberatione animo consternatus, fieri quidem de reditu viri quod petebatur se libenter velle fatebatur, sic tamen ut paternarum consuetudinum nihil sibi ab eo ulterius derogari ulla ratione pateretur. Unde, nobis adhuc Lugduni degentibus, nuncii Romam ab ipso rege directi sunt qui modis omnibus elaborarent apostolicum ad hoc deducere ut Anselmum Angliam redire et regiæ voluntati iuberet in cunctis subdi et obœdire. In secundo autem anno adventus nostri Anselmus intellexit se amplius frustra Lugduni Romanam opem præstolari, præsertim cum jam sæpenumero ipsi Romanæ sedis anstistiti legatos et litteras de sui negotii consummatione transmiserit, et eo usque nil nisi quandam quasi consolatoriæ expectationis promissionem de termino in terminum ab eo meruerit. Tertio quoque litteras suas regi Angliæ pro suarum rerum resaisitione direxerat nec aliquid ab eo nisi quod blandientem sibi dilationem ingereret responsi acceperat. Consulto itaque venerabili præfato Lugdunensis civitatis episcopo, Lugduno Franciam petiturus decessit, mœrente super hoc pontifice ipso et omni populo terræ. Eo tempore rex Henricus in Normannia erat, ipsamque pene totam suæ ditioni subegerat. Omnes enim ferme Normannorum majores illico ad regis adventum, spreto comite domino suo, et fidem quam ei debebant postponentes[1], in aurum et argentum regis concurrerunt, eique civitates castra et urbes

[1] "Fidem...postponentes"; probably altered from "fide...debebant."

> tradiderunt. Rogatus ergo a rege Anselmus in Normanniam venit, et habito inter eos colloquio Anselmum rex de redditibus sui pontificatus revestivit, et in pristinam amicitiam utrinque recepti sunt. Quibusdam igitur ad hoc sollicite operam dantibus ut antistes statim Angliam remearet, rex annuit, sic tamen ut nulli eorum qui a se investituras ecclesiarum susceperant, vel eos consecraverant, suam in aliquo communionem subtraheret. Cui conditioni Anselmus minime adquiescens, obœdientiam videlicet papæ in nullo prætergredi volens, extra Angliam manere delegit, donec illi qui ad ipsum negotium et quædam alia de quibus inter eos illa vice convenire non poterat determinanda ex condicto Romam mittendi erant reversi fuissent. Itaque missi sunt Romam ex parte quidem Anselmi Balduinus monachus et ex parte regis Willelmus ssepe superius memoratus."

This leaf was expanded into three at the first manipulation of the third Book by the introduction of the "Quamvis per Willelmum" and the royal letter and their context; and at a second manipulation the introduction of the particulars of the visit to the Countess Adela increased three leaves to four. It must, one would suppose, have been on or about the latter occasion that Eadmer suppressed the King's letter and made the third Book end where and as it does.

When, then, the division had been effected, the fourth Book began:—

> "Igitur ubi Willelmus Angliam pervenit et gesti negotii seriem Henrico regi exposuit, rex illico omnes redditus archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis in suos usus redigi præcepit. Cum igitur quidam," &c.

I think that the accompanying tables may be of service to the reader at this part of my argument, although some of their details anticipate conclusions at which I hope to arrive towards the close of the essay.

The construction of these tabular synopses of the history of the third Book brings to light a fact which, not having been suspected, comes upon me with the suddenness of a surprise

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS OF AMPLIFICATIONS IN BOOK III.

	First number of leaf in book	Before division into Books III and IV: A	Before division into Books III and IV: B (? A.D. 1137)	At division: Number of leaf at division	After division: F (? A.D. 1139)	After division: G	Final number of leaf	Conjectural beginning of specified portion
	I			i			1	"Secundo itaque" &c. MS. p. 134
	II			ii			2	"sub fratre suo" &c. MS. p. 136
	III			iii	X (β)		3—10	"sciret atque" &c. MS. p. 137
Eighth quire of Eadmer's own volume	IV	XI (α)		iv—vii			11—14	"commodum quod" &c. MS. p. 150 bis
	V		XII (α)	viii, ix			15, 16	"mandasse per se" &c. MS. p. 157
	VI		XIV (β)	x, xi	XV (γ)	XIII (γ)	17—21	"communionem subtraham" &c. MS. p. 161
	VII			xii			22	"Differantur hæc" &c. MS. p. 170
	VIII		XVI (β)	xiii—xv			23—25	"investitus mare transiit" &c. MS. p. 172
	IX	XVII (α)		xvi—xviii			26—28	"nec pro amissione" &c. MS. p. 177
	[X]	XVIII (α), XVIII*	[XXII (α), XXIV (α)]	xix [xx—xxiv]			29	"Anselmus summo cum" &c. MS. p. 183
	[XI]	XXX*	[XXXII (γ)]	[xxv—xxvii]				
		8 leaves	8 leaves		8 leaves	2 leaves		

Note:—A = Amplifications after issue of *Gesta Regum* V in recensed text, and before issue of *Gesta Pontificum* I.
B = Amplifications after issue of *Gesta Pontificum* I in recensed text.
F = Amplifications after divulgation of *Gesta Regum* IV, V, and *Gesta Pontificum* I, in unrecensed text.
G = Late addition.
[ ] = Removed at division to form part of Book IV: six leaves.
XVIII* and XXX*, subsequently suppressed, probably at division: two leaves.

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS OF AMPLIFICATIONS IN BOOK IV.

First number of leaf	C (? A.D. 1138)	D (? A.D. 1139)	E (? A.D. 1140)	H (? A.D. 1141)	Final number of leaf	Conjectural beginning of specified portion
		XIX (γ)			1 v.	"Igitur ubi" &c. MS. p. 184
ii	XXI (β)	XX (β)			2—5	"Quod dum" &c. MS. p. 185
iii	XXIII (γ)				6—9	"vitæ suæ" &c. MS. p. 193
iv					10	"Anselmus" &c. MS. p. 200
v			XXVI (γ)	XXV (γ)	11—17	"domunculis" &c. MS. p. 202
vi	XXVII (a), XXIX (a)	XXVIII (a), XXXI (γ)	XXX (γ)		18—24	["Reversis" &c.] MS. p. 217
vii	XXXIII (γ)	XXXV (γ)	XXXIV (γ), XXXVII (γ)	XXXVI	25—42	"Ad quam" &c. MS. p. 227
	8 leaves	12 leaves *	6 leaves	9 leaves		

Note:—C = Amplifications before issue of *Gesta Pontificum* III.
D = Amplifications after issue of *Gesta Pontificum* III.
E = Amplifications after issue of *Gesta Pontificum* IV.
H = Late additions.
* Not counting XIX. See below, p. 248.

and the pleasure of a fresh discovery. It is this, that the earliest augmentations of the original text are those in which we find new work so blended with old as to require great care in disintegrating the one component from the other; that those in which nothing more was done than to erase a line or two of old work and, using a new leaf or leaves, to write on till the space at command was filled in are, in the main, of later date; and that those in which a new batch of text was simply 'sandwiched' into an old are, in the main, of later date still[1].

Hence it would seem to follow (though the inference must of course be accepted with caution) that there is a chronological order as well as a scientific truth in the following division:—

α. Amalgamations, in which new work and old were, as it were, kneaded together.

β. Grafts, in which, when necessary, the task of introducing new work was expedited by a single erasure; or, in which, for the introduction of, say, n leaves of new work, the leaf containing the point of introduction was removed and the whole written on $\overline{n+1}$ leaves; or, in which some slight disturbance of the context was rendered necessary.

γ. Insertions, which involved no disturbance of the context[2].

For the first of these both care and leisure were needed. The last may with reason be excused on the score of haste, or, more probably, of physical inability to attempt more crafty methods.

[1] Another curious circumstance comes to light as these pages are passing through the press. Each of the four groups, A, B, F, and C, comprises precisely eight leaves.

[2] All the additions fall under one or other category, with the exception of XXXVI.

§ 7. ON THE PHRASES "FINIERAT IN ISTIS" (MS. p. 152) AND "O HINC SIMULTATIS DETECTA CONFUSIO" (MS. p. 158).

This is the place for saying what remains to be said on two short but troublesome sentences, one on MS. p. 152, the other on MS. p. 158.

In my Preface (page xxx) I have hazarded the suggestion that "Finierat in istis" is a marginal memorandum. I think so still. But I believe it to refer, not to the Pope's speech, which it follows in the extant text, but to the succeeding sentence, "Super hæc...dignitate."

The whole passage "Emensa dehinc...primatus dignitate" is, in my opinion, old work, with the sole exception of "Finierat in istis" which has found its way from the margin into the text; and I think that I have detected the meaning and the point of the memorandum. William of Malmesbury had in *G. P.* I. (p. 113) attributed Eadmer's introduction of the letters in XVII. and XVIII. to a desire to stand well with his readers, and Eadmer here replies, "Be that as it may, I wish it to be well observed that, although I now introduce the text of the 'Regi regum' and the 'Non ignoras,' I was quite familiar with those documents, and, indeed, quoted from them in the first instance." And if, as it is only fair to believe, the sentence "Super hæc... primatus dignitate" has undergone no change, there is no reply to the claim; and we must own that, although his first account of the Lyons letter was not based on knowledge of the contents of the "Novimus, domine reverende" (see above, p. 211), our author was in this case better informed, for the phrase "regi... ecclesiarum investituras judicio Sancti Spiritus interdicens" is, clearly, borrowed from the "Regi regum," which has "nos Sancti Spiritus judicio regibus...interdicimus," whilst the words "Anselmum ut quæ agebat ageret, et quæ loquebatur perloqueretur affectuose deprecans" are, as clearly, taken from

the "Rogamus itaque ut quod agis agas, quod loqueris perloquaris" of the "Non ignoras[1]."

The "O hinc simultatis detecta confusio" on pp. 158, 159 is still more interesting. It had long puzzled and tormented me until the accident of discovering that the passage to which it referred was part of an amplification, and, not only so, but of an amplification introduced soon after the appearance of *G. P.* I, afforded me a clue to a solution of the mystery. I have already shewn that between the words "Et de litterarum" on page 158 and "lites conserere nolo" on page 161 there is a full leaf of text which cannot have been known to William of Malmesbury when he wrote *G. P.* I; and I may here add that it is as unlikely that William and Eadmer should, each independently of the other, have erred about the date of the "Adversus illam" as that they should, each independently of the other, have erred about the date of the Council of Rockingham and that of Anselm's assumption of the pallium (see *Preface*, page lxii). What, then, are the facts? It is from this very sentence on page 158, "Et de litterarum" &c. that Eadmer begins that long series of corrective insertions in reply to William of Malmesbury which only ends with the conclusion of Book IV. The question, "Et de litterarum quid?", the answer, "Testimonium monachorum contra episcopos non recipimus, et ovinæ pellis reciperemus?" and the rejoinder, "Væ, væ; nonne et evangelia pellibus ovinis inscribuntur?" are, I repeat, the first instance in a lengthened and laboured chain of corrective additions which beginning here ends only at the end. And it is an instance of which Eadmer might well be proud, a natural and effective touch, which William of Malmesbury, had he been present, or had informants of his been present, at the memorable scene,

[1] Eadmer tells us (MS. p. 157) that these two letters were already divulged at the time, and I infer that copies of them lay before him as he wrote his first narrative. They are the only letters of which he seems to have made use whilst thus employed.

would have been careful to introduce into his own account in proof of his independence of Eadmer.

I believe, then, that "O hinc simultatis detecta confusio" is not part of the repartee of the *quidam religiosi*; and I further believe that, though written by Eadmer, it was not written as a comment on the utterers of the repartee, and that it is not of the text of his work. I believe it to be a marginal slap at William of Malmesbury, indited it may be, for Eadmer's delectation only, or, more probably, for the benefit of the readers of his own working copy in time to come. As though he should say, "The following pages will be found to contain details written in correction of one whose name need not be mentioned, details that shew which of us is the authentic narrator and which the plagiarist, which of us a real authority and which a mean rival, details neither few nor insignificant; and of those details this is the first. From this point I proceed to unmask a resentful rivalry and to put it to well-merited shame, "*Hinc simultatis detecta confusio*[1]."

§ 8. FINAL NOTE ON BOOK III.

If guesses on such a matter may be hazarded by the writer and tolerated by the reader, I should say that in the course of the first recension, which I have noted by the letter A, Leaf IV, the first leaf of the final quire of Eadmer's little volume of sixty-four leaves, was replaced by four new ones (iv.—vii.); and also that Leaves IX. X. and XI. together with their engrafted text were replaced by a fresh quire. There were thus nineteen leaves:—

(I II III)+(iv v vi vii)+(v VI VII VIII)+(a quire).

[1] The "O" may be part of the note, but I incline to think it a blundering reproduction of the theta-like catchmark to the sentence which it elucidates.

As to Amplifications XII, XIV, XVI, made in the course of recension B, I should say that they were all transferred into Eadmer's own volume at one and the same time, the object being to make of them and the transcribed content of leaves V. VI. VII. VIII. a new quire of manuscript; Thus:—

(I II III)+(iv v vi vii)+(a quire)+(a quire)

The introduction of Amplifications XXII, XXIV, XXXII, obliged him to disturb the last two leaves of the last of these constituents; and when at length he segregated the six leaves that were to form the nucleus of Book IV, Book III. consisted of the following:—

(I II III)+(iv v vi vii)+(a quire)+the first half of a quire.

He seems to have opened his volume on occasion of recension F, in order to introduce Amplifications X. and XV. The former of these operations was effected by removing the last leaf of the seventh quire and letting in a quaternion of leaves which contained the combined content of leaf III. and the new text. The latter was a still simpler process, a very slight disturbance of the text on leaf xi. and the slipping in of an extra leaf between leaves x. and xi.

Amplification XIII. could not be so easily accommodated, and seems to have been temporarily lodged in a separate fasciculus. Besides, internal evidence shews it to be referable to a very late date.

After the segregation of leaves XX.—XXVII, the elimination of XVIII* and XXX* reduced their number to six, which together with Amplifications XXI, XXIII, XXVII, XXIX, and XXXIII, were, as I imagine, written out on the fourteen interior leaves of a fasciculus in two quires. These fourteen leaves were the expanded nucleus of a book which was destined to grow to threefold dimensions.

§ 9. THE FIRST PORTION OF BOOK IV.

("Igitur.. posse putamus": MS. pp. 184—204.)

Amplification XIX. The passage in 24⅔ lines, "Cura tamen...mensibus" (MS. p. 185), which confronts us quite at the beginning of Book IV. must be later than the first issue of the work. For the following reasons:—

1. The phrase "Ego, ducente Deo, cœpto narrandi calle progrediar" is one of a class peculiar to amplifications of the original narrative[1]; so also (2) is the "ut præfati sumus."

3. The repetition of statement in the sentence, "Quod dum...quatuor," as compared with "His ita...elongans" on p. 184 is a third instance of a peculiarity proper to these additions.

4. Eadmer here tells us ("Quod...quatuor") that St Anselm remained for a year and four months at Lyons. So he did. But in the *Vita* (II. liv.) he talks about a year and a half ("anno uno ac semis indignatio regis non est sopita") an interval shorter by a month than the continuation of the royal estrangement, and one by which, if the context is to guide us, he means to describe the length of his master's sojourn in the primatial city. At all events, it is unlikely that, if he had in 1111 said that the residence at Lyons lasted for sixteen months, he would in the following year, and writing with the *Historia Novorum* lying open before him, have expressed himself thus vaguely, and indeed contradictorily. I shall revert to the "anno uno ac semis" on a later page; but the "anno integro et mensibus quatuor" seems to be taken by Eadmer word for word from William of Malmesbury (*G. P.* p. 114), though it may have been recommended by his own acquaintance with the papal letter, "De illata tibi."

[1] For similar phrases, all of them in, or in relation to, additions to the narrative, see MS. pp. 12, 86, 125, 264, 289.

Every other addition, save Amplifications A and IX, which will be noticed in due course, fills, as nearly as may be, an even multiple of 24½ lines. But this has the remarkable peculiarity that its textual content is that, not of a leaf, or leaves, but of a single page. There can be no doubt, I apprehend, that Eadmer found room for it on the *verso* of the first leaf of the volume which contained his own working copy of Book IV. I cannot determine the date of its introduction, but am inclined to think that it either preceded or immediately followed the proper constituents of Group D.

Amplification XXI.[1]

This interpolation, embracing all that intervenes between "Ad quod" on MS. p. 190 and "suscepit inspexit" on p. 191,

[1] I have nothing more to add to what has already been said on this subject (*Preface*, pp. xxxiv, xxxv):—

"That part of the fourth book which begins with 'Cum igitur' on page 189, and ends with 'populo terræ' on page 192, betrays a certain inconsistency sufficient to suggest a doubt whether much of it may not have been inserted into the work subsequently to the first issue. It consists of four portions. The first of them is to the effect that Henry, partly out of respect for the Primate, partly out of dismay at the evils which had come to light in consequence of the Primate's exile, declared himself more than willing to have him back again, provided only he would let him enjoy the disputed *consuetudines;* and that he therefore sent envoys to Rome with instructions to spare no effort to induce the Pope to bid Anselm return to England and yield an unlimited obedience to the royal will. The next portion is irrelevant to the history, and may, like many similar paragraphs, have been inserted to eke out an even number of pages. The third is to this effect:—In the second year of our exile (A.D. 1105) the Pope, who had stiffly rejected the King's overtures, convened a council at the Lateran, excommunicated the Count of Meulan, the count's accomplices, and such prelates as had received investiture from the King, and with all speed sent news of what he had done to Anselm in a letter, which we subjoin. Then follows the letter, which upon inspection is found to contain the further information that, for a reason assigned, the Pope had deferred excommunicating the King himself.

The fourth portion, however, contains the astounding statement that, the Pope's letter being received and examined, Anselm was at last convinced of the utter uselessness of wasting time in expectation of help from

with the exception of "In secundo autem anno adventus nostri" and "Anselmus," includes the papal letter "De illata tibi." If, as I have intimated, that document had adorned the original narrative, Eadmer would have corrected the error of judgment into which, uninformed by it, he allowed himself to fall.

The precise content of the interpolation is 48⅜ lines.

Amplification XXII. The passage which begins on MS. p. 192 at the words "Cum ergo," and ends at "reppererunt" on p. 194, informs us that St Anselm, after leaving Lyons in the spring of 1105, with the intention of going to Rheims, changed his route and went to Blois; that after some days spent at Blois he told the Countess Adela that he proposed excommunicating her brother, the King of England; that Adela sent envoys to the latter warning him of his danger; that Henry, advised by his counsellors, craved an interview with the Primate; and that they met at Laigle.

Now, it certainly is open to question whether Eadmer would have published these particulars during the lifetime of Henry; and when we examine the passage, we find, if not absolute proof that it is engrafted work, yet signs which lend probability to the surmise. Thus the scribe of the Cottonian copy, or its parent, seems to have been puzzled by the competing words "Cluniacum" and "Cluniaco," and, unable to make an

Rome which would never come, particularly as the Pope had thus far refused to stir a finger in his behalf; and, mixed up with it, the very suggestive remark, thrown in as if by accident, that Anselm had during his stay in Lyons written three letters to the King demanding the restoration of his property, but had received highly unsatisfactory answers.

Now, this fourth portion of the narrative is quite in harmony with the first, but cannot be reconciled with the third. Curiously enough, too, at its point of junction with the third we find precisely that sort of textual crudity which betrays the manipulation of a clumsy scribe,—'Hanc igitur 'epistolam postquam Anselmus suscepit inspexit, intellexit se amplius &c.' . . . . 'This suscepit inspexit' recalls the 'tempus induciarum Paschæ' of page 144, the two sea voyages on one and the same day from Dover to Wissant of page 172, and the blunder about the chaplain on page 182."

amalgam of them, such as we find in "tempus induciarum Pascha" (MS. p. 144) and "suscepit inspexit" (MS. p. 191), to have chosen the alternative of writing one above the other. The thing may have come about thus. In the margin of the volume given to the scribe to copy, and related by a catch-mark to "populo terræ," there were the guiding words, "Cum ergo Cluniacum." These the scribe copied before turning to the place in the additamenta to which they directed him, but which had "Cum ergo a Cluniaco."

Again. In the concluding sentence of the passage we find allusions to the King's "pristina querela" and "pristina feritas," and yet in the very next sentence we are told of his "pristina amicitia," a piece of false chronological perspective which would not have been perpetrated had the narrative first left the author's hands as we now find it. If the quarrel was in middle distance the friendship was in the background, and the proper phrase was not "pristina amicitia" but "antiqua amicitia."

The content of the passage is 55½ lines. But something must evidently have been needed to link together the preceding and the following context; and such connecting bond is found in the two sentences, "Eo tempore...subegerat[1]" and "Omnes igitur...tradiderunt." Their content is 6½ lines, which when subtracted from 55½ leave 49.

It is probable, therefore, that the text in the first instance was as follows: "populo terræ (as on p. 192). Eo tempore... subegerat. Omnes igitur...tradiderunt" (as on p. 193).

[1] This short double link, "Eo tempore...subegerat. Omnes igitur... tradiderunt," now incorporated, perhaps in its original form, perhaps in a slightly altered one, into the amplification, is reproduced by the Worcester chronicler, who says, "Rex Anglorum Henricus transivit mare; omnes autem pene Normannorum majores ad ejus adventum, spreto comite domino suo, et fide quam ei debebant, in aurum et argentum regis, quod ipse de Anglia illuc portaverat, concurrerunt, eique castra munitasque civitates et urbes tradiderunt." Hence the pertinent question, Can the copy of Eadmer which the Worcester chronicler used have contained these particulars about St Anselm's visit to Blois?

Amplification XXIII. And now I must ask the reader to bracket out, as a subsequent addition, all that intervenes between "Hæc autem inter ipsos" on MS. p. 194, and "meum legatum mittam" on p. 200.

Like Amplification XVI. the passage begins with a date; and, as in that instance, the date is given, as it would seem, in rectification of an error of William of Malmesbury's, who had made it appear that St Anselm went from Lyons into Normandy at, or within a week or two of, the vernal equinox of the year 1105[1]. Here, as in the previous instance, William was a quarter of a year wrong in his chronology. But this was not his only mistake.

He says (*G. P.* p. 114) that after the interview at Laigle the King returned to England and that Anselm retired to Le Bec; that William of Veraval and Baldwin of Tournay were sent to Rome; that William and Baldwin there settled the controversy (*controversiam sedarunt*) on investiture and homage; and that, during their absence, news was brought to Anselm of certain scandals, as also a letter from the bishops entreating him to hasten his return to England.

What Eadmer here tells us is a very different story. He tells us that the King, after promising to send his agent to Rome at once, so that the Primate might be at Court on Christmas Day, did nothing of the kind; that he neither sent his agent nor permitted Anselm to return; and that, late in the year, Anselm wrote to him to say that, unless he bestirred himself without delay, he would independently of him send his own representative to the Pope not later than Christmas.

This can scarcely have had a place in William's copy of

[1] By "anno integro et mensibus quatuor" William meant, according to the method of his age (a method, ignorance of which has betrayed some recent writers into strange blunders) a year and three months *plus* some proper fraction of a month; he meant this, not necessarily more than this.

the *Historia Novorum;* nor can it have been divulged before the end of the year 1135, at the earliest.

And again. True as it may be (nothing can be more probable) that William and Baldwin did eventually arrange the terms of the final settlement, those terms had not been arranged by the Easter of 1106. They were not arranged, therefore, during that visit to Rome of which William of Malmesbury is here treating.

This passage consists of $146\frac{1}{2}$ ($= 3 \times 48\frac{5}{6}$) lines.

Amplification XXIV. There cannot be a doubt that, with the exception of the incorporated "Itaque post hæc.....solebat acturus," all that intervenes between "Scripsit quoque" (MS. p. 200) and "posse putamus" (MS. p. 204) is late work. It is not to be believed (1) that a passage containing a letter of reprimand to the Count of Meulan can have formed portion of the original; or (2) that so long as Henry was alive Eadmer would have published such an account as we here find of the royal exaction; or (3) that the "eo tempore" of the last sentence can have been written in 1111. Besides, (4) such a phrase as "nos brevitatem studentes pauca quæ dicta sunt pro intentione præsentis opusculi sufficere posse putamus" is nowhere to be found in any of Eadmer's early work. Sparing, therefore, as in analogous cases[1], "Itaque.....acturus," we find that the content of the new work is ($102\frac{1}{2}—4\frac{1}{2} =$) 98 lines.

I must now ask the reader to retrace his course for a few pages.

Amplification XX. On turning over the leaves of Book IV. from its first word on MS. p. 184 to the point just indicated, not only am I surprised to find how much of the text has been excerpted (namely, one normal page on MS. p. 185, two normal pages on pp. 190, 191, two on pp. 192—194, six on pp. 194—200, four on pp. 200—204); I find that every letter has disappeared, with the sole exception of the "Considerata" on

[1] In Amplifications x, xx, xxii.

page 186, a document of the same class with the eliminated "Carissime" on page 196.

Assuredly, if Eadmer had resolved to introduce but one letter from St Anselm's correspondence into his narrative of the last seven years of St Anselm's life, this is about the last which he would have chosen for that distinction; and the fact that it is an "epistola infixa" leaves little doubt that it cannot have had a place in his first issue.

The introductory context of the letter must be held to begin with "Quæ autem mala," for what goes before is part of the page of text which Eadmer wrote on the *verso* of the blank leaf at the beginning of his working copy of Book IV; and the subsequent context may be assumed to merge into the pristine narrative within a few lines of the end of the letter, for the text has evidently suffered some disturbance at that part.

According to the extant account (MS. p 189), certain people, "malorum magnitudine afflicti," urged the King to recal St Anselm; and yet the King, although "malorum exuberatione consternatus," needed to be thus urged before he allowed himself to own that he was of the same mind as they. Again: "ipsum" on the third line means Anselm, and yet in the very next line the King is called "ipse."

The sentence would seem to have read since the first recension: "Cum igitur quidam regi insisterent ut Anselmum revocaret, ipse, tam religiositate viri inductus quam et immanium malorum exuberatione animo consternatus," &c.; the necessity which urged the author to expand it to its present compass being simply the necessity of filling to their whole capacity the two leaves which he had devoted to his addition. Had the sentence remained as it was, the amplification would have occupied only 95 lines; this expansion has raised it to 97¾. Eadmer's two additional leaves were filled, but they were filled at the expense of elegance, euphony and accuracy.

In like manner, and availing himself of the opportunity

offered by the transference of his account of the second embassy (MS. p. 150 *bis*) to a new leaf, he had expanded his "Ab archiepiscopo igitur missi sunt monachi duo, præfatus scilicet Balduimus Beccensis, et Alexander Cantuariensis; et a rege tres episcopi," &c., into the very important statement which we now possess in Amplification XI.

At any rate, a most remarkable contrast may be traced between the sentence "Cum igitur....pateretur" on page 189 and one which will be noticed presently in another connexion, "Attamen dicendum," &c. on page 204. It is inconceivable that they should have been written at one and the same period of time. The second informs us that in the year 1105 England was deluged with a flood of miseries, a flood so grievous that the Bishops who had long conspired with the King in degrading the Church were at length compelled to turn for help to the very prelate they had persecuted. The first, on the other hand, says, indeed, that in the year 1104 a superabounding stream of evil covered the land, and, as it now stands, it intimates that but for Anselm's absence this would not have happened; yet, so far from calling the King a "depressor" of the Church's liberty or a "depressor" of Anselm, or in any way whatever censuring him, it says that he had a very great respect for Anselm and was sincerely anxious for a better state of things.

§10. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PRIMARY NUCLEUS OF THE FIRST PORTION OF BOOK IV.

Between "Quæ autem mala" on MS. p. 186 and "posse putamus" on p. 204 there are 489 lines, or ten leaves. Three of the ten are represented by Amplifications XX. and XXI.; the early addition "Cum ergo" &c. (p. 192) has the value of one leaf, and "Hæc autem" &c. (p. 194) that of three leaves; and two are represented by Amplification XXIV. That is to

say, of all that now intervenes between "Quæ autem mala" and "posse putamus" nine-tenths had no place in the first issue.

And yet when that remanent tenth is put together (and it is composed, not only of passages between the end of one augmentation and the beginning of another, but of sentences, and even words, excerpted from this or that addition), put together, piece after piece in its proper order, the result is, not a medley of disjointed phrases, but a consecutive and consistent narrative. In other words: Leaf X. of the third book of the first issue, removed by Eadmer from the preceding nine and used by him as the basis of the nucleus of Book IV. was as follows:

> "*Incipit Quartus. Igitur ubi Willelmus Angliam pervenit et gesti negotii seriem Henrico regi exposuit, rex illico omnes redditus archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis in suos usus redigi præcepit*[1]. Cum igitur quidam regi insisterent ut Anselmum[2] revocaret, ipse, tam religiositate viri inductus quam et immanium malorum exuberatione animo consternatus, fieri quidem de reditu viri quod petebatur se libenter velle fatebatur, sic tamen ut paternarum consuetudinum nihil sibi ab eo ulterius derogari ulla ratione pateretur. Unde, nobis adhuc Lugduni degentibus, nuncii Romam ab ipso rege directi sunt qui modis omnibus elaborarent apostolicum ad hoc deducere ut Anselmum Angliam redire et regiæ voluntati iuberet in cunctis subdi et obœdire[3]. In secundo autem anno adventus nostri[4] Anselmus[5] intellexit se amplius frustra Lugduni Romanam opem præstolari, præsertim cum iam sæpenumero ipsi Romanæ sedis antistiti legatos et litteras de sui negotii consummatione transmiserit, et eo usque nil nisi quandam quasi consolatoriæ expectationis promissionem de

[1] As on MS. p. 184; written on erasure, Amplification XVIII* having been suppressed. See above, p. 231. Here was the catch-mark to Amplification XIX.

[2] "Cum...Anselmum" subsequently cancelled and replaced by concluding words of Amplification XX.

[3] As on MS. p. 189. Here was the catch-mark to Amplification XXI.

[4] As on MS. p. 190.

[5] "In secundo...Anselmus," subsequently cancelled and replaced by concluding words of Amplification XXI.

termino in terminum ab eo meruerit. Tertio quoque litteras suas regi Angliæ pro suarum rerum resaisitione direxerat, nec aliquid ab eo nisi quod blandientem sibi dilationem ingereret responsi acceperat."

Thus far we have, as nearly as can be computed, the text of the first page. The next carried on the narrative :—

"Consulto itaque venerabili præfato Lugdunensis civitatis episcopo Lugduno Franciam petiturus decessit mœrente super hoc pontifice ipso et omni populo terræ [1]. [Eo tempore rex Henricus in Normannia erat, ipsamque pene totam suæ ditioni subegerat [2]. Omnes enim ferme Normannorum maiores illico ad regis adventum, spreto comite domino suo et fide quam ei debebant, in aurum et argentum regis concurrerunt, eique civitates castra et urbes tradiderunt [3]. Rogatus ergo a rege Anselmus in Normanniam venit, et][4] habito inter eos colloquio, Anselmum rex de redditibus sui pontificatus revestivit, et in pristinam amicitiam utrinque recepti sunt. Quibusdam igitur ad hoc sollicite operam dantibus ut antistes statim Angliam remearet, rex annuit, sic tamen ut nulli eorum qui a se investituras ecclesiarum susceperant, vel eos consecraverant, suam in aliquo communionem subtraheret. Cui conditioni Anselmus minime adquiescens, obœdientiam videlicet papæ in nullo prætergredi volens, extra Angliam manere delegit, donec illi qui ad ipsum negotium et quædam alia de quibus inter eos illa vice convenire non poterat determinanda ex condicto Romam mittendi erant reversi fuissent [5]. Itaque missi sunt Romam ex parte quidem Anselmi Balduinus monachus et ex parte regis Willelmus sæpe superius memoratus [6]."

[1] As on MS. pp. 191, 192. Here was the catch-mark to Amplification XXII.

[2] As on MS. p. 193.

[3] As on MS. p. 193. See Florence of Worcester, II. 54 (*sub anno* 1105); and supra p. 245, n. 1.

[4] "Eo tempore...venit, et" already cancelled and replaced by last $6\frac{1}{2}$ lines of Amplification XXII. $55\frac{1}{2} - 6\frac{1}{2} = 49$.

[5] As on MS. p. 194. Here was the catchmark to Amplification XXIII.

[6] As on MS. p. 201. Incorporated into Amplification XXIV.

§ 11. ON THE PHRASE "PRO LIBERTATE ECCLESIÆ SICUT SOLEBAT ACTURUS." (MS. p. 201.)

A singular circumstance must here be noted. There are few things in Eadmer more puzzling than the passage (on MS. p. 201) "Itaque post hæc missi sunt Romam, ex parte quidem Anselmi Balduinus monachus, *vir utique sanctæ libertatis ecclesiæ et omnis boni non fictus amator*, et ex parte regis Willelmus sæpe superius memoratus *pro libertate ecclesiæ sicut solebat acturus.*" The last six words are quite unlike all that we know of William of Veraval in the earlier part of his career; and the "sicut solebat" involves the strangest of contradictions.

This was for a long time a most exasperating puzzle to me; and a puzzle it would have remained, but for the lucky resolve to disintegrate Eadmer's old work and Eadmer's new and, if possible, rehabilitate the original leaf x. This was no sooner done than the truth flashed upon me. The difficulty is, I am sure, referable to a technical blunder, thus:—

The last two lines of leaf x. contained the text "mam... memoratus." Eadmer, then, as I imagine, wishing to pay a compliment or, still more probably, a posthumous honour to Anselm's incomparable adviser, Baldwin of Tournay, wrote in the lateral margin "vir utique sanctæ libertatis ecclesiæ et omnis," and then, travelling into the lower margin, "boni non fictus amator, pro libertate ecclesiæ sicut solebat acturus." The last six words, however, ran immediately under the lowest line of text, and running thus, were thought by the perfunctory scribe to belong to it and not to their proper context. Thus:—

e *vir utique sanctæ lib-* mam ex parte quidem Anselmi Balduinus monachus[e], *ertatis ecclesiæ et omnis* et ex parte regis Willelmus sæpe superius memoratus. *boni non fictus amator, pro libertate ecclesiæ sicut solebat acturus*[1].

I believe that the marginal note was meant to apply entirely and exclusively to Baldwin and that we have to thank the

[1] I give the gloss in italics.

scribe for making two halves of a whole and giving one of them to the wrong man.

If it be urged that Eadmer does not seem to have been cognizant of the clerical blunder I claim to have detected, I reply that I do not believe the final transcription of the *Historia Novorum* to have been effected before the year 1143, by which time the author was seventy-nine years of age, exceedingly busy in the development of his work, and little disposed, if able, to make any long-continued exertion in a task so trying to sight and patience as that of hunting up either the errata of other men, or such technical errors of his own as were likely to have attended the process of frequent introduction of new work into old. And if we examine Book III. and the first part of Book IV. we shall find enough to justify this opinion.

§ 12. TECHNICAL LAPSES IN BOOK III. AND THE FIRST PORTION OF BOOK IV.

It is a remarkable fact that, with two exceptions, the textual blemishes and other analogous peculiarities hitherto detected occur in, or are occasioned by, amplifications in Book III. and the first portion of Book IV.

1. The first of these is on MS. p. 144 in the clause "Exinde cum ad tempus induciarum, Pascha, ventum esset."

Now, we have seen that some such sentence as "Exinde... dilatæ sunt" must have helped to connect the narrative suspended at "statum rediret" (MS. p. 137) with the resumptive "Cum igitur ad curiam" (MS. p. 150); and I infer that "tempus induciarum Pascha" is an amalgam of two readings; one in the original passage doomed to suppression and the other in the rough draft of Amplification X. (See below, p. 303.)

2. Again. The phrases "episcopi qui Roma venerant" and "contestati sunt in episcopali veritate" occurred on leaf IV. of the third book as it stood at first. These are inelegantly

repeated in Amplification XII, where we find "in episcopali veritate illa vera esse contestantium" (MS. p. 159) and "qui Roma venerant episcopi" (MS. p. 160). The pertinence of this observation will, I think, be admitted by all whose experience has taught them how much more prone we are to repeat ourselves in interrupted than in continuous narratives. In the latter case the instinct of authorship steers clear unconsciously of a rock which in the former it is hardly possible to avoid.

3. In Amplification XIV. we have (MS. p. 166) "ille" for the King followed in the same sentence by "illum" for Anselm. This irregularity may fairly be explained by the theory that our author, busy late in life in engrafting new work into old, lacked either the leisure, the vital energy, or the visual keenness that are indispensable to that most tedious of all labours, the work of the file.

4. The repetition at the end of Amplification XVI. (MS. p. 175) of a phrase that had occurred at its beginning, the solecism at the beginning of the resumed narration, and other traces of awkward welding, may be mentioned again in this connexion[1].

5. Similar to the double-minded "ille" on MS. p. 166 is the "ipse" on page 189, in Amplification XX. This "ipse" means now the Archbishop, and now, on the next line and in the same sentence, the King. The blemish raises a presumption that the text has undergone some change in this place; and the further presumption of late handling is raised by Eadmer's omission to rectify it.

6. The "suscepit, inspexit" in Amplification XXI. (MS. p. 191) is another instance in proof. The rough draft would seem to have stopped short with the words, "Hanc igitur epistolam postquam Anselmus suscepit (*or* inspexit)"; whilst on Leaf X. and on an erased space which had carried the words "In secundo autem anno adventus nostri Anselmus," and

[1] See above, p. 227.

marked with a symbol of reference to the engrafted work, there was the clause, "Hanc igitur epistolam postquam Anselmus inspexit (*or* suscepit)[1]".

7. In this category must be placed the remarkable "a Cluniacum" of the Cottonian copy with its alternative "vel Cluniaco" (MS. p. 192).

8. So, too, again in Amplification XXII. we find the phrases "pristina querela" and "pristina feritas" (MS. p. 194) succeeded in the resumed narrative by "pristina amicitia," which, correct enough before the introduction of the added text, is now intolerable. Eadmer had sufficient acumen to avoid his rival's "antiqua" (see *G. P.* p. 114, n. 4) when writing, or, as I incline to think, when revising his batch of new text; but wanted the time, the vigour, or the sight, to perceive that close after the point of intromission there lurked the words "in pristinam amicitiam," which should have been altered to "in antiquam amicitiam[2]."

9. The next instance of the kind, indicative, assuredly, of a late touch, occurs at the beginning of Amplification XXV. in the words "Attamen dicendum quod" (MS. p. 204). An indis-

[1] Thus (the words on the erasure are in italics):

juberet in cunctis subdi et obœdire. ⊕*Hanc igitur epistolam postquam Anselmus inspexit* intellexit se amplius &c.

[2] The only analogous instance which I can find in Books I. and II. occurs on MS. p. 54 in "Evolutis dehinc aliquantis." In a sentence which in the first instance followed immediately on the record of events two months distant, "aliquantis" was suitable enough; but when the Harrow incident had been interposed Eadmer would have done well to replace the word by "paucis" (as we find in *Vita* II. vii.) When, however, St Wulstan's letter in Amplification IV. had been introduced, the entire phrase should have been recast.

I refer to this fact here, 1. to shew how infrequent are these disfigurements in Books I. and II.; 2. in the hope that the blemish may be of service in helping scholars to a reasonable surmise as to the dates at which Amplifications III. and IV. were introduced; and 3. to strengthen my contention that these grammatical lapses occur either in, or in necessary connexion with, new work intermixed with old.

tinctly written memorandum on the lower margin of leaf x. directed the copyist to the next passage that awaited his labours; and the perfunctory scribe read it "Attamen dicendum" instead of "Est tamen dicendum."

Now, singularly enough, none of the additions which involved these errors falls either in the earliest or in the latest groups of amplificatory work; five of them being in B, two in C, one in D, and one in F. All of these errors, that is to say, were committed between the years 1136 and 1139, or, if the reader still holds his judgment in suspense as to the precise dates, none of them was committed before Eadmer began to correct the *Gesta Pontificum*, and none in cases where he employed the very simple but inartistic method of laying in new work in batches of leaves without any attempt at welding that new work with the old. The fact goes to prove that the additions which had been made before William of Malmesbury completed the first book of the *Gesta Pontificum*, were made at a period when Eadmer had strength, sight and leisure at command for the prevention or correction of mistakes; but that that period had passed when our author undertook the correction of the *Gesta Pontificum*.

§ 13. JOHN OF SALISBURY ON THE YEARS 1105–1107.

John of Salisbury's *Life of St Anselm*[1] is based upon Eadmer's three works, the *Historia*, the *Vita*, and the *Miracula*, to the exclusion, apparently, of all other treatises.

So much of it as is referable to the *Vita* has evidently been taken from a late recension of that work. It would be waste of time to prove so manifest a fact; but it may be well to add that the copy used was, in all probability, one which contained the capitula, and that John's "vicarium eius qui

[1] I have worked on the Abbé Migne's reprint, *Patrologia*, Series Latina, vol. CXCIX. col. 1009.

imperat ventis et mari" (Migne cxcix. 1025 D) was suggested by Eadmer's title to II. xxiii.

So much of it as is referable to the *Historia Novorum* must have been taken from that work as it stood at an early, perhaps at its earliest, stage.

Our investigations have thus far revealed to us no less than twenty-four distinct passages in the *Historia Novorum*, the aggregate value of which amounts to nearly half of the extant text; but there is not the remotest allusion to any one of them in the whole of John of Salisbury's *Vita*. As, therefore, it is inconceivable that John of Salisbury should by a series of perpetually recurring accidents have been guided to avoid so large a quantity of text so multitudinously distributed over the volume on which he worked, the most obvious inference is the only reasonable one, that he worked on a copy of an early, perhaps the earliest, issue.

And, indeed, there are passages in his work, some of which invite, whilst others compel, the inference, thus:

1. In his account of the consecration of Harrow Church (1022 C) he gives the story of the missing chrismatory, but says nothing about the visit of the two canons of St Paul's which forms part of Amplification III.

2. His account (1026 C) of the sojourn at Lyons in 1097–8 is taken from Eadmer's *Vita*, not from the divergent story in Amplification VI.

3. Similarly (1031 D) he represents Henry I as asking Anselm to go to Rome, and the bishops, abbots, and *proceres* as standing by and applauding the proposal. This is based on a mistaken interpretation of Eadmer's *Vita* II. l, and was, assuredly, written in ignorance of the Canterbury episode, the subject of Amplification XIV.

4. On col. 1033 A we read "Exigentibus negotiis quibusdam ecclesiasticis, vir Dei in Franciam veniens a rege Henrico rogatus in Normanniam progredi rerum suarum tandem a rege

investituram accepit." This is plainly referable to Eadmer's *Vita* (II. lvi.); but I cannot think that John of Salisbury would have made so insipid a statement if he had known, on the authority of Eadmer, what it was that had brought St Anselm into France in the summer of 1105; if, that is to say, his copy of the *Historia* had contained Amplification XXII.

5. He then goes on to say, "Rege autem in Angliam transeunte, post pauca Willelmus.....Beccum reversus est." This "post pauca" is borrowed from the phrase "in brevi" of Eadmer's *Vita* (II. lvii.), "Willelmus Angliam ad regem vadit, ac *in brevi* ad Anselmum regressus" &c.: but Eadmer's "in brevi" means only a week or two, whereas John's "post pauca" stretches over an interval of a year. John of Salisbury cannot have had the slightest idea that in the few words "Conversante dehinc Anselmo in Normannia" Eadmer had very cleverly bridged over twelve calendar months during which things had been done and things left undone in a manner far from creditable to the sovereign; but this would have been evident to him had his copy of the *Historia* contained all that now intervenes between "Hæc autem" and "posse putamus" (MS. pp. 194—204); had his copy, that is to say, contained Amplifications XXIII. and XXIV.

I infer, therefore, that John of Salisbury's copy represented the work as it stood prior to the introduction of Group B and its successors.

Knowing, then, as we do, that in the second portion of Book IV. not a few things have been suppressed and not a few added, it may help us to recover some of the suppressions and to identify some of the additions if we examine John of Salisbury's record in the corresponding portion of his *Life of St Anselm*. His record is as follows:—

(1) Certain ecclesiastical affairs urging Anselm to go into France, King Henry sent and asked him to come a little further and meet him in Normandy. (2) He did so and received possession of all his belongings.

(3) The King returned to his kingdom, and, (4) shortly afterwards, William the King's envoy appeared at Le Bec with an urgent request from his master that Anselm, their differences being now appeased, would come at once to England. (5) Rejoiced at the liberation of the Church from servitude, Anselm set forth on his journey, but fell ill at Jumièges. The next thing that happened was that (6) the King returned to Normandy, and (7) on the Feast of the Assumption paid a friendly visit to the Archbishop at Le Bec. (8) Soon after this (how soon we are not told) Henry won a great victory over his brother the Duke of Normandy. When, then, (9) the King and the Primate met on the first of August, the triumph of the Church was manifest to all men. Then follows (10) an account of the settlement on investiture, (11) a notice of St Anselm's last philosophical treatises, (12) just so much of the York dispute as to allow the admission of the "Tibi, Thoma," and (13) the end.

The first thing that strikes us in all this is the absence of dates. When did Anselm go into France? When did he meet the King in Normandy? On what Feast of the Assumption was it that they met at Le Bec? What first of August was it on which they met once more?

The next thing that strikes us is John of Salisbury's profound unconsciousness, not only of the King's procrastination and bad faith in the latter part of 1105, but of the unworthy means he chose for raising money. The deluge of miseries about which the extant Eadmer is so pathetic had no existence to John of Salisbury.

Nor does he tell us what were the terms of the arrangement made at Le Bec; whilst his account of the final settlement, differing materially from that which is now extant in the *Historia*, may be presumed to have tallied with that earlier account which it is evident that Eadmer at some time or other in his career suppressed.

§ 14. WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY ON THE YEARS 1105—1107.

William of Malmesbury, who, when writing the *Gesta Pontificum*, worked on a somewhat amplified text of the *Historia*

(see *Preface*, p. xxxii.), gives the following account (*G. P.* pp. 114—121):—

(1) Anselm (when or where we are not precisely informed) thought of excommunicating the King. (2) News of this being sent to the King by his sister, the Countess of Blois, (3) he begged that Anselm and the Countess would come to him in Normandy. (4) He came, and was put in possession of his property, but (5) deferred his return to England because he would not communicate with the King's *investiti*. (6) The King went to England, the Primate to Le Bec. (7) Envoys were sent to Rome, namely, Baldwin and William, who (8) settled the long controversy. The terms of settlement were that the King should receive the homages of prelates-elect, but should not give investiture to any one. (9) Meanwhile Anselm received news that the King contemplated certain extortions, and (10) wrote to him on the subject. (11) The King, advised by Robert of Meulan, sent a temperate reply:—

"Nothing of the kind," retorts Eadmer in Amplification XXIV. "Robert of Meulan was a very bad man indeed. He was at the bottom of all the mischief that was done during the Archbishop's exile, and he it was that contrived to keep him out of the country when he might have come back (see MS. p. 201). And as to contemplating extortionate measures, why, the King committed them, and very scandalous they were." (MS. p. 202).

William proceeds:—

(12) On the return of the envoys Henry lost no time in seeking Anselm, who was then at Le Bec. (13) There they came to certain specified terms of agreement. (14) Anselm now returned to England, and, without delay, effected many reforms; churches were no longer farmed, simony was suppressed, priests were restrained to celibacy, and unlawful marriages were annulled. (15) The King soon had his reward, for he won the battle of Tenchebrai, sending news of his victory to Anselm:—

"Stop," cries Eadmer. "The battle of Tenchebrai was fought in 1106, and the reforms you mention were not effected until long after that event; indeed, not before the Whitsuntide of 1108. The King, whom you describe as absent in Normandy, was present at the synod, which was holden after the death of Archbishop Gerard in the early days of May, 1108." (MS. p. 230).

William's account continues:—

(16) The King came back to England and resigned for ever the investitures of churches, Anselm conceding that no one should on account of homage made to the King be refused consecration. And so, thanks to Anselm, the Church was at peace again. (17) I need not say much

about the synods he held, for their decrees are a dead letter. Still, here is the *textus* of one of them :—

"On the contrary," retorts Eadmer in Amplification XIII. "The Holy See confirmed the decrees of 1102; and Anselm, so far from quashing one of them, simply allowed it to be neglected."

Now, of these seventeen statements, the first three are in substantial agreement with Eadmer's story in Amplification XXII, an addition to the work which John of Salisbury cannot have seen; the next three are taken from Eadmer's first narrative; and the seventh accords with the pristine "Itaque missi," &c., which has been preserved in XXIV. But of that amplification itself William seems to have known nothing; nor indeed of the specific details in XXII. The same may be said of the date at the beginning of XXIII. and the other contents of that addition. The ninth, tenth, and eleventh statements must have provoked the 144 lines which intervene between "Attamen dicendum" and "Merlebergam," (MS. pp. 204—209[1]); and the twelfth is not in agreement with Eadmer's extant narrative. The fourteenth and fifteenth must have provoked our author's account (MS. p. 230) of the synod of 1108[2]; and the seventeenth his insertion of the *textus concilii Lundoniensis* (MS. pp. 162—166) in XIII.

Unless, then, an examination of William's eighth, twelfth, thirteenth and sixteenth statements should raise a doubt against the validity of the inference, we may conclude with some confidence that when the Wiltshire historian put the last touch to his notice of St Anselm, Amplification XXIII. and much other late work had not as yet been made known in the *Historia Novorum*.

The eighth, twelfth, thirteenth and sixteenth statements made by William of Malmesbury are very curious.

The first is that Baldwin and William, being sent to Rome, there settled the controversy, and that they settled it

[1] Amplification XXV.

[2] Amplification XXXIII.

on these terms, that the King should receive the homages of prelates elect, but that he should not give the forbidden investiture.

If John of Salisbury may be trusted, there was in the first issue of the *Historia Novorum* no such statement of the outcome of the embassy to Rome of which William is here speaking. And the *Historia* as now known to us assigns, by implication at least, the final arrangement of terms to a later embassy, that of 1107 (see MS. p. 219).

William's statement of the terms of settlement is taken from the "Quod Anglici regis" of Paschal, but that letter had no place in Eadmer's first issue.

The *Historia* as we know it contains the "Quod Anglici regis" (MS. p. 210), and also (MS. p. 221) an account of the final settlement analogous in terminology to the concessions contained in that letter.

But, on the other hand, the *Historia* as we know it contains (MS. p. 227) a reference to a statement of the terms of settlement such as is not now to be found in the work, and, close to it, a reference to a papal reprimand of Count Robert of Meulan, all record of which has now disappeared from its pages. These references, however, are contained in what is unquestionably an amplification, an amplification provoked by a passage about Robert of Meulan in the *Gesta Regum* (p. 649).

The most probable inference, then, is that the amplification in which these references occur was introduced after the appearance of the fifth book of the *Gesta Regum*, and that that which contains the "Quod Anglici regis" was introduced after the appearance of the first book of the *Gesta Pontificum*; and, thus, that in making the "Quod Anglici regis" the authority for the terms of settlement it was Eadmer who followed William, and not William Eadmer.

In other words, William of Malmesbury's eighth statement in the *Gesta Pontificum* was not taken from that copy of the

first recension of the *Historia Novorum* which lay before him as he wrote.

William's twelfth and thirteenth statements are to the effect that on the return of the envoys Henry lost no time in seeking Anselm, who was at Le Bec, and that there they came to terms on all the subjects which had hitherto estranged them. The statement that Henry lost no time cannot have been taken from any such account as that which we now find in the *Historia* (pp. 214—216)[1], an account which informs us that the King sent for the Primate; that the Primate set forth on his journey, but, falling ill on the way, sent his excuses to the sovereign, who returned a message promising to come to him; that after waiting for him in vain for a month at Jumièges he thought it the more dignified course to retire to Le Bec; and that at Le Bec the two men met. They met, but not until some three months had passed since the return of the envoys.

On the other hand, however, the two accounts of the precise terms of reconciliation at Le Bec tally very remarkably; so remarkably, indeed, that one must have been borrowed from the other. Hence the question arises, Has Eadmer copied William, or has William copied Eadmer? William says (p. 115) "*omnia quæ illos* hactenus *in diversa trahebant*...prolata et sedata"; Eadmer says in like terms; "*omnia quæ illos in diversa traxerant* pacem et concordiam invenerunt." William says "*Ecclesias siquidem quas Willelmus frater Henrici censui subegerat* ipse *in manus Anselmi liberas reddidit*"; Eadmer says "*Siquidem ecclesias* Angliæ *quas Willelmus* rex *frater* regis *Henrici sub censum*...primus *redegerat liberas* ab eadem exactione rex *in manus Anselmi reddidit.*" This is strikingly similar in terms, but more carefully worded as a whole. William continues, "*et se de* his *nihil accepturum quamdiu pastore* carerent *promisit*"; Eadmer, "*et se de* ipsis dum viveret *nil accepturum quamdiu* essent sine *pastore promisit.*" William

[1] In Amplification XXVII.

says, "Omnia *de archiepiscopatu* sullata cum Angliam redisset *redditurum dato vadimonio pollicitus est*"; Eadmer says, "Cuncta vero quæ *de archiepiscopatu*, exulante Anselmo, suo jussu accepta fuerant, se *redditurum* cum in Angliam esset reversus *dato vadimonio pollicitus est.*" Here again Eadmer carries off the palm for care and precision.

I conclude, therefore, that in his statement of the terms of agreement at Le Bec William anticipated Eadmer; that if Eadmer errs, as undoubtedly he does, in saying that "all was settled" he errs because he carelessly copies from his rival; and that his first account of the interview at Le Bec had been some such account as we find in John of Salisbury, or in his own *Vita*, II. lix. The men were reconciled in the August of 1106, but the main controversy was not brought to an end. And so far from the "all" that lay between them consisting of an outstanding grievance against William Rufus, the exaction of money from the clergy, and the seizure of the archiepiscopal revenues, this is the first word that has been said on the first of those subjects, and the second of them was an affair of yesterday. That there remained subsidiary grievances as yet uncomposed there need be no doubt; nor that these three specific subjects were discussed at the Le Bec interview. All that I question is Eadmer's accuracy in saying that these three subjects were the "omnia" of the estrangement of King and Primate; and in doing so I do enough to raise a doubt whether the extant paragraph "Igitur in Assumptione" &c. can have formed part of the pristine treatise.

The truth is that in the *Vita Sancti Anselmi* (II. lix.) Eadmer had mentioned certain "omnia" as settled at Le Bec, "omnia" that appertained to, and formed part of, the occasion of Anselm's second exile and the postponement of his return; first and foremost, his refusal to communicate with excommunicated homagers and *investiti*, and, besides this, certain disciplinary measures taken in the Council of London in 1102. These at

the time when Eadmer wrote the *Vita* (and, it may be presumed, in the preceding year when he was writing the *Historia*), these in the year 1111 were the "omnia quæ resederant" of the "sæpefatum negotium" that had been submitted to the Holy See, that had been handled in the papal "Quod Anglici regis" and that formed, at any rate, the principal topic of the Le Bec interview.

The truth would seem to be that William of Malmesbury, who, writing rapidly, voluminously, at second hand, and a quarter of a century after date, had by no means a clearly defined notion of the particulars of the history, misunderstood the meaning of Eadmer's "omnia" in the *Vita*, and gave, if not an untrue, yet a false, because materially insufficient and misleading, account of the Le Bec interview; and that Eadmer in his turn, oblivious of his own early work, but nervous as ever in his anxiety not to be outstripped by his rival, transplanted that rival's blunder into the *Historia Novorum*.

Analogous with this is his statement that the document in dispute at Westminster in 1102 was the "Adversus illam." Six and twenty years had passed since he said that it was the "Non ignoras" (see MS. pp. 154—159); but now that William (*G. P.* p. 108) says that it was the "Adversus illam," he fondly says so too. That, certainly, is the document to which William refers in the sentence "Siquidem et epistola quam Anselmo attulerant vulgo jam lectitabatur, in qua non solum investituras non concedere, sed etiam statuta Urbani pertinaciter probabatur Paschalis urgere servandaque monere." Analogous, also, as regards the verbal conformity of the two accounts, is our author's notice of the council of London, which, written after the divulgation of William's unrecensed text of *Gesta Pontificum I*, borrows its phraseology; for where William[1] says "*Hic est concilii Lundoniensis textus, qui non post multos dies in omnibus* pene prævaricatores habuit...Illud *sane* præceptum *de*

[1] *G. P.* p. 121, n. 1.

sodomitis *omni Dominico die* excommunicandis *Anselmus ipse* postea, quibusdam *rationabilibus* exigentibus causis, immutavit," Eadmer[1] writes "Et *hic* quidem *Lundoniensis concilii textus est, qui post non multos* institutionis suæ *dies* multos sui transgressores *in omni* hominum genere fecit. *Sane* quod ultimum, *de* renovanda excommunicatione *Dominicis diebus*, statutum fuit *ipsemet Anselmus, rationabili* dispensatione usus, postponi concessit."

On the whole, then, I conclude that William of Malmesbury's twelfth and thirteenth statements were not taken from that copy of the first recension of the *Historia Novorum* which lay before him as he wrote.

His sixteenth statement is—"Venit igitur rex sullimi tropheo splendidus, et triumphali gloria Angliam invectus; investiturasque ecclesiarum Anselmo in perpetuum in manum remisit, *eodem concedente ut* propter hominium regi factum *nullus* arceretur a benedictione[2]." He had already said (p. 114) speaking of the embassy of 1105, "*Concessit* siquidem *papa* ut rex *homagia* de electis acciperet sed *nullum per baculum et anulum investiret.*"

The extant account in Eadmer is, "In Kalendis ergo Augusti... nam *papa concesserat hominia*...annuit rex et statuit ut ab eo tempore in reliquum *nunquam* per dationem *baculi* pastoralis *vel anuli* quisquam episcopatu aut abbatia per regem vel quamlibet laicam manum in Anglia *investiretur*, *concedente* quoque *Anselmo ut nullus* in prælationem electus pro hominio quod regi faceret consecratione suscepti honoris privaretur[3]."

The date seems to be preserved from the first issue, for John of Salisbury gives it; but it is much more likely that the rest should be an amalgam of William's two accounts, that of the negociations at Rome and that of the final settlement, than that these should be a bifurcate rendering of Eadmer's one account. And, indeed, what we now read in the *Historia* can

[1] MS. p. 165. [2] *G. P.* p. 117. [3] MS. p. 220.

have had no place in the first issue, since Eadmer himself informs us, on MS. p. 227 and in an unsuppressed amplification, that his work once contained a record of the final settlement with which the present one cannot be identified. In other words, the extant account, which tallies with the "Quod Anglici regis," has replaced an earlier one, which tallied with the "Non debeo tacere."

On the whole, then, I conclude that William of Malmesbury's sixteenth statement was not taken from that copy of the first recension of the *Historia* which lay before him as he wrote.

If, then, my readers agree with me that, out of seventeen statements concerning the events that took place between the spring of 1105 and the summer of 1107, William did not find the last eleven in his copy of Eadmer, I shall take the liberty of inferring that after the point already reached in our investigations Eadmer has very vigorously retouched his earlier work.

§ 15. THE SECOND PORTION OF BOOK IV.

("Attamen dicendum...Amen": MS. pp. 204—259.)

I now proceed. From "Attamen dicendum" on MS. 204 to "missi fuerant redeunt" on p. 209 there are 144 lines. After these there is a passage, "Suspensus autem fuerat...De his ita" (pp. 209—214), which contains two digressions, one about the Archbishop of Rouen, the other about a pious crusader; and, thrown in between them, as if by chance, that very important letter of Paschal's, the "Quod Anglici regis." This strange medley fills 145⅞ lines (Amplifications XXV, XXVI)[1].

[1] On the latter of these additions I say in my *Preface* (p. xxxviii),

"The next instance begins with the words 'Suspensus autem fuerat' on page 209 and ends with 'De his ita' on page 214. It has the textual content of six pages of the original; the hagiographical digression is quite

On pp. 223—228 are the two amplifications which have already been noticed elsewhere, "In subsequenti...ecclesiæ" and "Inter hæc...præsentatus[1]." Nor can there be a doubt that the passage, in 48¾ lines, "His diebus...ordinavit," on pp. 232—234, is new work; or all that follows it from "Deinde" on p. 234 to "scissuram" on p. 247 (Amplifications XXXI, XXXII, XXXIV, XXXV).

There now remain for consideration the following passages:—

1. "Itaque Willelmus...pollicitus est" (pp. 214—217) in 68 lines,
2. "His et aliis...reversus est" (pp. 217—219), in 52½ lines,
3. "Adunatis autem...Lundoniensi" pp. (219—223), in 110½ lines,
4. "Inter ista...velut adulteræ" (pp. 228—232), in 106 lines,
5. "Inter hæc languor...Amen" (pp. 247—259), in 345½ lines.

Amplification XXVII. The first of these, "Itaque Willelmus...pollicitus est," in 68 lines, contains, assuredly, a large amount of new text. Part, at least, of "Itaque...postulavit" must be retained, as necessary to the narrative, but immediately after it we have signs of an awkward welding of old and new; the "Qui Willelmus ad nos...infirmum invenit" being, so to speak,

in character with others which are manifestly sarcinatory; the letter 'Quod Anglici regis cor' had no place in William of Malmesbury's earlier copy; and the facts that even now its place in the work is utterly unworthy of its importance, and that the context makes no allusion to it, complete the evidence, which goes to prove that the 'Licet causæ tuæ' and the 'Quod Anglici regis cor' were as little used by Eadmer in his earlier days of authorship as the other letters of Pope Paschal II. to which I have already drawn attention."

[1] On these I say (ib. p. xli.),

"There can be little doubt that the double digression 'In subsequenti... .....Rofensis ecclesiæ' (pp. 223—226) had no place in Eadmer's original; and as little that the 'Inter hæc ..... præsentatus' (pp. 227-228) which immediately follows it in our extant copies, but which it divorces from its proper context, is an earlier augmentation. The 'huic operi admiscere' which follows Anselm's letter to the Pope, the avowal that the letter had been introduced in justification of an account given on a previous page, and the fact that the entire passage has the precise content of one leaf of Eadmer's own book, combine to give us all the certitude we need desire that it had no place in the original."

out of drawing with "lætus ille ad audita illico Anselmum ad ecclesiam suam redire per eundem Willelmum postulavit." And, again; the detailed account of the transmission of messages between Normandy and England does not seem to have been known by William of Malmesbury or by John of Salisbury. Nor is the envoy's speech about the King likely to have been published by our author before the King's death.

I need not repeat what has been already said about the next paragraph, "Igitur in Assumptione...pollicitus est"; but I may remark that, the first issue having said nothing thus far about the King's extortionate treatment of the clergy in 1105, an allusion to it (at any rate, such allusion as we now have) would have been absurdly out of place.

On the whole, then, it is probable that the first account was to this effect:—

> "Reversis itaque nunciis qui Romam missi fuerant[1], et enarratis quæ de sæpefato negotio apud Romanum pontificem acta fuerant, rex lætus ad audita illico Anselmum ad ecclesiam suam redire per Willelmum postulavit[2]. Cui cum Anselmus promptus acquiesceret[3], et iter aggressus Gemmeticum veniret, infirmitate ne iter expleret inibi detentus est. Qua sopita Beccum revertitur, regem Angliæ transfretaturum illic præstolaturus. Ubi omnibus mira alacritate de reditu illius exultantibus[4], ecce lacrimabile malum concussit atque subvertit gaudium ipsum; nam tam gravis infirmitas iterum invasit Anselmum ut de eo præter mortem nihil expectaremus. Sed omnipotens Deus ipsum contra omnium opinionem sanitati restituit, et multos magno exinde gaudio lætificavit. Dehinc in Assumptione Beatæ Dei Genitricis et perpetuæ Virginis rex Henricus Beccum venit[5], et omnia quæ inter se et Anselmum de sæpefato negotio resederant delevit, atque de singulis ad quæ tendebat suæ illum voluntatis compotem fecit."

[1] See MS. p. 209.
[2] See MS. p. 214.
[3] See *Vita*, II. lvii.
[4] See MS. p. 216.
[5] See *Vita*, II. lix.

Some such narrative, then, as this, corresponding with the first design structure and character of the work, and filling 19 lines[1] would seem to have been replaced by the extant 68.

Amplification XXVIII. The passage, in 52½ lines, which immediately follows, namely, "His et aliis.. reversus est," holds within its limits a leaf of augmentary text; for (1), the paragraph "His et aliis" &c. contains an allusion to the contents of Amplifications XXIV. and XXV; (2) the next paragraph is singularly explicit in its allusion to those additions, and to Amplification XXVII. as well; and (3) the third paragraph, contrary to the first design of the work, introduces a letter. The original text must have consisted of three or, at the most, four lines, and was probably equivalent in length to some such sentence as, "His et aliis quæ res expetebat inter viros compositis, Anselmus iter Angliam remeandi ingressus est, et, Divino tutamine fretus, sanus et alacer cum suis omnibus Dofris appulsus est." But its precise terminology is by no means easy to guess. The words "et aliis quæ res expetebat" had no place in it; nor do I think that it had "ingressus est... appulsus est," Eadmer's style requiring either "ingressus..., appulsus est" or "ingressus est...appulsus."

And yet, curiously enough, the extant text ends with "reversus est," giving the same sort of half echo to old work which we have found in other instances; and hence I have no doubt that the sentence I wish to reconstruct ended with a past participle, or with a "...sus est."

And we may assume, I apprehend, that so brief a sentence as we want can have contained no record of the subjugation of Normandy by Henry I.

Thus we should have some such sentence as this:—"His ergo inter viros compositis, Anselmus iter Angliam remeandi

[1] It scarcely fills nineteen lines as printed. This is as it should be, for my attempted restorations are comprised in forty-eight, not forty-nine, lines to the leaf.

ingressus est, et Dofris appulsus in sedem suam reversus est." But this is too short.

What we want is some such sentence as this in 3⅛ lines:—

> "His ergo inter viros compositis, Anselmus iter Angliam remeandi ingressus est, et Dofris appulsus cum magno sanctæ ecclesiæ gaudio et honore[1] in sedem suam reversus est."

Amplification XXIX. John of Salisbury's Evidence. The next batch of text that awaits our inspection begins with "Adunatis autem" on MS. p. 219, and ends with "concilio Lundoniensi" on p. 223. It contains 110½ lines.

1. The first 20½ lines might possibly pass for early work, were it not that William of Malmesbury seems to have been profoundly ignorant of that errand to the Pope in 1107 which they record; nor does John of Salisbury seem to have known anything about it. And when we examine the account we find that very repetition of thought and phrase which so often indicates the introduction of new work:—"dilata est ecclesiarum ordinatio," and "rex itaque omnia...distulit[2]."

2. We next find the "De presbyterorum filiis," a letter which, in accordance with all previous documents of the kind, must be eliminated; and, 3, after it, that new account of the settlement of which mention has already been made.

4. We have seen that on MS. p. 227, Eadmer quotes St Anselm's "Non debeo tacere" in justification of some account which he had given of the settlement of 1107. Discredit, as it

[1] See *Vita* II. lxi. "magno sanctæ ecclesiæ gaudio et honore," and John of Salisbury's *Vita* 1034 A "ad suam (*scil.* sedem) cum honore et gloria remeavit." When John of Salisbury (*Becket Memorials*, Rolls edition, VII. 396) writing to the Christ Church monks, says that the *Historia Novorum* describes their predecessors as having gone forth to meet St Anselm on his return from one or other exile, he is really quoting, not Eadmer, but himself. See his *Vita*, 1031 C.

[2] The repetition, too, of "rex," the subject of the preceding sentence, is curious; the more so as in the sentence itself we have just had "ejus" for the King.

would seem, had been thrown on that account, something too being said concerning the Count of Meulan which Eadmer wished to contradict, notwithstanding all the severe things which he himself had said about him. The culprit, as in other instances, was William of Malmesbury. This is to say:—After Eadmer's story had been before the world for nearly a quarter of a century, an account was published which differed from it, namely this:—"Investituram anuli et baculi indulsit in perpetuum, retento tamen electionis et regalium privilegio" (*G. R.* § 417). What, then, can Eadmer have said about the election of prelates, that this of William's about the privilege of election and the regalia can have conflicted with it? Of course, the "Non debeo tacere" must be supposed to give the hint; and when we examine that document we find that it represents the King as electing prelates in conformity, not with his own caprice, but with the advice of men of religion. That is to say:—Eadmer, who in 1111 had represented Henry as a pious prince clerically guided in the election of prelates, quarrelled in, or about, 1136 with William of Malmesbury, who now represented that sovereign as having been a stickler for royal privilege in the disposition of great preferments. Eadmer's account in 1111 must have been that Henry claimed nothing as of privilege and followed as he was led. This, in general outline at least; this, or something equivalent to, or reconcileable with, what he in 1112 or 1113 wrote in the *Vita* (II. lxiii): —"non per se elegit personas in regimen ecclesiarum."

5. Now, then, let us turn to John of Salisbury. That author says (cxcix. 1034 B) "neque aliquid vindicante in electionibus nisi assensum qualem sacri canones non excludunt," and "neque enim eligere sibi pro more antiquo usurpans." The second statement being the counterpart of Eadmer's "nec per se elegit" in *Vita*, II. lxiii, I infer that the first is the counterpart of the earliest account in the *Historia*; and I do so, both from the evident congruity of the thing, and also because

it harmonizes with the account suggested by the "Non debeo tacere."

6. The paragraph "Inter ista...promiserat" (MS. pp. 221, 222) cannot have had a place in the first issue; for William of Malmesbury's strangely erroneous account (*G. P.* p. 259) of this business of Archbishop Gerard's must, assuredly, have been written before its appearance.

Amplification XXX. 7. Here, however, a very curious fact starts into view. On looking back from the word "destitutæ" on MS. p. 221 to the initial "Inter hæc" on p. 220, we perceive that in the midst of the batch of text which we are examining there is another, comprised in 48¾ lines and complete in itself, newer work in new, as was Amplification IV. in III. and XV. in XIV.[1]

8. As, however, the extant account of the settlement is contained in this newer work; and as, before this was laid in, there must have been an earlier account somewhere; the place of that earlier account is to be sought within the limits of XXIX; and the most probable theory would seem to be that where we now have sixty-two lines ("Adunatis...accepit" in 20½ lines and "Inter ista cœpit...concilio Lundoniensi" in 41½ lines) there were in the first instance thirteen, containing a statement from which John of Salisbury has borrowed the former half of his dual account.

9. There is no reason whatever for believing that the first of John of Salisbury's statements was not taken from an early copy of the *Historia*, and there is good reason to believe that it was. And when we examine that statement we find in it the following peculiarities:—

(1) It says, "Cum autem...rex et archiepiscopus convenissent," the "archiepiscopus" being not in the style of Eadmer, who would have preferred "Anselmus."

[1] Forty-eight and a half, not forty-nine, is the average number of lines for the additions to Book IV. I shall discuss this subject on an early page. See below, p. 277.

(2) The very phrase "Cum autem rex et archiepiscopus convenissent" occurs in the anonymous life of St Anselm, which Ralph de Diceto has incorporated into his *Abbreviationes Chronicorum.*

(3) So, too, does the word "triumphus," in the phrase "victoriosissimum reportasset triumphum."

The most probable conclusion, therefore, at which I can arrive is that Eadmer, basing his first account on a statement used by the anonymous biographer, wrote in words identical, or nearly identical, with those which we now find in John of Salisbury; and that it was followed up by the sentence "Quibus ita...destitutæ" as on MS. p. 221, with the sole exception that the word "diu" was not to be found before "viduatæ." Thus:—"Cum ergo in Kalendis Augusti rex et archiepiscopus Lundoniæ apud palatium regis convenissent, triumphus ecclesiæ omnibus patuit, rege investituras ecclesiarum palam cedente et concedente archiepiscopo, neque aliquid vindicante in electionibus nisi assensum qualem sacri canones non excludunt." This, or something like it; and then, something like this—"Quibus ita dispositis pene omnibus ecclesiis Angliæ quæ suis erant pastoribus viduatæ per consilium Anselmi ac procerum regni sine omni virgæ pastoralis aut anuli investitura patres a rege sunt instituti. Instituti quoque sunt ibidem et eodem tempore ab ipso rege quidam ad regimen quarundam ecclesiarum Normanniæ, quæ similiter suis erant patribus destitutæ."

The history of the subsequent changes will be more properly and more conveniently considered in a supplementary note to the present essay.

Amplification XXXIII. The fourth batch of text that awaits attention, "Inter ista...velut adulteræ" (MS. pp. 228—232), contains three passages that look like new work. The paragraphs "Inter ista...deterrebat" and "Item moneta...agebat" relate to subjects foreign to Eadmer's first design; and whilst both this latter and the passage, "Quod incontinentiæ

crimen...velut adulteræ" have the King for their subject, there lies between them a paragraph "Divina...habebant" the subject of which is not the King, but Anselm; and that without any mention of his name or any pretence of grammatical propriety[1]. I think, therefore, that "Inter ista...deterrebat," "Item moneta...agebat" and "Quod incontinentiæ...adulteræ" are new work. They have the aggregate content of 98 lines.

Here, as in the case of the *criniti* on p. 55, a chronological question suggests itself. If Eadmer's account of the King's severity against the moneyers be late work, it may not follow, as of necessity, that any such measures as are here described were taken in the year 1108. The paragraph may really have reference not to that year, but to the terrible and famous 1125[2].

Amplification XXXVI. The passage "Notæ tamen...tenerent," on pp. 247, 248, in the last batch of text that awaits us must, I think, rank as late work. The fact that it contains a letter raises a presumption in favour of this view; but, on the other hand, the presence of that letter in John of Salisbury suggests caution.

1. John of Salisbury gives no other letter besides this, the "Tibi, Thoma;" but he does refer (1032 B) to the "Fraternitatis tuæ" of Paschal II. So far, however, is he from suggesting that he had seen the "Fraternitatis tuæ" in Eadmer that he speaks of the original as lying at Canterbury and leaves us to infer that he had seen it there. Similarly, he may have

[1] A similar instance occurs in Amplification XVI. Here, however, I may take occasion to say that when I endeavour to reconstruct the final leaf of Eadmer's pristine work it will be necessary to omit, as a marginal addition, so much of the passage "Divina...non habebant" as relates to inserted work. See above, p. 227.

[2] See Henry of Huntingdon (Rolls edition) p. 246. The chronology of Eadmer's literary career may also be affected by this. I refer to the erasures and marginal additions on p. 137 of MS. C.C.C. 371 in his *Life of St Dunstan*. See *Preface*, p. lxxxii.

seen the "Tibi, Thoma," copies of which had been deposited in every cathedral church in England, or, at any rate, in every cathedral church of the southern province, either at Canterbury or elsewhere; not necessarily in his copy of the *Historia*.

2. William of Malmesbury gives us the "Tibi, Thoma" in the third book of the *Gesta Pontificum*, introducing it thus,—"Scripsit Thomæ *epistolam* quam etiam *omnibus episcopis Angliæ singulam singulis cum suo sigillo* misit, ut scirent qualiter *se erga Thomam* agere deberent" (p. 260). Eadmer says, "Hanc *epistolam omnibus episcopis Angliæ singulam singulis cum suo sigillo* direxit unicuique mandans atque præcipiens...ut secundum quod in illa scriptum erat *se erga* ipsum *Thomam* deinceps tenerent." Here, as in other instances, we have the same words in either author; here, as in other instances, Eadmer's account where it diverges from William's carries off the palm for accuracy; here, if those other instances may guide us, it was Eadmer who followed William, not William who followed Eadmer.

Neglecting for a moment the paragraph "Post hæc...septuagesimo sexto," the greater part of which must be old work, I have no hesitation in saying that the next following paragraph, "Itaque post hæc...præceptum acceperat," is comparatively new.

All, again, is new till we reach the words "cenam meam" on MS. p. 257, and, a few lines further on, "fini addicam."

We next come upon a distinct insertion in 49 lines, "Prius tamen...Decembris," and then follows the doxology in 4½ lines.

Amplification XXXVII. I think I shall consult the convenience of my readers if I say at once the little there is to say on the passage "Prius tamen...Decembris" on MS. pp. 258, 259[1]. Clearly it is a distinct amplification. But I cannot per-

[1] The very remarkable difference between William of Malmesbury's account (*G. P.* p. 259) of the papal letter "Quanquam prave" and Eadmer's account of the same document invites the inference that Amplification XXXVII. was introduced into the work, after the completion of *G. P.* III, and at an earlier date than XXXVI.

suade myself that its introduction was accompanied by any disturbance whatever of the context. Still, its real textual content is 48, not 49, lines; for although, as a matter of fact, it occupies forty-nine lines in the C. C. C. exemplar, the scribe has evidently at this part of the work spaced out his writing to the aggregate extent of a line, in order, I presume, to begin Book V. on a fresh leaf. There can be no question that this batch of new work is an insertion (γ) of 48 lines.

In so minute a matter it would not, I think, be fair to press either a single amalgamation (α) or a single graft (β) into the service of an argument; but the case is different with single additions which lie clear-cut in the work. On comparing, then, the List of Amplifications for Book IV. with the corresponding Chronological Synopsis, I find that the only insertions (γ) which fall below the figure of $48\frac{1}{2}$ lines to the leaf are XXV, XXVI, the present instance (XXXVII), and another to be discussed presently (XXXVI); and that all of them were added in or after the year 1141.

But since we have chronologically determined groups large enough to be consulted on a question of average, it seems right, now that a chronological reason suggests itself for the dwindling of a leaf from forty-nine lines of content to forty-eight, to enquire what evidence those groups have to offer[1]. The result is as follows:

In Group A the average content of a leaf is $49\frac{1}{8}$
„ B „ „ $49\frac{1}{188}$
„ C „ „ $48\frac{11}{48}$
„ D „ „ $48\frac{3}{4}$
„ E „ „ $48\frac{37}{72}$.

[1] Group F is out of the argument, for its chronological relation to the others cannot at present be determined; and, even if this difficulty were surmounted, its evidence would be of inconsiderable value, for it is composed of only two constituents.

Amplification XXXVI. (*continued*). I now revert to the addition which has evidently absorbed into itself Eadmer's earlier account of the death of his master and carried off the concluding doxology to a distance of some hundreds of lines. I wish to precipitate from it (if I may employ the phrase) so much of old work as it holds in solution; and, observing that it belongs to Group H, the leaves of whose constituents may be assumed to have the textual value of 48 lines, or thereabout, I proceed as follows:

We have independently of "Prius tamen...Decembris," (345½−49=) 296½ lines with which to deal. Eight and a half of them, leaving a residue of (6 × 48 =) 288 lines, may fairly be reckoned as old work; and are to be sought for in "Inter hæc... fiebat," "Post hæc...sexto," and "Hinc igitur...Amen." Thus:—

> **"Inter hæc languor qui corpus patris Anselmi graviter affligebat gravior sibi ipsi de die in diem fiebat. Post hæc xi. Kal. Maii defunctus est Cantuariæ in metropoli sede gloriosus pater Anselmus, et die sequenti, qui fuit Cena Domini, in majori ecclesia ad caput venerandæ memoriæ Lanfranci prædecessoris sui, honorifice sepultus anno Incarnati Verbi millesimo centesimo nono, regni vero Henrici gloriosi regis Anglorum nono, pontificatus autem ipsius Anselmi sexto decimo, ætatis vero septuagesimo sexto. Hinc igitur et in omni opere laudetur ipse et benedicatur qui, idem in se manens, innovat omnia, transfert regna, et quem vult super illa constituit, vivens et regnans ante et ultra omnia sæcula Deus. Amen."**

From all this we must eliminate (1) "patris" and "gloriosus pater Anselmus," phrases which Eadmer did not employ for many years after his master's death; (2) "ad caput...prædecessoris sui," which would seem to be borrowed from William of Malmesbury (*G. P.* p. 121); (3) "regni vero...Anglorum nono;" and (4), for the reasons given in my *Preface* (p. lviii), "idem in se manens.. illa constituit."

§ 16. TECHNICAL LAPSES IN THE SECOND PORTION OF BOOK IV.

When I fixed upon "posse putamus" on MS. p. 204 as a convenient resting-place in our enquiry, I hoped that I had got clear of the region of technical lapses; but I was mistaken. My hope was grounded on the fact that the last sixty-five pages of Book IV. (MS. pp. 194—259) evidently contained very little old work and that most of the amplifications fell under the category of insertions (γ), being passages laid in without any disturbance of context. But scarcely had I started on my new journey when I found an instance in Amplification XXVII; whilst XXVIII. was found to have the sort of peculiarity which had been found in XVI.[1]

But when we come to XXIX, we find enough to raise a very strong presumption indeed that there has been some active manipulation of text in the twenty lines that intervene between "Adunatis autem" on MS. p. 219 and "accepit" on p. 220. Within these limits we have "dilata est," "distulit", and "dilatum est," one and the same verb used three times and of as many different subjects, first an election of bishops, then the whole business, then an assembly. And, further, within these limits the word "concilium" occurs twice, first of an ecclesiastical council convened by the Pope and then of a national council summoned by the King. And, yet again, we are assured with the tell-tale "ut diximus" we have so often met that this latter council had been deferred from an earlier date; but on looking back are left to guess what it is to which this "ut diximus" alludes.

Here then is a passage to which we shall have to recur on an early occasion.

In XXXVI, too, we have "gloriosus" "gloriosus" and "vero" "vero," repetitions which Eadmer would instinctively,

[1] See above, p. 270.

I should rather say unconsciously, have avoided in a passage that was entirely new.

§ 17. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PRIMARY NUCLEUS OF THE SECOND PORTION OF BOOK IV.

The following is as correct an approximation as I can make to the contents of the eleventh and last leaf of the third book of the *Historia Novorum* as originally written :—

> "Reversis itaque nunciis qui Romam missi fuerant et enarratis quæ de sæpefato negotio apud Romanum pontificem acta fuerant, rex lætus ad audita illico Anselmum ad ecclesiam suam redire per Willelmum postulavit[1]. Cui cum ille promptus adquiesceret et iter aggressus Gemmeticum veniret infirmitate ne iter expleret inibi detentus est. Qua sopita Beccum revertitur, regem Angliæ transfretaturum ibi præstolaturus. Ubi, omnibus mira alacritate de reditu ejus exultantibus, ecce lacrimabile malum concussit atque subvertit gaudium ipsum ; nam tam gravis infirmitas iterum invasit Anselmum ut de eo præter mortem nihil expectaremus. Sed omnipotens Deus ipsum præter omnium opinionem sanitati restituit et multos magno exinde gaudio lætificavit. Dehinc in Assumptione Beatæ Dei Genitricis et perpetuæ Virginis Mariæ rex Beccum venit, et omnia quæ inter se et Anselmum de sæpefato negotio resederant delevit, atque de singulis ad quæ tendebat suæ illum voluntatis compotem fecit[2]. His ergo inter viros compositis, Anselmus iter Angliam remeandi ingressus est, et Dofris appulsus cum magno sanctæ ecclesiæ gaudio et honore in sedem suam[3] reversus est[4]. Cum ergo in Kalendis Augusti rex et archiepiscopus Lundoniæ apud palatium regis convenissent, triumphus ecclesiæ omnibus patuit, rege inves-

[1] See MS. pp. 209, 214. Here was the catchmark to Amplification XXVII.

[2] "Cui cum...compotem fecit." Portions of this erased for accommodation of latter part of XXVII. See *Vita* II. lvii. Here was the catchmark to XXVIII.

[3] "Dofris...suam," erased for conclusion of XXVIII.

[4] Catchmark to XXIX.

tituram ecclesiarum palam cedente et concedente archiepiscopo, neque aliquid vindicante in electionibus nisi solum assensum qualem sacri canones non excludunt[1]. Quibus ita dispositis, pene omnibus ecclesiis Angliæ quæ suis erant pastoribus viduatæ per consilium Anselmi ac procerum regni sine omni virgæ pastoralis aut anuli investitura patres a rege sunt instituti. Instituti quoque sunt ibidem et eodem tempore ab ipso rege quidam ad regimen quarundam ecclesiarum Normanniæ, quæ similiter erant suis patribus destitutæ[2]. Divina nihilominus officia quoniam indigne per quorundam sacerdotum manus eousque tractabantur institit Anselmus ut et ipsa suo ritu caste celebrarentur. Multi nempe presbyterorum statuta concilii Lundoniensis postponentes suas feminas retinebant, aut certe duxerant quas prius non habebant[3]. Inter hæc languor qui corpus Anselmi graviter affligebat gravior sibi de die in diem fiebat[4]. Ipse autem xi. Kal. Maii defunctus est Cantuariæ in metropoli sede, et die sequenti, quæ fuit Cena Domini, in majori ecclesia honorifice sepultus, anno Incarnati Verbi millesimo centesimo nono, sui autem pontificatus sexto decimo, ætatis vero septuagesimo sexto[5]. Hinc igitur et in omni opere suo laudetur ipse et benedicatur qui vivit et regnat ante et ultra omnia sæcula Deus. AMEN. EXPLICIT HISTORIA."

§ 18. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF BOOK IV.

Starting, then, upon the assumption that the first book of the *Gesta Pontificum* was issued in the year 1136, I infer that the year 1137 or 1138 witnessed the completion of Recension B, a recension which raised the number of the leaves of the third portion of Eadmer's great work, already augmented from eleven

[1] See John of Salisbury, 1034 B. Incorporated, probably with changes, into XXIX. See below, p. 295. Here followed XXXII. on one page; XXXI. preceding it at a later date.

[2] See MS. p. 221. Suppressed on introduction of XXIX, but restored in XXX. Here was the catchmark to XXXIII.

[3] As on MS. p. 230. Incorporated into XXXIII.

[4] Catchmark to XXXVI.

[5] See MS. p. 248. Incorporated into XXXVI. Here was the catchmark to XXXVII.

to nineteen, from nineteen to the higher figure of twenty-seven; and, further, the abscission of six of these seven and twenty leaves to form the nucleus of Book IV, and the suppression of Amplifications XVIII* and XXX*.

In the year 1138 or 1139 Book IV. was expanded from six leaves to fourteen by the introduction of Amplifications XXI, XXIII, XXVII, XXIX, and XXXIII.

It was natural that Eadmer should at length tire of those nice but tedious devices for amplifying his narrative, which must have cost him and his scribe the expenditure of many an hour. Hence his later additions were for the most part mere batches of text on one or more leaves, which might be put in or taken out or changed from one place to another without disturbance of context, expenditure of time, or trial of sight and patience.

I think the account, on MS. pp. 232—234[1], of the erection of the See of Ely, and again, that on p. 254[1] of the translation of Bishop Hervé, must have been composed after the appearance of the fourth book of the *Gesta Pontificum*, which probably saw the day in 1140[2]. Besides the more important differences between the two writers, there is a minor divergence. According to William, the council of the realm which was concerned with the erection of the see of Ely met in or after the August of 1108, and at a time when the King was in Normandy[3]. Eadmer gives it an earlier date.

[1] Amplifications XXXIV. and XXXVI.

[2] *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 325.

[3] His words are, "Habuit ergo hoc cenobium abbates usque ad nonum annum Henrici regis. Tunc enim...consilium habitum est... Intronizatus est ergo ibi Herveus," &c. The ninth year of Henry began in the August of 1108.

Eadmer makes the discussion precede the twenty-ninth of June, 1108.

Henry of Huntingdon (Rolls Edition, p. 237), makes the King cross over to Normandy after the death of Philip I. King of France, and in the eighth year of his own reign. Philip died July 29th, 1108.

To the years 1142 and 1143, or 1143 and 1144, I should be inclined to assign the final recension of Books V. and VI.[1]

§ 19. THE FINAL TRANSCRIPTION.

In the year 1143 (or 1144, at any rate) the final transcription of the six books had already begun on gatherings identical, as regards their ruling, with the first quire of MS. C. C. C. 452. In the middle of each page and in a space that measured about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches lay four and twenty exquisitely written lines, surrounded by an ample margin, and the content of each page was equivalent to $23\frac{1}{3}$ such lines as throughout this essay I have employed as our standard of measurement[2].

The Prologue and Book I, comprised in 2009 lines[3], filled forty-three leaves ($43 \times 46\frac{30}{43}$).

The original content of Book II. cannot be precisely determined: but its present content is 1584 ($= 34 \times 46\frac{20}{34}$) lines.

The 1423 lines of Book III. have not been increased to the nearest multiple of $46\frac{2}{3}$; for the obvious reason, as it seems to me, that before the scribe had reached that part of his work the silver cord was broken and the golden bowl loosed. This is no fanciful account, for, as I have remarked in another connexion, the C. C. C. copy in its text of Book III. presents

[1] I said in my *Preface* (p. lix) that I did not think Book VI. could have been written before the year 1140 or thereabout. A curious corroboration of this view has since been noticed by me. The verbal (I had almost said the syllabic) resemblance of the words (MS. p. 342) "quibus jubebatur... officii plecteretur" in *H. N.* VI. to William of Malmesbury's "qua jubebatur...officii plecteretur" in *G. P.* III. (p. 266) cannot, assuredly, be accidental. If, therefore, in this case, as in others, Eadmer has borrowed from his rival, *H. N.* VI. is later than *G. P.* III.; later, therefore, in my opinion, at least, than the year 1138 or 1139.

[2] See facsimile of MS. p. 16.

[3] Or, with a slightly abbreviated prologue, as I have suggested, 2006 ($= 43 \times 46\frac{7}{43}$) lines.

no such improvements on MS. A as we find in its text of Books I. and II.[1].

§ 20. ADDENDUM ON BOOKS I. AND II.

The only additions to Eadmer's text to which I have not as yet assigned an approximate date are in Books I. and II. When, however, I find that Amplification XXXVII. seems to refer to the Lanfranc memoir as to something recent; when I call to mind the fact that, notwithstanding Eadmer's long and intimate acquaintance with Nicholas, Prior of Worcester, the five consecrations as to which the Worcester chroniclers have not had Eadmer for their guide are consecrations recorded in III. and V, and that IV. is presumably later than III; when I remember that a passage in II. and the whole of VII. seem to have been provoked very late in Eadmer's career, and that William of Malmesbury seems to have written without any knowledge of VIII, I am obliged to infer that none of these additions are of earlier date than Group A in my chronological synopses, and that all of them may be as recent as F, G, or H[2].

I conclude, therefore, that of the numerous additions hitherto discussed there is not one that can reasonably be assigned to an earlier date than the issue of *G.R.* V, whatever be the date of that event, and that the overwhelming majority were introduced after Anselm had been for nearly thirty years gathered to his fathers.

Whatever, therefore, be the date of Group A, I should say that as late as the year 1136 Eadmer's volume, increased by Amplifications XI, XVII, XVIII, XVIII*, XXX, and XXX*, was comprised in nine quires; thus,—

[1] See *Preface*, p. lxi.

[2] The Lanfranc memoir was, I think, the first, and Amplification IV. the last of the additions numbered I.—VIII.

An outer leaf	=	1 leaf.
Prologue	=	1 leaf.
Book I.	=	29 leaves.
Book II.	=	22 leaves.
Third Book	=	19 leaves.
	Total	72 leaves.

Amplification A. As early, then, as the year 1136 the work was on leaves having the textual content of forty-nine such lines as I have taken as a standard of measurement. But a quarter of a century had elapsed since the completion of the work as it appeared on its first issue; and the question now arises whether the first, or the second, or the third book had appeared in the very first instance on leaves of this textual content. As to the first book, at least, a negative answer must, I think, be given.

The concluding sentence of the first book, as we now know it, gives us to understand (MS. p. 77) that there was a time when it and, presumably, the prologue formed one volume; it being, I presume, Eadmer's intention to obtain the opinion of his friends upon it pending the further prosecution of his design. This first instalment, therefore, was comprised in a volume of four quires; thus,—

An outer leaf	=	1 leaf.
Prologue	=	1 leaf.
Book I.	=	29 leaves.
An outer leaf	=	1 leaf.
	Total	32 leaves.

Here, then, as throughout his literary career, we find Eadmer true to his instinct of order and neatness. He had his parchment so ruled as that the first instalment of his work should fill precisely the interior leaves of a little volume consisting of an integral number of quaternions. This consideration, and this alone, has given me a clue to the solution of a puzzle which would otherwise have proved intractable.

Immediately before the Lanfranc memoir, and beginning on MS. p. 10, there is a passage of the precise textual content of a leaf of the first gathering of MS. C. C. C. 452[1], as to which there can be no possible doubt that it is inserted work. The construction of its opening sentence, "De quo prœlio," &c., and its concluding words, "Ut itaque cœptum peragamus iter, de his satis dictum," are proof sufficient of this; and if further proof be required, we have it in the "adhuc" of the first sentence.

And yet it would be a violation of all reason to attribute this additional matter to the final transcription of all. That transcription was indeed, as I have no doubt, made on quires like the first quire of the C. C. C. exemplar; but the passage I am discussing must have had a place in the parent of the Cottonian copy. And even if this objection could have been fairly evaded, it is so extremely unlikely that participants in the battle of Hastings should have survived till the year 1144, for a young man of nineteen in 1066 would by that time have been ninety-seven years of age; and it is so extremely unlikely that Eadmer should have let four and thirty years elapse before supplying what is, after all, an indispensable key to his record, an account of the Conqueror's four ecclesiastical *consuetudines*:—all this is so unlikely that I am driven to give this addition a date earlier than that of the earliest set of additions made on leaves which we have hitherto recognized as normal units of new work. Can it be possible, then, that the *format* which he ultimately adopted was, after all, the *format* of his very first instalment? Can it be possible that his very first issue of Book I. was written on leaves each of which had the textual capacity of Amplification A; that is to say, on such leaves as form the first gathering of the C. C. C. exemplar? I think it is.

Segregating from the book as it now stands the textual aggregate of Amplifications I.—IV. and also the textual content of "De quo...satis dictum" we have a remainder of

[1] See facsimile of MS. p. 16.

$(1960 - 540\frac{1}{24} - 46\frac{2}{3} =)$ $1373\frac{1}{24}$ lines, and assuming that Eadmer distributed these over twenty-nine leaves, we get a quotient of $47\frac{1}{3}$ lines for each leaf. This figure is so near to $46\frac{2}{3}$ that I must pursue my quest. It is possible, of course, that two-thirds of a line were at some moment in the lapse of thirty years suppressed by Eadmer in the passage "De quo," &c. and the alternative deserves consideration. But I prefer the other account that lies open to us, and think that we shall reach the truth by keeping to $46\frac{2}{3}$ as the lineal content of each of the original leaves, and making the last of them end at the distance of $(29 \times \frac{2}{3} =)$ $19\frac{1}{3}$ lines, or thereabout, before "tædio afficiat." I am happy to say that the word "sedem" in the sentence "His ita gestis," &c. ends, within a minute fraction of an inch, at the distance of $19\frac{1}{3}$ lines short of the stop after "afficiat".[1]

If, then, I am right in preferring this alternative, I should say that Eadmer quite early in the career of his work changed the *format* of Book I, and in doing so seized the opportunity of adding the details which we now possess of the banishment of Baldwin and the two clerks and the arrest of the Primate's chamberlain; just as, when quite late in life he made the precisely converse change in Book II, he seized the opportunity of suppressing what he seems to have said about Walter Tirel and adding some very fine reflections on the character of the Red King.

Similarly, I believe that the Prologue had ended with the words "altius ordiendum putamus"; that it was lengthened out to "progrediendum" when our author adopted a slightly ampler leaf; that when reverting at last to the smaller leaf he intended the Prologue once more to end with "altius ordiendum;" that his wish was not obeyed by the scribe; that in

[1] I think, indeed, that there had been a still earlier form of the work, a form without "Regnante in Anglia.....regnum obtinuit" (MS. pp. 3—10), the Prologue being proportionately shorter by the absence of "Fuerunt..... sufficerit" and of "et ab ipsa.....progrediendum."

consequence of this the first quire of his final copy was discarded and replaced by another; and that the discarded quire survives in the C. C. C. exemplar[1].

Amplification IX. I now approach firmer ground and a very interesting subject. The number 1584[2] is not sufficiently near to a multiple of 49 to allow us to think that it represents the content of Book II. in Eadmer's own working copy. I believe that before the final transcription it contained about (32 × 49 =) 1568 lines, and that Eadmer availed himself of their incapacity to cover thirty-four leaves of his new volume, to say something new about the death of William Rufus, and add the reflections with which we are all familiar (see MS. p. 132); thus filling 1584 (= 34 × 46$\frac{10}{17}$) lines.

Our endeavours to recover the suppressed account are not much helped, I regret to say, by John of Salisbury, for here (1031 A, B), as in no other instance, it would almost seem as if he had forsaken his guide. His "adhuc incertum est" is not consistent with a borrowed account, and his "etiam cum ageret in extremis" relates to a time long posterior to Eadmer's earlier days of authorship. Nor can I conjecture whether what he says be a contradiction or an amplification of what he had

[1] See facsimile of MS. p. 16.

[2] The new work in Book I. fills (393$\frac{1}{3}$ + 49$\frac{1}{8}$ + 49$\frac{1}{4}$ + 48$\frac{1}{2}$ =) 540$\frac{5}{24}$ lines, leaving, say, (1960 − 540 =) 1420 lines of old work.

For Book I, therefore, the average value of a leaf of old work is, say, (1420 ÷ 29 =) 48$\frac{8}{29}$ lines.

The reader has no need to be reminded that the 1960 lines of Book I are a common multiple of 49 and of 46$\frac{8}{9}$ lines.

In Book II. the new work fills (147$\frac{1}{3}$ + 147$\frac{1}{3}$ + 97$\frac{2}{3}$ + 99$\frac{1}{2}$ =) 491$\frac{5}{17}$ lines. And if to these we add, for old work, say, (22 × 48$\frac{2}{11}$, or) 1077 lines, we have a total of, say, (492 + 1077, or) 1569 lines.

Whereas, then, at one time there were 1569, there are now 1584 lines of text; and I suspect that all or nearly all of the thirty-six lines that intervene between "Siquidem illa die" and the end of the book is new, having replaced twenty or twenty-one of old.

The average value, in lines, of a leaf of new work in Book II. is (491 $\frac{5}{17}$ ÷ 10 = 49 $\frac{33}{170}$) say, 49$\frac{3}{10}$ lines.

found in Eadmer. It may be that Eadmer had made Walter Tirel the unintentional agent of the king's death, and that his reason for suppressing the account was that Walter had in his own last hours denied all concern with the tragedy.

It must have been either during or soon after this last transcription of the first and second books that Eadmer made such few but important emendations in their text as are brought to light by a comparison of the Cottonian and C. C. C. manuscripts. But these do not concern us at the present moment. The fact on which I just now wish to dwell is, that of all Eadmer's amplifications of his text, the very last seems to have been one in which he, presumably, at least, suppressed his first account of the death of William Rufus.

§ 21. MEMORANDUM ON WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY.

It is a very remarkable fact that much of Eadmer's new work relates to precisely those details which, having been recorded in the first text of the *Gesta Pontificum*, were afterwards suppressed in the second. The following is a list of instances, certain or probable :—

Amplification II: see *G. P.* p. 83, n. 4.
„ VII: see *G. P.* p. 104, n. 1.
„ IX: see *G. P.* p. 91, n. 4.
„ X: see *G. P.* p. 104, n. 1, and *G. R.* § 418.
„ XIII: see *G. P.* p. 121, n. 1.
„ XV: see *G. P.* p. 109, n. 1.
„ XIX: see *G. P.* p. 113, nn. 5, 10.
„ XXII: see *G. P.* p. 114, n. 4.
„ XXIV: see *G. P.* p. 115, n. 1.
„ XXXVI: see *G. P.* p. 260, n. 3.

The first of them records the Red King's impious speech to the Bishop of Rochester, which had been suppressed in William of Malmesbury's castigated text; and the third, written with or

after it, contains an allusion to it which must have been provoked by the suppression of an analogous passage a little later on in *G. P.* I. In both of them Eadmer evidently echoes his rival.

The second and fourth are just as remarkable, and the fact that they both refer to one and the same portion of suppressed text invites, if it does not compel, the inference that they were added at one and the same time.

The fifth seems to have been added after the division of the third book into two parts, and the sixth after the introduction of the second group of additions to the former of them.

I am strongly of opinion, therefore, that Eadmer's acquaintance with the first text of the *Gesta Pontificum* was made after, not before, his acquaintance with the second, or castigated, text; and also that the first text of *Gesta Regum* IV, V, was brought under his cognizance at, or about, the same time with the first text of *Gesta Pontificum* I, that is to say, after the year 1137.

When William of Malmesbury died, is not known; but if it be true, as has been conjectured, that he passed away in 1143, it is conceivable that the first text of his two great works may not have been divulged until he was out of harm's reach. I do not, however, think that that was the case. On the contrary, I believe the first text to have been divulged not more than a year or two after the castigated text. When it came to Eadmer's notice I cannot say; nor can I say how, whether in its completeness or a book at a time.

We need not doubt that Amplification XXXVI. was added to the work after the publication of *G. P.* III; and if I could feel certain that Eadmer's "Notæ rebellionis non immemor," provoked as it seems to have been by William's substitution of "consilio" for "rebellione" (*G. P.* p. 260), was not later work than the remainder of the sentence, I should say that he had read both texts of *G. P.* III. before introducing the addition.

Amplification XIX. seems, in like manner, to contain an animadversion on a slight, but far from unimportant change in *G. P.* I. I refer to Eadmer's "redigi præcepit," words which echo the "redegit" of his rival's first account. The complexion of that account had been quite altered by its author, who, after saying in his first text "Rex ergo fratris sui more omnem ad se archiepiscopatum redegit," said in his second "Rex ergo archiepiscopatum saisivit, propensiori tamen modestia;" and who, after saying in his first text "Misit [Anselmus] litteras regi super veritate dictorum Willelmi exculpanda, *accepitque responsum id regem iussisse,*" omitted in his second text the words I have italicized. Nor can we reasonably doubt that Eadmer's "feritas" in Amplification XXII. has been recovered from a cancelled passage in *G. P.* I, and appropriated by our author instead of some such word as "ira."

§ 22. MEMORANDUM ON THE ANONYMOUS LIFE OF ST ANSELM IN RALPH DE DICETO.

The anonymous life of St Anselm which Ralph de Diceto has incorporated into his *Abbreviationes Chronicorum* (Rolls Edition, I. 223—229) would seem to have been written in entire independence of Eadmer; and, indeed, so far from following Eadmer's narrative, it contains much that is inconsistent with the theory that its author can have been in any way indebted to Eadmer for either his facts or his opinions. One of its special uses lies in this, that it confirms the results of a careful study of Eadmer's narration on subjects in the treatment of which Eadmer had not foreseen some grave modern errors[1]. But on these I need not now dwell.

[1] The biographer was a man of clear head and precise, perhaps pedantic, diction, firm in his grasp of facts, luminous in his exposition of ideas and principles, and master of the motives that had animated St Anselm. His latinity may possibly afford a clue to his nationality, or some

It informs us that William Rufus, falling ill in the fourth year after the death of Archbishop Lanfranc (i.e. between the summer of 1092 and the summer of 1093) took counsel about the vacant see of Canterbury; and it implies that after the counsel thus taken Anselm was summoned from Normandy. This raises the question whether the King may not have had a serious illness in the summer or autumn of 1092.

It also informs us that the King was not the sole agent in the appointment, and that Anselm's refusal to accept it was subdued by the concurrent votes of all who had a right to share in the business.

It tells us that Anselm was in his sixtieth year on the fifth of December, 1093, whence we are to infer that he was born either in the last weeks of 1033 or in the early months of 1034.

It represents the King's reason for demanding a thousand marks of silver as being this, that he had assented to Anselm's promotion without the interposition of a bribe.

It says, or seems to say, that Anselm having been drawn into a discussion on the subject of the lawfulness of mentioning the Pope's name, the King not having taken the lead, was then and there accused of lese-majesty for doing so.

It hints that certain terms were fixed as the condition of the King's reconciliation with Urban II.

It tells us that Anselm in 1097 left the country with the King's leave, which yet was such an "unleave-like" leave that it deprived him of the hope of return.

Its description of the scene on the beach at Dover reads like that of an eye-witness.

It tells us that at the council held at the Vatican in 1099, not merely was excommunication threatened, but excommunication *ex ipso facto* denounced against both the givers and the recipients of lay investiture, and also against the consecrators of

lucky accident may reveal his name. Nothing would surprise me less than to learn that it was Baldwin of Tournay.

such recipients; but it says nothing about the like legislation on homage.

It represents St Anselm's difference with Henry I. as to the right of the prince to invest newly appointed bishops as having arisen in the latter part of 1100 or the beginning of 1101.

It concludes as follows:—

> "Bonis itaque suis denuo confiscatis, annus elapsus est et dimidius. Postmodum archiepiscopus a rege rogatus intravit Normanniam. Cum autem Becci rex et archiepiscopus convenissent sub audientia virorum illustrium tanquam in iure professus est rex se nihil iuris vel sibi vel heredibus suis in posterum in ecclesiarum investituris vendicaturum, nec in electionibus faciendis aliquid alium quam solum assensum sicut sacrorum canonum censura præscribit. Quibus in hunc modum pacificatis, est regressus in Angliam archiepiscopus, ubi dum in causa Dei, dum in causa matris ecclesiæ victoriosissimum reportasset triumphum, in bona quiete consenuit."

Now, notwithstanding the author's evident independence of Eadmer, this account of the reconciliation is substantially, and almost verbally, the same as that which, preserved in John of Salisbury, it is to be presumed figured in the first issue of the *Historia Novorum*.

The simplest theory is perhaps the true one:—

1. That both Eadmer and the anonymous writer made use of a draft or memorandum of the terms of the reconciliation at Le Bec in 1106 on the "sæpefatum negotium" of investiture; the subjects of domestic and personal interest, which formed a separate group, not being mentioned in it.

2. That the anonymous writer gave the terms their proper assignation; but

3. That Eadmer, misapplying them, set them down as the terms of the settlement at Westminster in 1107; and

4. That Eadmer, questioned as to his accuracy, appealed to the "Non debeo tacere," and letting his account remain, perhaps

unaltered, perhaps partially recast, introduced Amplification XXXII. (MS. pp. 226–228) in justification of it.

5. That William of Malmesbury in the *Gesta Regum* (§ 417) gave, perhaps purposely, an account, which, referring to a decision of the King's before the August of 1107, and yet making no mention of Le Bec or the August of 1106, was quite unimpeachable; namely this, that the King gave up for ever investiture by ring and crosier, retaining only the privilege of election and the regalia, meaning by regalia the clerical homage, or rather the fealty, which had now for many years been in vogue when he wrote.

6. That in the *Gesta Pontificum*, knowing or believing William of Veraval and Baldwin of Tournay to have arranged with the Pope the terms of the settlement, but supposing them to have done so as early as the spring of 1106, he turned to the "Quod Anglici regis," which was written at that time, that he might borrow his phraseology from it; and that this is the reason why the *Gesta Pontificum*, unlike the *Gesta Regum*, makes no mention of "privilegium electionis" or of "privilegium regalium," but only, instead of the latter, of "homagia de electis." Still, he does not give the letter as his authority; on the contrary, he makes no mention of it, and his account taken as it stands, may be, and no doubt is, correct enough.

7. That Eadmer was safe enough in so far as he merely copied the *Gesta Pontificum;* but that he erred deplorably in saying that the terms of the settlement had been laid down, specifically, in the "Quod Anglici regis;" for that letter, written a year before the last embassy, and more than a year before the settlement, had granted a concession which concerned homage proper and was meant to be but temporary.

§ 23. MEMORANDUM ON EADMER'S ACCOUNT OF THE SETTLEMENT OF 1107.

John of Salisbury, whose account coincides very remarkably with that of the anonymous author in Ralph de Diceto, says of the settlement of 1107:—

> "Cum autem in Kalendis Augusti rex et archiepiscopus convenissent, triumphus ecclesiæ omnibus patuit, rege investituram ecclesiarum palam cedente et concedente archiepiscopo, nec aliquid vindicante in electionibus nisi assensum qualem sacri canones non excludunt. Neque enim eligere nec virga pastorali investire sibi pro more antiquo usurpans, procedere permisit in dispositione ecclesiarum canonicas sententias." (cxcix. 1034 B).

I think that I am entitled to assume that the first of these two statements concerning the settlement of 1107 was taken from that copy of the *Historia Novorum* which he used for his *Life of St Anselm*, and the other from Eadmer's *Vita*. I proceed then as follows:—

Eadmer's first account in the *Historia* was, I apprehend, to this effect:—

> (A_1) "Cum ergo in Kalendis Augusti rex et archiepiscopus Lundoniæ apud palatium regis convenissent, triumphus ecclesiæ omnibus patuit, rege investituram ecclesiarum palam cedente et concedente archiepiscopo, nec aliquid vindicante in electionibus nisi solum assensum qualem sacri canones non excludunt. Quibus ita... destitutæ."

This was written in or about 1111. In or about 1113 he wrote in the *Vita* as follows:—

> (A_2) "Eo tempore, adunatis in palatio regis Lundoniæ cunctis primoribus Angliæ, victoriam de libertate ecclesiæ pro qua diu laboraverat Anselmus adeptus est. Rex enim, antecessorum suorum usu relicto, nec personas quæ in regimen ecclesiarum sumebantur per se elegit, nec eas per dationem virgæ pastoralis ecclesiis quibus præficiebantur investivit."

But when, informed by a series of episcopal and abbatial appointments, Eadmer was at last convinced that, though the King never touched a crozier, he, as a matter of fact, if not of form, did elect "per se," he qualified A_2 by a "quodam modo" introduced between "Anselmus" and "adeptus est"[1].

Whether he made any early change in A_1 it would be vain to speculate. But after the appearance of *Gesta Regum* V. he was roused to action in his own defence. The account there given was:—

> (B) "Diu ergo et revocare illum et monitionibus apostolicis obsecundare distulit...comitis de Mellento instincta ...Veruntamen rex investituram anuli et baculi indulsit in perpetuum, retento tamen electionis et regalium privilegio" (§ 417).

Laying hands, therefore, but with very inconsiderate haste, on the "Non debeo tacere" which had been written in 1105, and not, as he believed, in or after the August of 1107[2], he introduced it into his work together with text that raised the aggregate addition (Amplification XXXII.) to the precise content of a leaf. The document contained the words "Rex... investituram ecclesiarum omnino deseruit," and "Rex ipse in personis eligendis nullatenus propria utitur voluntate"; but, immediately after it, Eadmer took care to add "Hanc epistolam iccirco placuit huic operi admiscere ut, ea teste, monstraremus quæ *de investituris ecclesiarum* dicimus rata esse," remaining eloquently reticent on the King's share in elections[3].

Meanwhile, however, *Gesta Pontificum* I. had appeared with this account:—

> (C) "Venit igitur rex sullimi tropheo splendidus et triumphali gloria Angliam invectus, investiturasque ecclesiarum Anselmo in perpetuum remisit; eodem conce-

[1] See *Preface*, pp. xciv—xcvi.

[2] See *Preface*, pp. xli—xlvi.

[3] Of course the letter had the further merit of contradicting, or seeming to contradict, the rival's account of Robert of Meulan's conduct.

> dente ut propter hominium regi factum nullus arceretur a benedictione. Consecrati ergo sunt," &c. (p. 117).

Eadmer was thus constrained to own, slowly, reluctantly, and with not a little hesitation, that the settlement of 1107 had been concerned with the subject of homage as well as with that of investiture. Taking, therefore, William of Malmesbury for his guide, he re-wrote the second half of A_1 and made a very curious change in the first. He let the words "cedente et concedente archiepiscopo" remain, but, giving a new turn to the sentence, converted "archiepiscopo" into an ablative and made "concedente" agree with it instead of with "rege." Such, at least, is the best theory that I can offer on this confessedly intricate subject.

Eadmer's second account, then, in the *Historia* was, I apprehend, to this effect, compounded of A_1 and C:—

> (A_2) "Cum ergo in Kalendis Augusti rex et archiepiscopus Lundoniæ apud palatium regis convenissent, triumphus ecclesiæ omnibus patuit, rege investituram ecclesiarum palam cedente, et concedente archiepiscopo ut nullus in prælationem acceptus pro hominio quod regi faceret consecratione suscepti honoris privaretur. Quibus ita...destitutæ."

Such record was irreprehensible; for, although it gave a prospective application to the terms concerning homage, there was nothing in it, written, as it was, a quarter of a century after the event, to divert the reader's mind from the only right interpretation of which it was susceptible, namely, that, though consecrated prelates might not become the men of the King, prelates elect might do him homage.

But, whatever may have been William of Malmesbury's notion of the character and extent of the concession made to the King (a concession not precluded by the ecclesiastical decrees[1] on homage) his account in the *Gesta Regum* was

[1] The first of them was promulgated at Clermont in 1095. There can, therefore, be no greater mistake than to suppose that when St Anselm in 1093 became the man of the King he was a law-breaker.

followed by a statement which, at any rate, implied that the final settlement had preceded the council of the nation. That statement Eadmer, as I apprehend, believed to be inaccurate[1], and, after careful investigation and enquiry, resolved to correct; and he resolved, by giving particulars (1) about the meeting of the Easter court, (2) about the postponement to Whitsuntide, and (3) about the further postponement to the first of August, to correct it "ad simultatis detegendam confusionem." He, therefore, replaced the first 6 lines of A_3 by a new account in 13½ lines, "Quibus ita...destitutæ" remaining as it was, and then added "Inter hæc...Lundoniensi" in 41½ lines, thus:—

> (A_4) "Adunatis autem ad curiam eius in Pascha terræ principibus, dilata est ecclesiarum ordinatio in subsequens festum Pentecostes; sed Anselmo gravi corporis infirmitate correpto, inducias in Kalendas Augusti accepit. In Kalendis ergo Augusti conventus omnium episcoporum abbatum et procerum regni Lundoniæ in palatio regis factus est, præsente Anselmo, cui annuit rex et statuit ut ab eo tempore in reliquum nunquam per dationem baculi pastoralis vel anuli quispiam de episcopatu vel abbatia per regem vel quamlibet laicam manum in Anglia investiretur, concedente quoque Anselmo ut nullus in prælationem electus pro hominio quod regi faceret consecratione suscepti honoris privaretur. Quibus ita...destitutæ. Inter ista cœpit...concilio Lundoniensi."

[1] Inaccurate in this respect it certainly was; unless, indeed, we are to say that the account related to the meeting at Le Bec on the Assumption of 1106, and that William of Malmesbury had nothing to say about the settlement of 1107 beyond the words "decisa litigia" as believing that the terms of the pacification in 1106 and of the settlement in 1107 were identical.

William does not tell us what he means by the "privilegium regalium"; probably because his readers had no need to be told, probably, too, because "privilegium" would determine the sense of "regalia." The regalia were not the regalia of a past generation (cf. *G. P.* p. 84, "regalia pro more illius temporis"); they were not, that is to say, the homage known to the Conqueror and the Red King (cf. *G. P.* p. 106, "more antecessorum suorum ...hominium"); but the fealty of which he speaks in the *Historia Novella* (cf. §§ 14, 15 and two passages in § 42).

This, of course, was Amplification XXIX. in its first form.

I suspect, however, that before many months had passed Eadmer discovered that, however well deserved this chastisement of the *Gesta Regum* might have been, the *Gesta Pontificum* bore proof of a larger acquaintance than his own with the correspondence of Paschal II. and St Anselm; for William's words "ut propter hominium regi factum nullus arceretur a benedictione" had evidently been suggested by a passage in the pontiff's "Quod Anglici regis," "Siqui vero... etiam si regi hominia fecerint, nequaquam ob hoc a benedictionis munere arceantur[1]."

But on making this discovery Eadmer in his agitation omitted to note that William of Malmesbury had not, at any rate, as of necessity, given any other interpretation to the papal concession than an interpretation retrospective from the date of the settlement; he omitted, that is to say, to note that William's "propter hominium regi factum" need not mean more than "on the score of homage already paid." He also omitted to note that even if William had meant his "eodem concedente" &c. to have a prospective application, he had not mentioned the "Quod Anglici regis," and by not mentioning the "Quod Anglici regis" had not forced on the word "hominium" a meaning which for now nearly thirty years it had ceased to hold in the case of men of religion.

Here, then, and now it was that Eadmer committed his very strange blunder. Ambitious to outstrip his predecessor, he followed him to the brink of the precipice, and, instead of stopping, walked on and walked over. For, although his own A_4 implied that Anselm made a prospective, not a retrospective,

[1] "Siqui vero deinceps præter investituras ecclesiarum prælationes assumpserint, etiam si regi hominia fecerint, nequaquam ob hoc a benedictionis munere arceantur, donec per omnipotentis Dei gratiam ad hoc omittendum cor regium tuæ prædicationis imbribus molliatur."

concession (his words being "pro hominio quod regi faceret," not "pro hominio regi facto" or "propter hominium regi factum"), it yet contained no reference to the "Quod Anglici regis," and, containing no reference to the "Quod Anglici regis," invited the inference that the homage meant was not the homage to which churchmen for now nearly thirty years had been strangers.

By this time, too, he had so far rectified his first impressions as to feel sure (i.) that August 1, 1107 was the date, not of the settlement, but of the introductory debate; and also (ii.) that at that debate Anselm had not been present.

To make it clear, therefore, (4) that he was as well acquainted with the "Quod Anglici regis" as was William of Malmesbury; and further to let the world understand that (5) he knew where the council met and (6) how long its discussions lasted, (7) when Anselm was present and (8) when absent, and (9) what share Anselm had in the business, but (10) prudently taking care to say nothing explicit about Robert of Meulan, he resolved on drawing out the account which now figures in the *Historia Novorum*, devoting a leaf of text to the purpose. In order to fill the leaf he prefaced the account with the "De presbyterorum" and its context in 21½ lines; then came the extant account (A_5) in 20 lines; and then "Quibus ita...destitutæ" in 7¼ lines.

Thus was Amplification XXX. formed.

The "In Kalendis...privaretur" of A_4 being thus superseded, and the "Quibus ita...destitutae" removed to another place, it became necessary to expand the "Adunatis autem... accepit" of A_4 to the compass of 20 lines. Hence the notable peculiarities presented by it, to which attention has already been drawn[1].

Simultaneously with this change he introduced Amplification XXVI, in which we find, smuggled in as if without

[1] See above, p. 271.

a purpose, the "Quod Anglici regis" between two utterly irrelevant digressions.

*Amplification XXX**. I said just now that the "Non debeo tacere" (MS. p. 227) would seem with its context to have been introduced into the work soon after the appearance of *Gesta Regum* V; because it was deemed to throw discredit on William of Malmesbury's account therein set forth, and because it contained phrases that seemed to justify Eadmer's own A_1 and A_2. The context, however, of the "Non debeo tacere" alludes to a passage now no longer extant, a passage which certainly contained some notice of a papal letter to Robert of Meulan and, presumably, gave the text of that letter. It may have been Paschal's "Nos te in familiaritatem." Be that as it may, the letter has disappeared from the *Historia Novorum*, and with it, no doubt, text which, with the letter, had the value of a single normal leaf. This lost amplification I call XXX*, for it must have held the place now occupied by XXX; and I assign it to the first group of additions. I cannot determine the date of its suppression; but think that it shared the fate of the lost letter of the King's, on the division of the third book into two.

§ 24. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

What I have yet to say shall be said briefly.

I will not, for I need not, expatiate on Eadmer's omission to turn his master's correspondence to account when preparing his first issue of the *Historia Novorum*, or characterize his treatment of it in his declining years; nor is it my present business to compare his merits or his defects in this particular with those of William of Malmesbury.

I will not, for I need not, expatiate on Eadmer's rivalry of

William; or write congratulations of myself on its discovery and elucidation.

I will not, for I need not, expatiate on the differences discernible between the first account and the last account which either author wrote of the final settlement of the great controversy in which Anselm had been engaged; nor can anything I might say deepen the conviction which my readers must, I think, by this time share with me that neither William nor Eadmer possessed authentic documentary evidence of the terms of that settlement.

I will not, for I need not, expatiate on the reticence which marked Eadmer's notices of the reigning sovereign and his confidential advisers[1], as contrasted with his freedom of utterance after they had passed away; or note the lesson of critical caution in the perusal of other authors similarly laid under constraint which that reticence seems calculated to teach.

The Worcester chroniclers seem to have worked on a late edition of Eadmer's work, and would even seem to have known it when it had already received a still larger expansion[2]. But I will not anticipate the labours that await the scholar, whoever he may be, that shall yet give us an adequate edition of the work known by the name of Florence.

There can, I think, be no doubt that the four Groups A, B, C, and F, in my chronological synopses, represent as many several recensions of the work, the first and second of which expanded it from eight quires to nine and ten quires respectively; whilst in C we have a second edition of the new Book IV. which enlarged it from a volume in one quire to a volume in two quires. I cannot feel so certain about D, E, and H; but am inclined to think that, in the last years of his long life, Eadmer did not at stated periods call in the copies of his work

[1] See above, pp. 250, 251, 280, 281.

[2] I say this on the evidence of unpublished MSS. which I have taken opportunities of consulting.

which had issued from his cloister, but added to them as they happened to be sent back to him for expansion.

One copy, however, seems to have remained as it was; the copy on which John of Salisbury worked nearly twenty years after Eadmer's death. Should that copy ever come to light, it will, I suspect, be found to have lurked somewhere outside our island. Until it shall be discovered, I commend to the frank and generous consideration of scholars my attempt to work back from the *Historia* that is to the *Historia* that once was.

POSTSCRIPT.

Addendum on page 216 (after line 2).

The narrative in the first instance was, in all probability, as follows:—"Hæc Anselmus annuit, dismissaque curia in pace ad sua secessit (as on MS. pp. 137, 138). Exinde cum ad Pascha ventum esset, et qui Romam missi fuerant nondum redissent, usque ad adventum illorum induciæ dilatæ sunt (as on p. 144). Post hæc Anselmus ad curiam regis venire mandatur responsurus de negotio de quo induciæ dilatæ fuerunt" (as on p. 146). This at the introduction of Amplification X was superseded by its textual equivalent, the extant "Hæc Anselmus...ad sua secessit."

Leaf II of the first computation must have ended at or about "Exinde cum."

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VIII. Remarks on the Land Measures employed in the Channel Islands. Communicated by W. de Gruchy, Esq.

[March 1, 1886.]

The land measures mentioned in the early *Extentes* and *Inquisitiones* as to the Crown revenues and dues in Jersey, are the *carucata*, *bovata*, *virgata*, and occasionally the *acra*.

This acre is not, however, the modern English acre, but the Norman acre of four (Norman or) Jersey vergées (virgatæ). The modern English acre only contains $2\frac{1}{4}$ of these vergées, and thus almost exactly corresponds to the old Norman "arpent," and to the Breton "journal." Curiously enough the subdivisions of the Norman and English acre are the same, i.e. both into four vergées, or roods, each of forty perches: but the difference in area of the two is accounted for by the different sizes of the perch: the English perch being $272\frac{1}{4}$ square feet, while the Jersey perch is 484 (English) square feet. This Norman acre is thus slightly less than the present Scotch acre. No measure of extent is mentioned in the Norman Custumal but "acra." Tenure "per acras" was the ordinary "roture" tenure: and the "relief" due to the lord on the death of such a holder was fixed at *duodecim denarii* (one "*solidus*") *per acram* for "*terræ vi-*

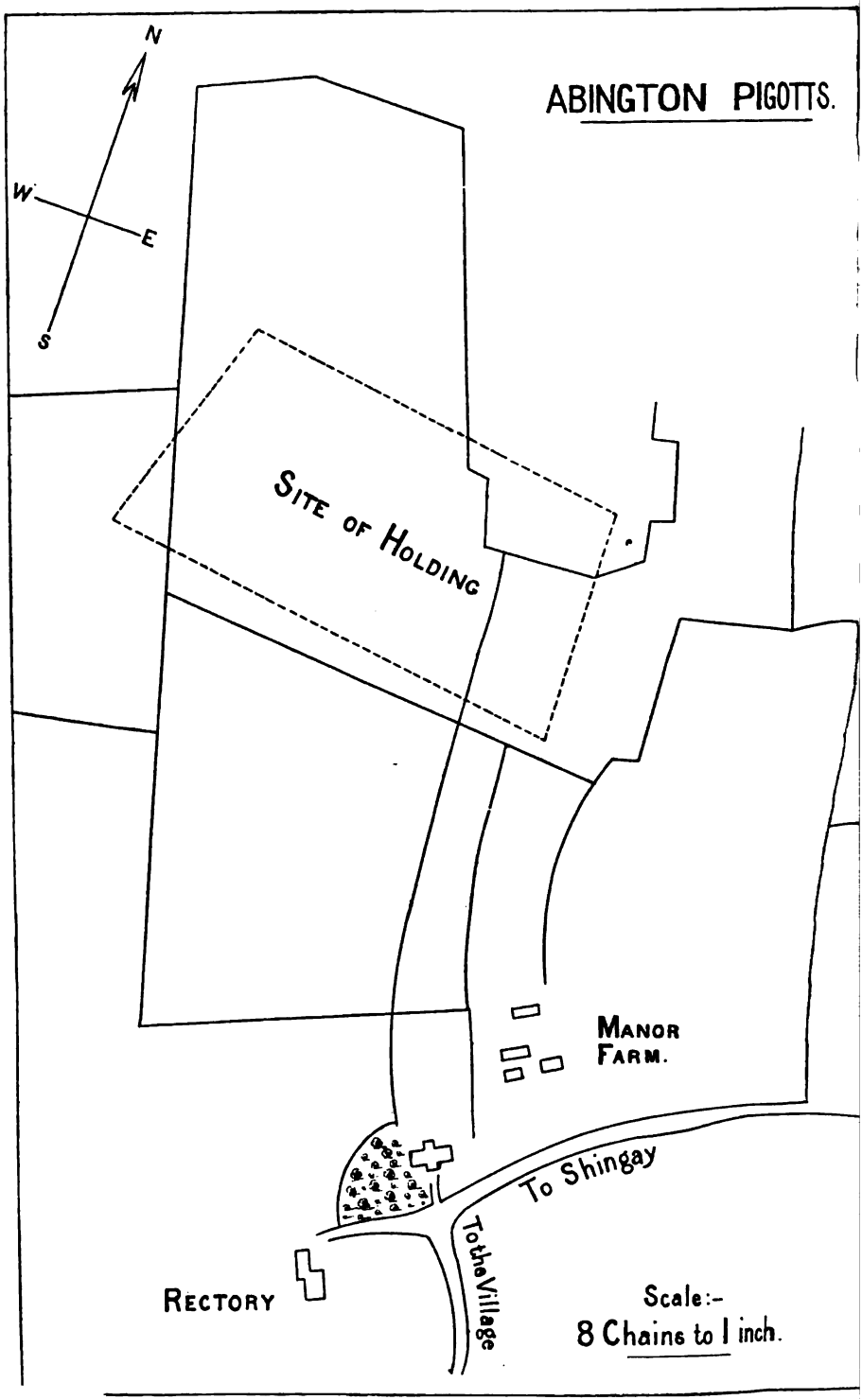
ventes culturæ subjacentes," and as a rule, *sex denarii* for "*terræ silvestres quæ in Normannia mortuæ dicuntur.*"

The word *virgata* is nowhere used in any Jersey document in the extended sense of the large virgata or English "yardland," but always as a subdivision of an acre.

The large majority of the island holdings under the Crown were, in 1331, designated as *bovatæ*, and seldom exceed one *bovata* for each holder. It is improbable that they can have been really so uniform in extent, as the strict interpretation of *bovata* would indicate: and this improbability is increased by the fact that the yearly *firma* due to the Crown differs widely in amount, varying from *sex denarii* to *decem solidi per bovatam*. The measurements of the "bovata" given by different authorities conflict: some making it 28 acres, and others only 15. Possibly this discrepancy may be explained by the word *acre* being used in a different sense in the two cases: for 28 English acres of 2¼ Jersey *vergées* would not much exceed 15 Norman acres of 4 Jersey vergées.

Similarly, there are varying opinions as to the number of *bovatæ* in a *carucata*, some making it eight, some five only. This discrepancy in the extent of the two "acres" may possibly also account for these variations of opinion. The use of the word *carucata* is, with one exception, confined to the Extentes of the eastern parishes of Jersey. It is employed to designate holdings which certainly were not (in 1278 and 1331) of equal area, and seems in most cases to be used as an equivalent of *feodum*: e.g. the "fiefs" of *Annevelle* and *Everart*, though they are, and were, manors held *in capite* from the Crown, are termed in the Extentes *carucatæ*. They are of unequal extent, Annevelle being much the larger of the two: and this was no doubt the case at the time of the Extente of 1331, as their assessments for the Crown *firma* differ. In the same way *Longueville*, always a manor, is there styled *carucata;* and *Dyrvaux* is called indifferently *feodum* and *carucata*. This last fee

or *carucata* was subject to a *relief* of 30 *solidi Turonenses* as *dimidium relevii*, which at the rate of 12 *deniers* per acre would make its extent sixty acres: but it must be remembered that, as above stated, *terræ mortuæ* only paid 6 *deniers* the acre. In the solitary instance where the word *carucata* is used in the Extentes of the western parishes, it is applied to an estate called elsewhere in the Extente by its present name of the "Franc Fief en S. Brelade"—whose assessment to the *Firma* is only 15 *sols Tournois*, i.e. only half as much again as the *highest bovata* assessment!!


ABINGTON PIGOTTS.
N
W
E
S
SITE OF HOLDING
MANOR FARM.
To Shingay
To the Village
RECTORY
Scale:-
8 Chains to 1 inch.

IX. Some account of the site of a Roman Veteran's holding at Abington Pigotts in the County of Cambridge. Communicated by the Rev. Graham F. Pigott, M.A., Peterhouse.

[March 1, 1886.]

About eight chains less than half a mile nearly north of the parish church of Abington Pigotts, there is undulating ground, in fact, a slight hill trending east and west, which has been turned over during the years 1879–84 for the purpose of excavating the coprolite under it.

I am induced, from a perusal of Mr F. Seebohm's excellent work on the *English Village-Community*, and from personal investigation and observation during the progress of the works in question, to say that we have here without much doubt the site of a retired Roman veteran's holding of some 25 Roman *jugera* or about 20 of our present acres. A ditch filled with black earth mixed with *débris* of pottery and bones was cut through during the working on the West, but no ditch was found on the North. On the East the land is pasture (possibly has been so ever since the Romans left the district); so that the traces are naturally more conspicuous than on arable land. Here the ditch is still visible, though very shallow: a section shews its original depth to have been 5 feet, the width diminishing from 15 feet at the top to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet at the bottom. On the South for some distance there was, evidently, at the time of occupation, and most likely much later, a morass, judging

from the deposit of mud dug through and from the fact of there being no coprolite in that distance. In fact, I believe that at the time the Romans were in England a great portion of this valley was under water, and consequently required little protection in the shape of trenches from beasts of prey or from robbers except in boats.

At the village of Litlington, distant 1½ mile, is the site of a Roman villa. Possibly a commander or officer who lived there sent one of his veterans to occupy the highest ground northward of the neighbouring valley. For the hill lies about midway between the Croydon Hills and the Royston Downs, and in those days was doubtless nearly as fertile as at present and therefore to be desired for agriculture.

Be that as it may, there are many evidences of Roman habitation on the same hill, and I would more especially call attention to holes used for domestic purposes[1]. I took special notice of one of them, March 9, 1882, when I was of opinion that they were receptacles for funereal urns, and I find from my notes that day, "The men employed in digging coprolite came across a hole 3 feet in diameter containing refuse, etc. The hole went through the seam of coprolite; from the surface of the ground to the coprolite bed was 14 feet; excavating the hole to the depth of 2 feet more, an iron bar was inserted 5 feet deeper, and then no bottom was reached.

"The marks of steps cut in the solid clay to enable the workers to get out of the hole were plainly visible.

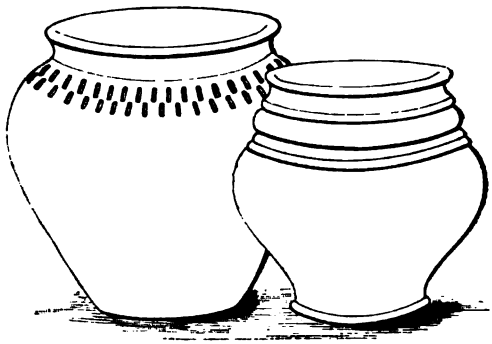
"Too much water prevented me from going on with the work, and taking into consideration the depth we should have had to go to (7 feet more), and the limited space to work in (3 feet diameter), I felt that it was no use prosecuting the search for the urn which I thought was at the bottom of the hole."

My idea of the holes being receptacles for urns has since

[1] See Wright's *The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon* (London, 1875), p. 215.

broken down. Many more similar holes (but none of such depth) were found, and none contained anything but broken pottery and bones, and the stercoraceous matter spoken of by Mr Wright.

Two urns were found in a fragmentary state and have been put together in fair preservation. They are of dark material, and round the middle of one and the bottom of the other this black colour is changed into a whitish hue, apparently due to



hot ashes deposited in them. Both are perforated in the bottom with 5 or more holes; one, the workmen informed me, was inverted.

I think I do not "pile up the mound" when I say that more than two cart-loads of old pottery and querns were brought to light. (I must leave out the bones, for they would double the cart-loads, possibly quadruple them.) I append a list of things found on the holding:

Fragments of Samian ware (the fragments of one large bowl have rivets in them, shewing that it had been repaired before being finally condemned); fragments of a large vase with finger impressions on it; ditto of mortaria, one with MATVCEN inscribed on it; colanders, part of a vessel with holes in the side; two bottoms of large wine vases of reddish earth, also fragments of the sides of the same.

Four pieces of iron, circular ($3\frac{1}{2}$ in. diam.), weighing each $5\frac{1}{2}$—$6\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. or thereabouts.

Part of a bronze sword or dagger, fluted, 4 in. long by $\frac{3}{4}$ broad.

Curious triangular pieces of sun-dried earth pierced with holes: size about 6 inch trian. by 3 in. thick. Some have portions of coprolite in them.

Querns, both of Hertfordshire plum-pudding stone and mill-stone grit.

Bone combs; antlers of red-deer, one worked to hold a sword or knife, with hole through it for suspension. Other antlers, shewing marks of saw to make handles for some weapon or other; roe-deer horns; skull of *Bos Longifrons* with mark in its forehead of pole-axe or weapon of the period used for slaying it.

Dogs' skulls: one has in its mouth fragments of bones, phalanges of hare or rabbit, as though it had been killed in killing.

A few fragments of human skulls, but only one entire skeleton and that 18 inches below the surface, presumably a late interment: head to west: bones slight: teeth perfect: possibly an adult girl.

I must notice how broken Samian ware in one case was thrown away. Along a trench about 4 feet deep on the south side of the holding, filled with black earth, bones, etc., fragments of a small bowl about 2½ in. high and 5½ in. across the top, were strewn for the length of about 24 feet. The coprolite men used to take what they call "a fall" of 4 feet at a time, and from each fall in this particular trench did I get fragments of the bowl, till I got the better half of it. Why should the people of that day be at the trouble of sowing (so to speak) a trench with fragments of this Samian ware?

I have some fragments of very delicate ware, very thin and prettily marked, but none that can be restored from the fragments, I fear.

I exhibited to the Society, March 9th, 1885, some of the small articles found in these works; pins, coins, &c., notably an undescribed gold coin of Cunobeline; but that might have been spoil from the Briton dropped by the Roman. I would further state, that several circular places were found about a foot below the surface, 6 to 7 feet in diameter, as though tents had been pitched, or huts of wattle (*mapalia*), which were thought quite good enough for the hardy veteran's followers to dwell in. I found in one a heap of burnt wheat, which gives an idea as to the fate of the holding.

LIST OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

REPORTS.

Reports I—X (1841—1850). Ten numbers. 1841—1850. 8vo.

PUBLICATIONS. QUARTO SERIES.

I. A Catalogue of the original Library of St Catharine's Hall, 1475. Ed. by Professor G. E. CORRIE, B.D. 1840. *1s. 6d.*

II. Abbreviata Cronica, 1377—1469. Ed. by J. J. SMITH, M.A. 1840. *With a facsimile.* *2s. 6d.*

III. An account of the Consecration of Abp. Parker. Ed. by J. GOODWIN, B.D. 1841. *With a facsimile.* *3s. 6d.*

IV. An application of Heraldry to the illustration of University and Collegiate Antiquities. By H. A. WOODHAM, A.B. Part I. 1841. *With illustrations.*

V. An application of Heraldry, &c. By H. A. WOODHAM, M.A. Part II. 1842. *With illustrations.*

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VII. A description of the Sextry Barn at Ely, lately demolished. By Professor R. WILLIS, M.A. 1843. *With 4 plates.* *3s.*

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X. Roman and Romano-British Remains at and near Shefford. By Sir HENRY DRYDEN, Bart. M.A. And a Catalogue of Coins from the same place. By C. W. KING, M.A. 1845. *With 4 plates.* *6s. 6d.*

XI. Specimens of College Plate. By J. J. SMITH, M.A. 1845. *With 13 plates.* *15s.*

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XV. An historical Inquiry touching St. Catharine of Alexandria: to which is added a Semi-Saxon Legend. By C. HARDWICK, M.A. 1849. *With 2 plates.* *12s.*

*** Nos. XIII—XV, with a title-page, form Vol. II of the Society's *Quarto Publications.*

Reports XI—XIX (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1850—59); Communications, Octavo Series, Nos. I—IX. Nine numbers. 1851—1859.

*** Communications, Octavo Series, Nos. I—IX, with a title-page, contents and index, form Vol. I of the Society's *Antiquarian Communications*. 1859. 11*s*.

Reports XX—XXIV (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1859—64); Communications, Nos. X—XIV. Five numbers. 1860—1864.

*** Communications, Nos. X—XIV, with a title-page, contents, and index, form Vol. II of the Society's *Antiquarian Communications*. 1864. 10*s*.

Report XXV (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1864—65); Communications, No. XV (marked by mistake XIV). 1865. 2*s*.

Report XXVI (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1865—66); Communications, No. XVI (marked by mistake XV). 1866. 2*s*.

Report XXXIII (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1866—73, and Reports XXVII—XXXII); Communications, No. XVII. 1878. 8*s*.

Report XXXVI (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1873—76, and Reports XXXIV, XXXV); Communications, No. XVIII. 1879. 3*s*.

*** Communications, Nos. XV—XVIII, with a title-page, contents, and index, form Vol. III of the Society's *Cambridge Antiquarian Communications*. 1879. 15*s*.

Reports XXXVII—XL (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1876—80); Communications, Nos. XIX—XXII. Four numbers. 1878—1881. 3*s*. and 4*s*. each.

*** Communications, Nos. XIX—XXII, with a title-page, contents and index, form Vol. IV of the Society's *Cambridge Antiquarian Communications*. 1881. 14*s*.

Report XLI (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1880—81); Communications, No. XXIII. 1883. 12*s*.

Report XLII (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1881—82); Communications, No. XXIV. 1884. 8*s*. 6*d*. (*With a Supplement in folio.*)

Report XLIII (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1882—83); Communications, No. XXV. 1884. 7*s*. 6*d*.

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Report XLV (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1884—85); Communications, No. XXVII. 1887. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Report XLVI (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1885—86); Communications, No. XXVIII. *With 2 plates*. 1887. 5*s*.

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V. The Diary of Edward Rud; to which are added several letters of Dr. Bentley. Ed. by H. R. Luard, M.A. 1860. *2s. 6d.*

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XV. An annotated List of Books printed on vellum to be found in the University and College Libraries at Cambridge; with an appendix on the bibliography of Cambridge libraries. By S. Sandars, M.A. 1878. *2s.*

XVI. A Supplement to the History of the Parish of Bottisham and the Priory of Anglesey. By Edw. Hailstone, Jun. 1878. *1s.*

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XXII. Suggestions addressed to King Henry VIII. for a Coinage for Ireland and the other islands belonging to England. By NICHOLAS TYERY. Edited by G. O. WHITE-COOPER, M.A., M.B. 1886. 10*s.*

XXIII. The Diary of Alderman S. NEWTON (1662—1717). Edited by J. E. FOSTER, M.A. *Nearly ready.*

XXIV. Mr Essex's Journal of a Tour through part of Flanders and France made in August 1773. Edited by W. M. FAWCETT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. *Ready.*

History of Swaffham Bulbeck. By EDWARD HAILSTONE, Jun. *In the Press.*

OCCASIONAL PUBLICATIONS.

Catalogue of Coins, Roman and English series, in the Museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. 1847. 8vo. 2*s.*

On the Cover of the Sarcophagus of Rameses III., now in the Fitzwilliam Museum. By SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq., LL.D. 1875. 4to.

*** This paper has also been printed in the Society's *Communications*, Vol. III, No. XXXV.

List of the Members of the Society, May 26, 1879. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 24, 1880. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 30, 1881. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 22, 1882. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 7, 1883. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 26, 1884. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 18, 1885. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 24, 1886. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 23, 1887. 8vo.

NOTE.—The Secretary of the Society is the Rev. S. S. LEWIS, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; to whom all communications relating to the Society may be addressed.

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REPORT AND COMMUNICATIO

REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Soc

AT ITS FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEET

MAY 24, 1887,

WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY
1885—1887.

AND

Communications

MADE TO THE SOCIETY.

No. XXIX.

BEING No. 5 OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

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REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 24, 1887.

WITH APPENDIX.

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LONDON: G. BELL AND SONS.
1890.

Cambridge:

PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. AND SONS,

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

REPORT.

In presenting the 47th Annual Report of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, the Council beg leave to congratulate the Society upon the growing interest felt in archaeology, as evinced by the larger attendance at our meetings, as well as by the satisfactory way in which vacancies upon our list are filled up by fresh names. During the year past we have lost only three members by death, but 17 have left us from change of residence or other causes; while 21 new names have been added by election to our roll, which now numbers 334 members.

Upon the occasion of our visit to St Albans on the 2nd of last June, the Society was kindly received and conducted to the Roman earthworks, the Abbey, and other points of interest, by Lord Verulam, the Archdeacon of St Albans, and the Rev. Dr J. Griffith; similar kind attention was paid by the Rev. H. L. Elliot, vicar of Gosfield, when the Society visited Little Maplestead and Castle Hedingham on the 2nd of August, 1886.

Seven General Meetings have been held, at which eighteen Communications have been made to the Society, and the Curator, Baron Anatole von Hügel, has described and commented upon the most notable additions that have been made to the Museum of General and Local Archaeology.

Mr J. Sturton having offered to the Society the only portion remaining of the ancient Priory of Barnwell, with the ground

immediately surrounding it, the Society undertook to collect sufficient funds to place the building in substantial repair and to fence it. There is reason to believe that a sum sufficient for the purpose will be obtained. The protection afforded by the old door having been found insufficient a new door has been provided at the cost of the Society. The Society desire to place on record their sense of the public spirit and liberality shewn by Mr Sturton.

No. XXVI. (being no. 4 of the 5th volume, 1883—84), and no. XXVII. (being no. 1 of the 6th volume), of our Reports and Communications (1884—85), and Nicholas Tyery's *Proposals to Henry VIII. for an Irish Coinage*, have been issued to our Members; the following are in the press, and will be brought out, it is hoped, before the end of the current year:

No. XXVIII. (1885—86), Reports and Communications.

The Diary of Alderman S. Newton (1662—1717), edited by J. E. Foster, M.A.

History of Swaffham Bulbeck, by Edward Hailstone, Esq.

Mr Essex's Journal of a Tour through part of Flanders and France in August, 1773, edited by W. M. Fawcett, M.A.

Mr W. Rye is engaged on a short Calendar of the *Pedes Finium* for Cambridgeshire, which will be issued probably early next year.

The following Societies have been placed on our list for the exchange of publications:

The Architectural Archaeological and Historic Society of Chester. [November 2, 1886.]

The Clifton Antiquarian Club. [November 2, 1886.]

The Bureau of Education, Washington, U.S.A. [March 7, 1887.]

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I. AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 23, 1887.

October 25, 1886. The President (the Rev. G. F. Browne. B.D.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

A. A. Cooper, M.A., Corpus Christi College.
Lieut.-Colonel T. Dayrell, 1 St Paul's Road.
G. B. Finch, M.A., Queens' College.
Major E. H. de Fréville, Hinxton Hall.
M. R. James, B.A., King's College.
H. C. B. Lawrence, Esq., Perse School.
F. H. Neville, M.A., Sidney Sussex College.
Rev. H. C. A. Tayler, M.A., Orwell Rectory.

Thanks were voted to the Rev. W. G. Searle, M.A., for the present of a Roman Tile from the south transept of St Alban's Abbey,—given on the occasion of the Society's visit in June of this year; and to Mr J. H. Bloom for five panes of stained glass, excavated in 1854 at Castle Acre Priory.

A Communication was read from the Rev. C. W. KING, M.A., upon a tablet lately presented to Trinity College Library bearing the following inscription:

M • VERRIO
M • F • FAL • FLACCO
CELSVS FRATER

(See *Communications*, Vol. VI. No. X.)

Professor E. C. CLARK remarked on the position of the name of the tribe before the *cognomen* Flacco, referring to a similar instance in the case of an inscription now in the possession of the Earl of Powis. He also mentioned the existence of a probably forged inscription relating to the same person, in which he was represented as belonging to the *tribus Palatina*, instead of Falerina. The error of the forger he considered to

arise from the story of Flaccus's migration to the Palatine, as reported by Suetonius. He added that Flaccus was the author of the book *De Verborum Significatione* attributed to Festus.

Professor J. F. HODGETTS gave a lecture on the Smith and the Wright in Anglo-Saxon times.

November 8, 1886. The President (the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

H. Chaplin, Esq., Jesus College.
Dr J. Venn, Gonville and Caius College.

The PRESIDENT exhibited and described reproductions, printed on white and coloured silks from blocks made this year, of the urn or island with fish, ducks, &c., and of the knight with hawk and hound, &c., from the later vestments of St Cuthbert's body, made about 1100 A.D. and buried with the body in Durham Cathedral.

Mr Raine, of Durham, published in 1828 an account of the opening of St Cuthbert's tomb in 1827, with drawings of the ornaments on the remains of vestments found on the body. Mr Browne found that Mr T. Wardle, of Leek, had reproduced a pattern he had found at Dantzig, consisting of a boat rowed by an eagle, a dog breaking its chain, and three swans, on a vestment brought in early times from Sicily, and he suggested to Mr Wardle that he should reproduce the St Cuthbert ornaments. Mr Wardle at once consented, and had the beautiful blocks made from which the silks exhibited were printed. One of the blocks is in flat copper wire, set on edge, the other is in wood on account of the numerous and rapid breakings-back of the lines, which render the pattern not suited for reproduction by means of wire. In the year 1104 A.D., Reginald, a monk of Durham, describes three robes in which the body of St Cuthbert was clothed, says they were taken off, and describes the three robes by which they were replaced in his time. These last, he says, were of a similar nature to those which were taken off, but of greater elegance. The occasion of the re-clothing was the translation of St Cuthbert's body to the tomb prepared for it in the magnificent new Cathedral of Durham. From 999 A.D., to 1093, it had lain in the Anglian Cathedral of Durham; and from 1093 to 1104 it lay in the temporary tomb prepared for it when they began to pull down the Anglian Cathedral to make way for the present Norman Church. Reginald says that the robe put nearest the body in 1104 was "of silk, thin, and of most delicate texture"; the next he describes as "costly, of incomparable purple cloth"; the third, or outermost, was "of the finest linen." When the tomb was opened in 1827, they found first the linen robe, and then portions of the two silk robes. One of these robes was found to be of thinnish silk; the ground-colour amber; the ornamental parts literally covered with leaf-

gold; the fringe was a braid of the same colour stitched on with a needle. This is the robe from which the knight with hawk and hound, the rabbits, &c., &c., are copied. Another was a robe of thick soft silk; the colours had been brilliant beyond measure. It is the urn or island pattern. The ground within the circle is red; the urn or flower-basket, the ducks, and the sea, are red, yellow, and purple; the porpoises are yellow and red; the fruit and foliage yellow with red stalks; the pattern round the border of the robe is red. These two correspond to the description by Reginald of the two robes placed next the body. The translation of the body having been contemplated for so many years, there was plenty of time for having special robes made. It is very tempting to believe that the urn represents the Farne Island, blossoming with Christian virtues and bearing abundance of Christian fruit; the fish and the water-birds, St Cuthbert's porpoises and eider-ducks; the knight with hawk and hound, the great secular position of the Bishop of Durham; and so on. The robes, however, are said to be of Eastern origin. If they were not made with special reference to St Cuthbert, it may fairly be said that they were selected on account of their undesigned reference to him.

It is well known that earlier robes than these were found on St Cuthbert's body in 1827, notably a stole, beautifully wrought and ornamented, bearing a Latin statement that Ælfflæd caused it to be made for the pious Bishop Frithestan. This dates the stole to 905—915 A.D.

The whole of these precious relics are in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Durham. They are among the objects which render the Chapter Library one of the most deeply interesting places that the student of early Christian times in England can visit.

Prof. J. H. MIDDLETON made the following remarks with reference to the silks exhibited by the President.

At the time when the Normans conquered Northern Sicily, towards the end of the 11th century, a very flourishing school of Arab silk-weavers had been established there for more than a century. The Norman Kings, who highly appreciated the beauty of these silken stuffs, granted special privileges to the Arab weavers, so that they continued to work their silk-looms under the rule of the Christian conquerors; thus from the 11th to the 14th century, Palermo continued to be the chief centre for the production of woven silk. During the greater part of that time silk-weaving was not practised in any northern country, and to a very unimportant extent in Italy itself. Thus we find that the products of these Sicilian looms were exported widely throughout Europe, especially for ecclesiastical vestments, frontals, and dossals.

The Sacristy of St Mary's Church, at Dantzig, possesses a very large collection of these beautiful stuffs, mostly in the form of copes and chasubles; the Sacristies of St Peter's and the Vatican Chapels, with many other

Cathedral and Monastic collections in Italy, France, and Germany, are very rich in examples of these fabrics, employed for various ecclesiastical purposes. The Sacristy of Palermo Cathedral contains many fine specimens of these silks and among them a chasuble made in the same loom as one of the stuffs from St Cuthbert's grave—namely that with the horseman and the sham Arabic borders.

The stuffs woven by the Siculo-Arab craftsmen may be divided into two classes:

I. The product of the looms before the Norman Conquest, c. 1080—90 and these again may be divided into two classes of design:

(*a*) Purely Oriental motives, mostly of Persian origin, such as the warrior on horseback with a hawk on his wrist, attended by a hound; a motive which survived on the enamelled wall-tiles of Persia down to quite modern times[1]. Together with these figure subjects, geometrical forms of ornament occur, among which the "pointed heart" form is conspicuous, and also borders formed of real, or more commonly sham, Arabic writing, treated in a decorative way.

(*b*) The second division of this early class of textiles shows strong classical influence, and in many cases the design has obviously been suggested by a late Roman mosaic.

The two chief pieces of silk which were used in 1104 to enfold the uncorrupted body of St Cuthbert, are most valuable examples of these two divisions of the first class. One has the horseman, and the border with sham Arabic letters. The other, which Raine, in his interesting work on the exhumation of St Cuthbert, took to be a representation of Farne island with its rabbits and eider-ducks, belongs to the semi-classical style of pattern. The internal evidence of these two pieces of silk would show them to date from about the middle of the 11th century or a little later, so that the stuff was probably of recent manufacture at the time of St Cuthbert's translation. The founding of more than one Benedictine monastery in Northern Sicily at the end of the 11th century possibly explains the manner in which these Siculo-Arab stuffs came into the hands of the Benedictines at Durham.

II. The second period of silk-weaving in Palermo is the time when the Arab workmen were labouring for their Norman conquerors. The designs of this period are of almost endless variety, full of the most graceful fancy and invention, arranged with perfect skill to suit the necessities of the loom, and in short the very flower and crown of art as applied to weaving. We see fairy-like castles, fountains, islands, ships, and forests, mingled with living forms in amazing variety—angel-like figures float in the air,

[1] The Persians do not belong to one of the four orthodox Sunni sects, but are Shiahs, who have always been less rigid in their exclusion of representations of living objects.

half women with long floating hair lean down from palm-trees, or emerge from shells among the woods with nets in their hands. Boats sail over a rippled sea, bearing eagles, ducks, dogs, lions, and other animals, which guide the rudder or hold the sheet. In the later stuffs, woven in the 13th and 14th centuries, a favourite design is the sun, with long rays of light half hidden behind a cloud.

In the 14th century the chief centre of silk-weaving was transferred from Palermo to Lucca, Florence, Genoa, and Venice, where the designs were much modified, and though still of very great beauty, the rich fanciful invention of the Moslem weavers was to a great extent lost. Forms of animal and human life were but little used, and the patterns of Northern Italy consisted almost wholly of floral forms without the "fairy-tale" suggestions of the Sicilian weavers.

It should perhaps be noted that the usual story about the founding of the Palermo school of weaving is incorrect. The commonly received version is that Roger the Norman, in the 12th century, during a raid upon Corinth and other Greek cities, took as prisoners a number of Arab weavers, whom he carried off and established at Palermo. Existing documents in the Archiepiscopal library at Monreale, and the evidence of many pieces of silk, shew clearly that the Moslem weavers had been established at Palermo long before the Norman conquest.

That the silks which enwrapped St Cuthbert's body were of Oriental and not of English workmanship is shewn not only by the clear internal evidence of the patterns and the fact that silk-weaving was not introduced into England till long after[1], but also by a curious detail in its technique. English gold thread was made of a wire or ribbon of the metal, either pure gold or silver gilt; but the gold thread used in St Cuthbert's silks is made by thickly gilding fine vellum, which was then cut into narrow strips and closely wound round a thread of silk or flax, which was almost if not quite concealed by the gilt strip. In effect this method was even more splendid than that produced by the fine metal wire or ribbon.

These stuffs are of such very exceptional interest, both from their intrinsic value and from their strange historical associations, that we owe, I think, a special debt of gratitude to the President for having brought these printed reproductions before us. I may add that the South Kensington Museum now possesses a very fine collection of specimens of these silken fabrics.

Mr J. R. Clouting, of Thetford, exhibited a skull, which had been dug up at the depth of 18 in. on the site of an ancient burying-ground, about

[1] Silk for needlework was used in England at this time (1104) and much earlier, as for example in the Stole of Fridestan c. 900 A.D., but was not woven here till the 14th or 15th century.

a mile from Thetford, on the Newmarket Road. He called attention to the following peculiarity.

On the left side of the vertex, about one inch from the middle line and one inch from the fronto-parietal suture, was a wound, whose direction was obliquely from without inwards; the length of the incision was $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches, and its depth the whole thickness of the bone; there was a circular opening through the inner table into the cavity of the skull, diameter $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch.

He also exhibited a celt, one of a large number of flint implements picked up around Thetford, which happened to be found within about 150 yards of the place where the skull was dug up by a man whilst trenching his allotment. Mr Clouting did not seek to connect the celt and skull-wound, as cause and effect; but he pointed out one circumstance, namely, that both the portion of bone displaced by the injury, as indicated by the lines of the anterior and posterior margins of the incision, and the measurement of the width of the cutting edge of the celt, happened to be exactly $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches each. The edges of the wound in the skull had undergone a considerable amount of repair, proving that its owner must have lived a considerable time after the injury, twelve months at least, but probably many years.

There were no coins found near the skull, so that the date of interment is entirely an open question.

Mr J. W. Clark suggested that, as there was no displacement of the inner table of the bone and no irregularity of surface thereof, it was probable that the wound was caused while the owner of the skull was quite a youth, and that he not only lived twelve months but a considerable number of years after the injury, the skull being, from the condition of almost total obliteration of the sutures, that of an elderly person.

No definite opinion was arrived at as to the composition of the weapon which inflicted the wound.

Baron A. von Hügel exhibited and described, as follows, various objects recently added to the Museum:

1. A *Roman bronze lamp*, with chain attached (purchased). This beautiful lamp was found some twenty years ago in Coffin Chase meadow, near Biggleswade. It is remarkably well preserved. A human mask forms a hinged lid to the largest orifice of the lamp; a bird (? pelican or swan) is nicely worked in relief on either side of its upper half, and a delicate pattern surrounds its widest circumference. Mr King, who had kindly lent a lithograph of the lamp drawn soon after its discovery, suggested that the unusual weight of this lamp indicated that it was cast in this country.

2. A *leaf-shaped bronze sword* (purchased). This sword is said to have been found in the river at Ely. The tongue to which the hilt was rivetted had been recently mutilated.

3. A *Saxon bronze-gilt disc* (purchased). Found by Mr J. Wilkinson, in a tumulus, Upper Hare Park, Swaffham. The whole surface is covered with very beautiful tracery, and there are five garnets on it, set into circles of white shell. These are backed with ribbed foil, which is nearly as fresh as on the day it was made.

4. A *small Anglo-Saxon ivory plaque*, elaborately carved, Elmham, Norfolk. Presented by the Rev. R. Kerrich to the Society. Though one of the older treasures of the Antiquarian Society's collection, it was mislaid for some time and has only recently found its way into the Museum.

5. Five *bronze figures from crucifixes*. One, which shews traces of gilding, dates from the XIth century, and has been kindly deposited in the Museum by Mr R. T. Martin, of Anstey Pastures, Leicester. Another figure is of the XIIIth century, and was bought with some old keys in a London curiosity shop. This is the most recent of the five. The remaining three figures, all of local origin, have long been in the Society's collection. They have now been placed side by side on a board to illustrate the gradual change which crucifix figures underwent in those two centuries.

6. An *implement of stag's horn*, Burwell Fen. Presented by Mr J. Carter. The lower portion of a large antler has been neatly perforated (? to admit of a handle, thong, or celt), the top is cut and ground into a chisel-like wedge. Baron von Hügel had been struck by finding in the Blackmore Museum a somewhat similar tool, made of bone, and still used in Cornwall, for barking oak trees.

7. Two *bronze plaques* from Peru (Hügel Loan Collection). The larger one is covered with elaborate and deeply incised work. In the centre stands a human figure with uplifted arms, its body filled with spirals, &c. On either side above is a lizard-like animal with prominent ears and muzzle; below are two other creatures of which the design has, however, been already so much conventionalized as to render it difficult to see the animal in them. This plaque was no doubt, as is the case with ancient Mexican work, covered with pigment and studded with stones. The smaller specimen represents three human figures (two reversed). It appears to be of more ancient date than the larger one. The British Museum does not possess anything like these bronzes, and it was hard to know with what to compare them.

8. A *New Zealand weapon* (*patu-patu*) (Hügel Loan Collection). A particularly fine specimen of Maori carving. Owing to much of old Maori woodwork having been touched up by the natives with European tools, specimens of genuine "shell-carving" are very scarce.

9. A *mask* from *New Ireland*. The helmet-like form of the head is strikingly like the classic-shaped feather helmets of the Hawaians. (This New Ireland mask was exhibited in conjunction with the *patu-patu* and three

Maori sacred images, recently transferred to the Museum of Archæology from the Fitzwilliam Museum, to shew that the form of the Hawaian helmet is still discernible in New Zealand carving.)

On the ivory carving the PRESIDENT remarked:—This Anglo-Saxon plaque of ivory, found at Elmham about 1847, has a representation of Our Lord, in a vesica, with a figure standing on a horizontal bar on each side, one with a book, the other with a key. The vesica is supported by a stem with a cross piece; and two angels, floating horizontally in the air, hold the cross pieces. Below are eight figures, two of which may represent two persons each. Above the figures on either side of the vesica are inscribed SCA MARIA, SCS PETRUS. In three cases on the Sandbach crosses there is a figure on each side of Our Lord, the figure on the observer's right holding something like a large pair of scissors; the Elmham ivory is a further argument in favour of these three curious instruments representing keys. On the upper half of the vesica is inscribed *O vos omnes videte manus et pedes.* If two of the eight figures below represent two persons each, the Eleven and the Virgin are shewn. The arrangement of the vesica supported on a stem, instead of being supported by angels grasping the border of the vesica as in Christian examples (font at Kirkburn, tympanum at Prestbury and Ely, slab at Wirksworth, and so on), and in classical examples (Latin medals, sarcophagi, &c.), explains an early sculptured stone on the island of Lindisfarne, which has hitherto puzzled archæologists, where there is a stem below the vesica and a stem above, and two figures stand on horizontal bars, with their heads in contact with cross pieces proceeding from the upper stem, while two figures sit below on low chairs holding curved supports proceeding from the vesica. It is an interesting coincidence that the stone on Lindisfarne has a 'Celtic' rectangular fret, and the lower half of the border of the Elmham vesica shews remains of a like pattern on the observer's right. The attitude of the Elmham angels is strikingly like the Anglo-Saxon angels in the wall at Bradford-on-Avon.

Professor J. H. MIDDLETON observed:—The five bronze figures of the crucified Christ, which the curator exhibits to-night, form a series of special value from the way in which they illustrate the development of the mediæval treatment of the subject.

The earliest representations of Christ on the Cross have no suggestion of human pain or death, but exhibit a Divine Being untouched by suffering. The figure wears a crown of glory, the head is erect, the eyes open, and the arms are extended at right angles to the body, so that there is no appearance of hanging from the nailed hands. The feet are separate, and fastened with two nails, and the drapery is more ample than in later times. The first of these little bronze figures is a rather rare example of this early treatment.

The *technique* is as follows:—The figure is formed by hammering a bronze plate on an elastic bed, till the form was roughly given from behind it: it was then finished with the file and graver applied to the front. The workman has cracked the plate during the hammering process, and has had to apply a little copper patch, which he has carefully braized on. The eyes, one of which remains, were formed of beads of translucent glass, set open. The drapery was decorated with champlevé enamel, which is now lost, and the rest was gilt. This probably dates as early as the 10th or early part of the 11th century.

The second figure in technique and design is very similar to the first, but appears to be of rather later date, as the head has lost the erect position which is characteristic of the earliest crucifixes. A small portion of green enamel still remains in the drapery. Both this and figure No. 1 have no clothing above the waist, but long drapery supported by a belt hangs down to the knees.

No. 3, probably of the 12th century, shews a completely different treatment of the subject. The figure is represented with some realism and dramatic force as a suffering human being. The wound in the side, omitted in Nos. 1 and 2, is here represented, but the head is still crowned with the gold diadem, shewing the transition from one class of ideas to the other.

No. 4 also seems to belong to the 12th century. It is treated with exaggerated realism, the pose suggesting a tortured, writhing body. The head is bare, but once, no doubt, had the crown of thorns fastened on it, probably made of twisted wire.

No. 5 is a well-modelled figure of the second half of the 13th century, with graceful pose and a very noble type of head, which, like No. 4, seems once to have had a crown of thorns made separately. These last three figures were skilfully cast by the *cire perdue* process, and needed very little tooling. They were once gilt. All these figures were (I believe) found in England, and may possibly be of English workmanship.

The PRESIDENT described a figure from a crucifix found at Ceres, in Fife, clad in a long-sleeved tunic reaching from the shoulders to the feet, all parts of the dress being ornamented with blue and green champlevé enamel; and he shewed a little half-length figure from the Society's collection, found at Fulbourn in 1848, and presented by Mr Townley, where the ornamental lines of blue and red champlevé enamel are still perfect. He pointed out that the upper part of the figure recently acquired by the Museum is clad in a tight-fitting dress, the rows of studs down the front being visible, and the belt being of such a form as to indicate the presence of an upper part to the garment. In neither of the figures does the dress reach below the knees. Figures of our Lord, in the attitude of crucifixion, with a long-sleeved tunic reaching to the feet, are rare; he had found one cut on a pillar at the ancient little church of Duddingston, near Edinburgh.

The length of the tunic is not an infallible sign of date, some figures with little more than a cincture being comparatively early.

November 22, 1886. The President (the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.) in the chair.

The PRESIDENT laid on the table a copy of the *Report and Communications* for 1883-84 (No. XXVI.).

He also informed the Society that certain notes of the Episcopal Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Ely in 1685, which Mr Bradshaw brought before the Society in 1875 (*Communications*, Vol. III. No. XXXIII.), were now in the British Museum, with the exception of one sheet, which was lost.

Mr JENKINSON exhibited a volume containing *Expositio hymnorum* and *Expositio sequentiarum*, both printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1502. The book, which belongs to the Church-library at Nantwich, was seen there in the summer of this year by Mr J. E. Foster; and the Rector very kindly lent it to him to examine at his leisure. No other copy of either book is known to exist.

Mr C. E. KEYSER read an account of the frescoes in St Margaret's Church, Chippenham. (See *Communications*, Vol. VI. No. XI.)

Photographs were exhibited, but the frescoes are so much perished that few details can be seen in the photographs.

The PRESIDENT shewed a full-sized drawing of the martyrdom of St Erasmus, under Diocletian, which he had traced from the fresco at Chippenham; also a charcoal drawing of the alabaster group found at Buckenham, with the same subject, enlarged by Mr H. Chapman to the same size as the figures at Chippenham, and a tracing of the fresco at Cirencester. At Cirencester, St Erasmus in his full robes stands above the group represented as torturing his naked body, much in the same position as that occupied at Chippenham by the half length figure of the Saint being carried up in a sort of hammock by angels. St Erasmus is said to have been martyred at Formiæ; the See was transferred to Cajeta in the 9th century, with his relics.

Mr M. RULE read some notes on the ancient church at Deerhurst, arguing that William of Malmesbury's phrase (*Gesta Pont.* II. 76, Rolls edition p. 169) *nunc antiquitatis inane simulacrum*, taken with Leland's statement "the French order was an erection sins the Conquest, the old priory stood est from Severn a bow shot," shews that the present church stands apart from the site of the old priory, is of post-Conquest date, perhaps as late as 1100, and was thought by William of Malmesbury, in whose time it was, even if it was built about the time of the Conquest, only

50 or 60 years old, to be a mere counterfeit of an ancient style. This interpretation of *inane simulacrum antiquitatis* will explain the curious mixture of details which has puzzled archæologists, windows too large for genuine Saxon, herring-bone in the walls but no long-and-short work in the angles, a baluster and imposts copied from debased Roman and an arch copied from rudimentary Norman, side by side with work which might otherwise be taken as genuine Saxon.

The PRESIDENT remarked that this was exactly the impression made upon him by his first sight of this remarkable church. He shewed an outlined rubbing of the font and of a fragment of a square stone support at Elmstone Hardwick, 5 or 6 miles on the Cheltenham side of Deerhurst. These are covered with spirals of the C pattern, very carefully and elaborately drawn, and they are quite unlike any other sculptured stones in England. The font has above and below the panels of spirals a very graceful scroll, probably of a later pattern than those on the Ruthwell Cross, the Drosten stone at St Vigeans, and other very early examples. He thought that the theory of a reproduction after the Conquest of early patterns and details, with more zeal than knowledge, met more of the difficulties peculiar to Deerhurst than any other theory. But he could not give up the "Celtic" character of the spiral work on the font, and he could not conceive where the supposed copier could have found his original in the 12th century.

Professor MIDDLETON thought that there was distinct structural evidence in Deerhurst Church sufficient to contradict Mr Martin Rule's suggestion that the building is of date subsequent to the Norman Conquest. First, in the plan of the Church, which belongs to an earlier type than such late Saxon buildings as that at Worth in Sussex. The fact that there was no wide archway between the nave and the two transepts, but merely doorways as at Bradford-on-Avon, tends to prove an early date. Secondly the evidence as to the existence of an Atrium west of the tower, which has an archway in each of its four walls, arranged specially to fit this Atrium or cloistered court; and a small western Baptistery which communicated with the tower by a wide archway, further tends to shew that this is a genuine example of early Saxon architecture. Lastly the very primitive character of the details, with a clear survival of Roman methods of construction, gives a further proof of the early date of the work. It is quite inconsistent with what we know of the habits of mediæval builders to suppose that they could in the 11th century have designed and carried out an elaborate forgery of older work, both in general plan and in ornamental detail.

The PRESIDENT read a communication from Mr S. H. Miller, of Belle Vue Park, Lowestoft, on alleged idolatry in the Fens. No attempt to trace the tradition to any source had hitherto succeeded; and last year Mr

Miller undertook to investigate the matter. The result seemed to shew that the tradition does not point to any supposed survival of "Idolatry" in the Fens, but merely to stories about one man long since deceased.

"Some of the old labourers living in Upwell remember that between sixty and seventy years ago a stranger came and found work at Neatmoor Farm; his name I have not ascertained, but he is said to have married an Upwell young woman, whose name was Greaves. After they had been fixed in a home, the man appears to have introduced 'images' of some kind, which according to rumour, he worshipped; the young people working in the fields would jokingly ask him about these objects, which they sometimes called wooden dolls. In some moods he showed irritation and would sometimes meet the interrogation by saying—'If you come to my house, you shall see what images I worship.' Whether the images were simple ornaments or objects of devotion, it is certain that they gave rise to a certain amount of raillery among the fen-people, and the young field-hands would say tauntingly, 'Go and worship the wooden dolls'; just as they say in East Norfolk 'Go to Bungay,' &c. But I cannot learn that any one now living has ever witnessed any act of worship before those images. The man left Neatmoor Farm (then occupied by Mr J. Nix) and went to live in a cottage standing two fields from Welney Bank, in a part then called Read's Fen, and so marked on Wells's map of the Bedford Level. The fen-men were not allured by what they themselves called idolatry, and as the man had no family, his practices died with him; the cottage in which he is last known to have lived has been demolished."

February 7, 1887. The President (the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.), in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

The Rev. the Master of Trinity College, D.D.
L. Falkener, Esq., King's College.
W. C. Hall, Esq., Elmhurst.

Mr J. W. Clark exhibited the greater portion of a human skeleton found at Burwell, and made the following remarks upon it:

"The skeleton before us was found in August 1886 at Burwell, in the same locality as the skull and bones, which I exhibited on March 3, 1884, and which Professor Macalister and Professor Humphry thought should be referred to an individual of the Anglo-Saxon race. My friend Mr Flatman, proprietor of the clunch-pits there, having learnt that his men had come on the traces of more than one skeleton, was so good as to desire them to suspend operations, until he and I could go over together, and superintend the exhumation. At the place where these skeletons were found, the clunch comes very near to the surface, with not more than a foot or so of

earth above it. It was therefore easy to cut graves in it, which we may conjecture was done in order to provide a more decent burial for the departed than to thrust their bodies into loose earth. The workmen had found three skeletons side by side; the one before you, which by its size had evidently belonged to a man, a much smaller one, presumably that of a woman, and one of a little child. The bones of the man indicate a person of tall stature, and those who dug the grave had evidently miscalculated his height, for the toes were thrust into the clunch. The two other skeletons were too much decayed to be exhumed. The graves lay east and west. In the left hand of the male skeleton was the piece of iron which I exhibit, evidently part of a knife. The female skeleton had also some fragments of iron in the left hand. From this conjunction of a pagan custom with the position of the bodies east and west, may we venture to conjecture that the persons buried were Christians, at least in name, but that they adhered to the traditions of their pagan forefathers so far, that they observed the custom of burying with their dead some implement which might be useful to them in a future state? A small iron *fibula* was also found with the skeleton."

Mr W. M. Fawcett exhibited some portions of a cinerary urn which had been found at Nayland in Suffolk in the latter part of November, 1886, and a photograph also of it as it had been found. The urn is now in the Museum at Colchester.

It is somewhat remarkable for the peculiar pattern-work on it, which seems to have been made by the point of a wooden tool as the plastic clay revolved. Some remains of charred bones were found in the urn.

Mr Fawcett presented the photograph to the Society's collection, but the portions of the urn he had promised to send to Colchester, in order to make the urn as complete as possible.

The President shewed outlined rubbings of the portion of a shaft of a Cross in the church-yard at Heysham. On one side is the representation of the front of a building with gable-roof, and apparently three tall crosses rising from the eaves and apex. There is no other representation of a building on any known sculptured stone in England. There are three windows in the upper part, of Romanesque form, each with the head and neck of a man or woman. On each side of the tall round-headed doorway are two openings, one above the other, shaped like the windows; Mr Browne believed he could detect the symbols of the Evangelists in these. The door-way is occupied by a figure swathed in what may be grave-clothes, the whole greatly resembling the Raising of Lazarus at Ravenna. The graves cut in the solid rock at Heysham are well known. Mr Browne detected the presence of interlacing work covering the smoothed edge of the rock next the sea, and exhibited a portion of the pattern traced out. On one side of the shaft at Halton is a panel with a smith at work, seated on a

chair, hammering a pair of pincers. Below him is the bust of a man head downwards; above him is a headless man, the head lying at his feet, and a ring interlacing with a figure-of-eight taking the place of the head on his shoulders; a sword, another pair of pincers, another hammer, an anvil, two bellows, and perhaps a representation of flames, complete the scene. Mr Browne suggested that these details suit the saga of Völund (Weyland Smith); the seated position because Völund was hamstrung ("he sat and never slept, and his hammer plied"); the ring and figure-of-eight and the two slaughtered men, because Völund tempted the king's two sons to come within his reach by shewing them a ring and necklaces, when he cut their heads off and hid the bodies under the prison-midden. Others of the Halton panels present curious problems. On the end of one arm of the magnificent fragment of the head of a cross at Winwick there is a naked man, held feet upwards by two men with a saw. On the other end is a man in a long smock-frock or vestment, carrying what look like two buckets; in one corner is a crown, or a building with an orifice in the side, and on either side of the man is a cross; below each bucket is a triquetra. Winwick was the home of king Oswald, and it and Oswestry claim to be the place where Oswald was killed and dismembered by his pagan enemy Penda; after Oswald's death a well sprang up where his body had lain. On the string-course of the church at Winwick (St Oswald's) is an inscription, renewed early in the 16th century, of which the first line is

Hic locus, Oswalde, quondam placuit tibi valde.

Mr Browne suggested that the one scene was the dismemberment of the king, the other, water being carried from his well (the building in the corner) to the village three-quarters of a mile off, a cross being shewn at each quarter of a mile between the two. In his book on Church Bells, Mr Ellacombe has suggested that the "buckets" are hand-bells, such as early saints carried with them; that in the right hand is more like this than the one in the left, which looks as if it were wrapped round with hay-bands or formed of flat wooden hoops.

March 7, 1887. The President (the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.), in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

J. M. Dodds, M.A., Peterhouse.
W. W. Green, Esq., The Elms, Manea.
C. W. Kimmins, B.A., Downing College.

Professor W. W. Skeat exhibited (on behalf of Dr G. Stephens of Copenhagen) and described two strips of vellum, containing a part of Chaucer's Troilus and Cressida. Also a transcript of a seventh-century

leaf of the Lex Wisigothica. (See *Communications*, Vol. VI. Nos. XII, XIII). He also exhibited and described a MS. leaf of a French metrical version of Guy of Warwick.

Mr KIMMINS made the following remarks upon a collection of skulls which he exhibited:

The village of Hauxton is situated about 4 miles south-west of Cambridge. On the left-hand side of the road, at the approach to Hauxton Mill, an ancient burial-ground has been brought to light in digging for coprolites; the direction of excavation is from west to east, the cutting so exposed running from north to south. At intervals varying from 3 to 20 yards there are seen sections of burial-trenches filled with humus; the depth of those below the surface ranges from 5 to 8 feet, often reaching to the surface of the chalk marl; the breadth varies from 3 to 10 feet. The smaller trenches generally contain only human remains, and the orientation is more definite than in the larger ones, in some of which bodies are found in all positions. The pottery found is of a common description: there are seven varieties, differing in composition, method of baking, and ornamentation. The burial-urns are exactly similar to those used as cooking utensils, and probably served a double purpose. The amphoræ or drinking vessels are more rarely found, some being of a common description, of which a very perfect specimen has been obtained, and others of a finer quality with delicate markings. The potter's-wheel was evidently used in all cases in the manufacture of the pottery. Thirty-three skulls have been found, a large portion of which are in almost perfect condition. These I have measured, and calculated the breadth, height, alveolar, nasal and orbital indices. Grouping these results by the aid of craniometric tables, the skulls may be classified as follows:

From indices of breadth	19 Dolichocephalic
	9 Mesaticephalic
	3 Brachycephalic
From alveolar indices	13 Orthognathous
	3 Mesognathous
	2 Prognathous
From nasal indices	14 Leptorhine
	3 Mesorhine
	4 Platyrhine
From orbital indices	8 Microseme
	2 Mesoseme
	8 Megaseme.

Other durable parts of the human skeleton have been obtained, and from the measurement of several femurs the average height appears to be from 5 ft. 10 in. to 6 ft. 2 in. The prominent ridge of the linea aspera on

the femur affords evidence of the great development of the adductor muscles of the thigh. The coins found are those of Postumus, Salonina, Constantine II., Ethelred I., and Alfred the Great. The majority of the skulls and bones found are in the Anatomical Museum, the others, together with a quantity of pottery and a few coins, are in the Museum of the Leys School. It is difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion as to the exact nature of this burial-ground. The large proportion of women, and the absence of warlike instruments, negative the supposition of its being a burial-place on the site of a battle-field. Judging from the inferior nature of the pottery, and the roughly-made trenches, we may conclude that it was not one of the first order, and it is evident from cremation in some cases, definite orientation in others, or, again, total disregard of position in which the bodies were placed, that it was used by people holding different views as to modes of burial.

Professor MIDDLETON exhibited a reliquary which was found, about the year 1847, walled up in an aumbry in a Church in Yorkshire. The figure, which is about 16 inches long, represents the B. V. Mary reclining in a box-shaped bed, giving suck to the Divine Infant. She wears a hood over her head, from which long flowing hair escapes in graceful wavy lines down to her shoulders. It is carved in oak. The drapery of the bed hangs downwards in broadly modelled folds, and the whole workmanship is simple in style, treated with much vigour and sculpturesque breadth. From its style the figure seems to date from the latter half of the 14th century. It is of distinctly English style. In the back of the oaken block a small quadrangular cavity, about $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$, is hollowed to receive the relic, which probably had some relation to the Virgin or the Story of the Nativity. A piece of Christ's manger-cradle, for example, was rather a common relic in Mediæval England. The cavity was closed by a metal plate, fixed with many small iron pins, the stumps of which still remain. Part of the back of the reliquary is worn and polished by the touch of hands, or by the kisses of worshippers. Italian and French examples of figures hollowed to act as reliquaries, especially in ivory, are common enough, but I know no other existing English example.

Professor MIDDLETON commented upon rubbings of two Christian inscriptions dated 575 and 570 of the Spanish Era [=A.D. 537 and A.D. 532

(1) SIMPLICIVS·PRBS·FAMVLVS·DEI·VIXIT·AN·LVIII
REQVIEVIT·IN·PACE·DNI·VIII·KAL·SEPTEMBRES
ERA ðLXXV

(2) FLAVIANA·FAML·DEI
REQVIEVIT·IN·PACE·DNI·DIE·III KAL·MAI
ERA·dLXX

respectively] brought by Dr Gadow last summer from Mertola on the Guadiana and from Alemquer in Estremadura; the latter is now in the possession of Commendador Graciano Franco Monteiro, a land-owner in that neighbourhood. The Spanish Era, which began 38 B.C., was used for lapidary purposes many centuries before the use of dates which counted from the Incarnation or birth of Christ. The characters in these inscriptions belong to a class of letter-forms which occupy very much the same area as is covered by the use of the Spanish era—i.e. the Spanish peninsula and Northern Africa. Especially in Northern Africa what we usually consider late forms occur at a surprisingly early date in lapidary inscriptions. Fully developed uncials occur as early as the 3rd century, and even minuscules, small cursive letters, are found on African inscriptions of the 4th century. A tomb-slab found at Maktêr near Tunis in 1884 (now in the Louvre) is a curious example of this—it has the minuscule form for d and b, while the other letters, though uncials, are very cursive in form. Strange to say in this 4th century inscription the round U occurs as well as ᗰ (M), ᚢ (H) and other apparently much later forms. The whole inscription, though cut in hard marble, strongly suggests pen-writing, as is often the case with lapidary inscriptions, probably because a written copy was given to an ignorant stone-cutter to imitate. In Mr Gadow's rubbings the same tendency towards cursive forms is to be seen, and in one case, that of the ∂ in the year-date, we have the minuscule form. Mingled with these late forms there are some curious archaisms, such as the ⋀ or Λ and Ε, forms used in the oldest Greek and Etruscan inscriptions. Thus we see that in Northern Africa and Spain the process of degradation in letter-forms went on much more rapidly than elsewhere, probably because in those distant provinces there were no revivals such as that in Rome under Pope Damasus I. (366—84), in whose time the lapidary inscriptions were very neatly cut with letters of beautiful form, copied with some modifications from those of the best Roman period. For this reason one must apply quite a different standard in judging of the date of inscriptions from Spain or Africa. Mr Gadow's rubbings are of special interest as an instance of this, and still more of the earliest method of dating used by Christians.

May 9, 1887. The President (the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

Rev. G. Beresford, Gonville and Caius College.
H. Gadow, M.A., King's College.
E. J. Routh, Sc.D., Peterhouse.
Sir T. F. Wade, K.C.B., Litt.D., King's College.

Sir G. DUCKETT, Bart., communicated a deed of agreement for twenty years between the Lord Abbot and Convent of Clugny and the farmers of Offord (Huntingdonshire), dated 1237 A.D., and made some remarks upon it, shewing how the deed bore upon the life of a village community in the thirteenth century, and upon the monetary values of corn and cattle. The original of this deed is preserved in the "Burgundy Collection" of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and appears to supply the first documentary proof of the origin of the distinguishing name Offord *Cluny*.

Professor MACALISTER exhibited a few of a large collection of skulls, recently procured for the Anatomical Museum of the University by E. A. W. Budge, M.A., of Christ's College. The whole collection consists of 108 skulls taken from graves near Asswân, in two series, one from graves of the early periods of the New Empire about B.C. 1300, and a second series from graves of a later date, about the 26th dynasty.

A collection of this kind made under the direct inspection of such a competent scholar as Mr Budge is of importance, as hitherto the subject of Egyptian ethnology has been in an unsettled state. From time to time writers have supposed the Egyptians to be related to Indo-European, Semitic and African, and even to Australioid stocks; and hence such a fine collection of skulls which are mostly males, and mostly belonging to persons of the priestly class, is of the first importance. Professor Macalister hopes to be able to lay before the Society a detailed account of his results, as soon as he has had time to measure them fully.

Dr G. CUNNINGHAM made the following observations upon a point which Professor Macalister had raised respecting the *teeth* of these early Egyptian skulls. "The remarks of Professor Macalister on the stunted nature of the third molar or so-called *wisdom-tooth* are most interesting, and I can certainly confirm his statement as to the lack of development of that tooth in civilized life.

"If, as he says (and I think rightly), the diminution in size and form is indicative of the functional disuse of the teeth and jaws owing to the civilized condition of the Egyptian *cuisine* of those distant times, and if the present descendants of that ancient race have retained a cuisine calling for little use of teeth and jaws, the present condition of the third molar in the mouth of the modern Egyptian may perhaps throw some light on the rate at which that tooth is disappearing from the mouth of the civilized man of our own time.

"The rudimentary character of the third molar has been much discussed both in this country and in America, and an examination of these skulls may give a new aspect to the discussion of that interesting subject."

Mr E. A. W. BUDGE exhibited some Egyptian antiquities of great rarity, which he had acquired for the Fitzwilliam Museum.

May 23, 1887. Annual General Meeting. The President (the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

H. H. Daniels, B.A., King's College.
J. Ellison, Esq., 8 Park Terrace.
W. J. Ibbetson, M.A., Clare College.
R. D. Roberts, M.A., Clare College.
Rev. J. A. Robinson, M.A., Christ's College.
G. Whitmore, Esq., 4 Salisbury Villas.

The following Officers were elected for the next academical year:

President:—Professor A. Macalister, M.A., F.R.S.

Vice-President:—Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.

New Members of Council:

Professor Skeat, Litt.D.
Professor Middleton, M.A.
N. C. Hardcastle, M.A., LL.M.

Auditors:—F. C. Wace, M.A., LL.M.
R. Bowes, Esq.

Treasurer:—W. M. Fawcett, M.A., F.S.A.

Secretary:—Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., F.S.A.

The retiring PRESIDENT gave a review of the work of the Society during the two years past, during which he had filled the Chair, giving a well-deserved tribute of praise to Mr Clark's "monumental" work, the Architectural History of the University and Colleges, and gratefully acknowledging the assistance that he had received from the Council and officers of the Society.

The SECRETARY read the Annual Report for 1886–87, which enumerated the publications of the past year, and promised the History of Swaffham Bulbeck by Mr Hailstone, and several other works that are in the press.

Mr MANNING exhibited a bronze seal found at Grantchester abeut 1840, and bearing the legend

S' · JEHAN · SALLE · ESCVIER.

(See *Communications*, Vol. VI., No. XIV.)

Mr GRAHAM F. PIGOTT exhibited some pewter plates lately found during coprolite-excavations at Abington Pigotta, of which he gave the following account:

"In what was evidently, many years ago, a small pond of 8 or 10 yards in length, were found (Midsummer, 1883) at a depth of about 4 feet, frag-

ments of 3 small pewter plates, 2 saltcellars, and the fragments of one large dish 13½ inches in diameter: at the same time 2 iron bars, square and pointed, one 2½ feet long, the other 3½ feet, were found, also a large long scythe 6 ft. in length and 2 inches wide. (Of this Mr Pigott exhibited a paper cutting.) It was most likely used for cutting weeds in a river, being much too long for a man to wield in cutting grass or corn.

"A further find, Nov. 1886, close to the former find, on resumption of working, gave 2 dishes 14 in. diam., 1 dish 10 in. diam., 3 small dishes, one of them oval, and fragments of 3 plates. Total, 13 plates and dishes, whole or fragmentary, and two saltcellars.

"The plates, etc. seem to have been placed on the edge of the pond one on top of the other, and so slid some distance into the pond."

Mr Pigott also exhibited a fragment of a bowl of Samian ware, shewing that it had been mended by drilling holes and placing rivets in it (*plumbo commissa*), before it was finally thrown away.

The PRESIDENT shewed a number of outlined rubbings of sculptured stones in Rome, Ravenna, Bologna and Mantua. The Roman examples were chiefly slabs and posts of white marble, preserved as fragments in the walls and yards of various churches, or lying in the Forum and Colosseum. The original idea seemed to have been the imitation for church purposes of bronze screens; actual imitations in white marble, dating from the time of the Caesars, are found in the palaces of Caligula and Domitian. One bronze screen remains *in situ* in the window of the crypt of S. Apollinare in Classe, of which a rubbing was shewn; it is of the horse-shoe pattern, with each of the open spaces occupied by a Latin cross. The early Christian Churches in Rome appear to have had choirs enclosed with these marble screens, as in the present Church of S. Clemente; the mosaic in the roof of the Baptistery at Ravenna shews that they were used also to fill the spaces between the pillars on either side of the presbytery; the three screens which now form the fronts of three altars in S. Vitale would exactly fill those spaces in S. Vitale. Others of the sculptured stones appear to have been imitations of mosaic pavements, notably the one used as a screen in front of the N.E. chapel in S. Apollinare Nuovo. Others, bearing reliefs of peacocks feeding out of vases, and so on, may have been originally imitations of wall paintings. One rubbing of large size, representing the united portions of a stone built into the cloister wall at S. Lorenzo fuori, shewed a round-headed window of solid stone, covered with intricate interlacings, and bearing a cross formed of interlacing bands, six small circular openings for the admission of light being involved among the scrolls. An example of the "lion and unicorn" on either side of a tree, was shewn from a back yard at Sta Maria in Cosmedin in Rome, and a human being with a large cake of bread, the only example of a human being on the stones

shewn, from a post lying in the Colosseum. In all cases the ornamentation of the stones shewed an abundance of interlacing work, but it was stiff and monotonous, and frequently formed of isolated pieces of pattern fitted together; without perception of the principle so marked in the English and Scottish stones, that of continuity and endlessness. Thus a pattern which seemed to be interlacing circumferences of circles was found to be entirely composed of separate rhombuses, with their sides curved inwards, linked together; the mosaic of the roof of Sta Costanza is throughout of this pattern. An instance of the use of interlacing ornament for sepulchral purposes was shewn, a stone built into the wall of the ante-chapel in the archiepiscopal palace at Ravenna, with a large cross, interlacing border, and a sepulchral inscription commencing *crux sancta adjuva nos in judicio.* Examples of stones cut into the shape of Latin crosses and covered with ornament were shewn from S. Petronio at Bologna, the ornament being chiefly scroll-work with leaves and flowers; in two cases one side of the upright stem and head of the cross was covered with interlacing work, forming a near approach to some of the Anglian cross-heads. One of the "Arian crosses" at Ravenna was shewn, and its great similarity to the Bologna crosses pointed out, with the suggestion that the decoration of the face and back of the cross may possibly have been Arian in origin. The interlacing work on a marble well-head from Mantua, now in the South Kensington Museum, was the best of the Italian work shewn, the borders being of the same pattern as the borders of the smaller of the great crosses at Sandbach. On the whole the Roman interlacing work, as compared with the Anglian, was very poor and stiff, without genius and life. Benet Biscop and Wilfrith, finding it in use in Rome and Lombardy, probably introduced it for religious purposes in Northumbria, where the Anglian genius took it up, and, aided by Hibernian skill, due to generations of previous practice in the art, brought it to the perfection it reached in the stone-work of that kingdom.

Professor Humphry proposed a vote of thanks to Mr Browne both for this highly-interesting communication and for the energy and kindness that had marked his tenure of the presidential chair, and had so ably sustained the prosperity of the Society; the vote was carried by acclamation.

In the absence of the Curator and Mr Gadow, Professor Hughes described some of the interesting objects recently acquired by the Museum.

The following is a list of the specimens which were exhibited.

(1) A four-sided glass vessel with handle (*Roman*), found at Haslingfield. (2) A bronze fibula (*Saxon*), found at Winchester, and three arrow-heads (*American*). Presented by Arthur Deck, Esq. (3) Three bronze and three stone celts. Brittany. (4) Three celts. Normandy. Pre-

sented by the Curator. (5) A bone *meri*, with carved handle, of unusual size, and a bone comb. New Zealand. Deposited by the Master and Fellows of Jesus College. (6) A jade *meri*, 14 inches in length. New Zealand. Deposited by the curator. (7) Various small objects (ornaments, implements, &c.) from New Caledonia, the Solomon Islands, New Guinea and Central Africa.

II. LIST OF COUNCIL ELECTED MAY 23, 1887.

President.

ALEXANDER MACALISTER, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Anatomy.*

Vice-Presidents.

THOMAS MCKENNY HUGHES, M.A., F.S.A., Clare College, *Woodwardian Professor of Geology.*

CHARLES CARDALE BABINGTON, M.A., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Botany.*

Rev. GEORGE FORREST BROWNE, B.D., St Catharine's College.

Treasurer.

WILLIAM MILNER FAWCETT, M.A., F.S.A., Jesus College.

Secretary and Librarian.

Rev. SAMUEL SAVAGE LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A., Corpus Christi College.

Ordinary Members of Council.

*Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Trinity College, *Registrary.*

*EDWIN CHARLES CLARK, LL.D., F.S.A., St John's College, *Regius Professor of Civil Law.*

*JOHN WILLIS CLARK, M.A., F.S.A., Trinity College, *Superintendent of the Museum of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.*

*FRANCIS JOHN HENRY JENKINSON, M.A., Trinity College.

*JOHN EBENEZER FOSTER, M.A., Trinity College.

*Rev. BRYAN WALKER, M.A., LL.D., Corpus Christi College.

*Rev. Canon MANDELL CREIGHTON, M.A., Emmanuel College, *Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History.*

*GEORGE WALTER PROTHERO, M.A., King's College, *University Lecturer in History.*

*CHARLES WALDSTEIN, M.A., King's College, *Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum and Reader in Classical Archaeology.*

Rev. WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, M.A., Litt.D., Christ's College, *Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon.*

JOHN HENRY MIDDLETON, M.A., F.S.A., King's College, *Slade Professor of Fine Art.*

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, M.A., LL.M., Downing College.

Excursion-Secretary.

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, M.A., LL.M.

Auditors.

FREDERICK CHARLES WAGE, M.A., LL.M., *Esquire Bedell.*

ROBERT BOWES, Esq.

* Remaining from the Old Council.

III. SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1886.

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance, Dec. 31, 1885				246	19	0
Subscriptions:						
Annual	300	6	0			
Life Members	21	0	0			
				321	6	0
Sale of Publications				5	10	9
Interest on G. E. R. stock				7	14	8
				£581	10	5

Payments.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Museum of Archaeology:						
Curator's salary (3 quarters)	37	10	0			
Library	1	7	6			
Binding	6	18	11			
				45	16	5
Stationery, postage, &c.				4	12	0
Purchase of back numbers of Communications				0	10	0
Attendance (2 years)				5	0	0
Copying MS.				5	6	6
Lists of Members (2 years)				15	0	6
General Printing				21	17	6
Communications Vol. VI. Lithographs				5	2	10
Balance, Dec. 31, 1886				478	4	8
				£581	10	5

April 1, 1887.

SWANN HURRELL
F. C. WACE } *Auditors.*

IV. LIST OF PRESENTS

RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 23, 1887.

BOOKS.

A. From various donors:

From the Peabody Academy of Science, Salem, Massachusetts:

Ancient and Modern Methods of Arrow-release.

From Mr H. Montagu:

The Copper, Tin, and Bronze Coinage of England, by the Donor. London, 1885. 8vo.

From Mr W. White:

An Account of the Rosetta Stone. (From the *Archaeologia*, Vol. xvi. pp. 208—263.)

From the Rev. J. C. Cox, LL.D. (Editor):

The Reliquary, Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2.

From Baron J. de Baye:

Le Torques était porté par les hommes chez les Gaulois. Caen, 1886, 8vo.

Congrès International des Américanistes (6me session) à Turin, 1886. Châlons-sur-Marne, 1886. 8vo. Both by the Donor.

From H. Phillips, Esq. Jun.:

Spotswood Letters (Virginia Historical Society), edited by R. A. Brock. Vols. I. and II. Richmond, 1882–85. 8vo.

Proceedings of the Virginia Historical Society, February 24, 1882, with W. W. Henry's Address.

From Mr J. W. Clark:

A volume of Architectural Reports.
A volume of Archaeological tracts.
Six Archaeological tracts.

From Mr J. E. Foster:

Memoir of Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, by C. H. Cooper.
Jumiéges, le village, l'abbaye, les ruines, by l' Abbé A. Tougard. Rouen, 1879, 8vo.

From the Rev. A. W. C. Hallen, M.A.:

Northern Notes and Queries, Vol. I, No. 1.

B. From Societies, etc. in union for the exchange of publications:

1. The Society of Antiquaries of London (W. H. St J. Hope, Esq., M.A., *Assistant Secretary*, Burlington House, London, W.):

   List of the Society, August 1, 1886. 8vo.
   Proceedings, Vol. XI, Nos. 1, 2.

2. The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (R. H. Gosselin, Esq., *Secretary*, Oxford Mansions, Oxford Street, London, W.):

   The Archaeological Journal, Nos. 170, 171, 172, 173.

3. The St Paul's Ecclesiological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, E. J. Wells, Esq., Sandown House, Mallinson Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W.):

   Transactions of the Society, Vol. II, Part 1.

4. The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society (*Hon. Secretary*, F. S. Pulling, Esq., M.A., 69 Walton Street, Oxford):

   Nothing received this year.

5. The Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, R. Fitch, Esq., Norwich):

   Nothing received this year.

6. The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. F. Haslewood, M.A., St Matthew's Rectory, Ipswich).

   Proceedings, Vol. V, Part 5.

7. The Essex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, H. W. King, Esq., Leigh Hill, Leigh, Essex):

   Nothing received this year.

8. The Kent Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. Canon W. A Scott Robertson, M.A., Throwley Vicarage, Faversham):

   Archaeologia Cantiana, Vol. XVI.

9. The Sussex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Librarian*, R. Crosskey, Esq., Lewes):

   Sussex Archaeological Collections, Vol. xxxiv.

10. The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society (*Curator*, P. B. Hayward, Esq., Cathedral Yard, Exeter):

    Nothing received this year.

11. The Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, W. F. Freer, Esq., Stoneygate, Leicester):

    Transactions, Vol. vi, Part 3.

12. The Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, Bedford, Leicester, etc. (*General Secretary*, Rev. Canon G. T. Harvey, Vicar's Court, Lincoln):

    Reports and Papers read during the year 1885.

13. The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (*Hon. Curator*, Rev. J. Mansell, 12 Kremlin Drive, Liverpool):

    Nothing received this year.

14. The Liverpool Numismatic Society:

    Nothing received this year.

15. The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (*Secretary*, R. Blair, Esq., The Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne):

    Proceedings, Vol. ii, Nos. 21—34, Vol. iii, Nos. 1, 2, 3.
    Archaeologia Aeliana, Part 31, Vol. xii, No. 1.

16. The Cambrian Archaeological Association (*Secretary*, Rev. R. Trevor Owen, M.A., Llangedwyn, Oswestry):

    Archaeologia Cambrensis (Fifth Series), Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, (Vol. iii) 13, (Vol. iv, part 1).

17. The Powys-Land Club (*Hon. Secretary*, M. C. Jones, Esq., F.S.A., Gungrog, Welshpool):

    Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. xix, Part 2, Vol. xx, xxi, Part 1.

18. The Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Association (*Hon. Secretary*, Arthur Cox, Esq., Mill Hill, Derby):

    Journal of the Society, Vol. ix. 1887.

19. The Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland (*Hon. Secretary*, J. G. Robertson, Esq., Kilkenny):

    Journal of the Association (Vol. vii), Nos. 64—69.

20. La Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (*Archiviste*, M. Pol. Nicard, Musée de Louvre, Paris):

Mémoires de la Société (1885), Tome xlvi.
Bulletin de la Société, 1885.

21. The Norwegian Archaeological Society (Antiqvar N. Nicolaysen, *Sekretær*, Kristiania):

Nothing received this year.

22. Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale de Norvège à Christiania (*Bibliothécaire*, A. C. Drolsum):

Foreningen til Norzke Fortidsmindesmerkersbevaring, for 1882, 1883, 1884.
Kunst og Handwerk fra Norges Fortid, pl. xii—xxxi, pag. 3—16.
Gols Gamle Stavkirke og Hovestuen paa Bygdo Kongsgaard.

23. La Commission Impériale Archéologique de la Russie (*Secrétaire*, M. Tiesenhausen, à l'Hermitage, Pétersbourg):

Nothing received this year.

24. Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρία (Mr Et. A. Coumanoudis, *γραμματεύς*, Athens):

Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική.
Πρακτικά, 1885.

25. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (F. W. Putnam, Esq., *Curator*):

Eighteenth and Nineteenth Annual Reports (Vol. iii, Nos. 5, 6).

26. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. (Spencer F. Baird, Esq., *Secretary*):

Annual Report of the Board of Regents for 1884.
" " " Part ii.

27. The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia (H. Phillips, Jun., Esq., Ph.D., *Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer*, 320 South Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.):

Report of the Proceedings of the Society for 1886.

28. The Archaeological Institute of America (*Secretary*, E. H. Greenleaf, Esq., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.):

Nothing received this year.

29. The Bureau of Ethnology, Washington (W. J. Hoffmann, Esq., M.D., *Secretary*):

Nothing received this year.

30. The Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences (W. H. PRATT, Esq., *Corresponding Secretary and Curator*, Davenport, Iowa, U.S.A.):

    Proceedings, Vol. IV.

31. La Société Jersiaise (*Secretary*, M. EUGÈNE DUPREY, Queen Street, St Helier, Jersey):

    Onzième Bulletin Annuel.
    Facsimile du Manifeste des États de l'Ile de Jersey.

32. The London and Middlesex Archaeological Society (JOHN E. PRICE, Esq., *Secretary*, 27 Bedford Place, Russell Square, London, W.C.:

    Nothing received this year.

33. The Surrey Archaeological Society (THOMAS MILBOURN, Esq., *Hon. Sec.*, 8 Dane's Inn, London, W.C.):

    Nothing received this year.

34. The Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (J. A. TURNER, Esq., *Curator*, The Castle, Taunton):

    Proceedings (during the year 1885), new series, Vol. XI.

35. Verein für Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde (*President*, Dr DIETRICH SCHÄFER, Jena):

    Zeitschrift des Vereins, Band V, Heft 1, 2.
    Verein für Thüringische Geschichtsquellen, Neue Folge, Band II.

36. American Antiquarian Society: (*Librarian*, E. M. BARTON, Esq., Worcester, Massachusetts, U.S.A.):

    Nothing received this year.

37. The Johns Hopkins University (N. MURRAY, Esq. *Secretary of the Publication Agency*, Baltimore, Maryland):

    Studies in Historical and Political Science, Fourth Series, Nos. 6—12, Fifth Series, Nos. 1—6.
    Studies from the Biological Laboratory, Vol. III, Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9.
    [C. H. Ledmore, Ph.D., on the Town and City Government of New Haven.]
    M. S. Snow, A.M., on the Town and City Government of Saint Louis.

38. Die Historische Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen (Dr EHRENBERG, *Sekretar*, Posen, North Germany).

    Zeitschrift, 2ter Jahrgang, Heft 1, 2.

39. The British and American Archaeological Society of Rome (*Secretary*, The Hon. A. J. STRUTT, 76 Via della Croce, Rome).

    Journal of the Society, Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

40. The Architectural, Archaeological, and Historic Society of Chester (*Honorary Secretary*, T. HUGHES, Esq., F.S.A., The Groves, Chester): [Nov. 2, 1886.]

    Journal, Parts X, XI, XII (divisions 1 and 2).

41. Clifton Antiquarian Club (*Honorary Secretary*, A. E. HUDD, Esq., 94 Pembroke Road, Clifton: [Nov. 2, 1886.]

    Proceedings, Vol. I, Parts 1, 2.

42. American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia, U.S.A.):

    Proceedings, No. 124.
    List of Officers and Councillors, 1769—1886.
    List of surviving members, March 5, 1886.

43. The Bureau of Education, Washington: [Mar. 7, 1887.]

    Circulars of Information (1885), No. 5; (1886) Nos. 1, 2.
    Special Report upon Educational Exhibits and Conventions at the World's Centennial Exposition, New Orleans, 1884–85.

V. LAWS.

(*Revised Feb.* 28, 1881.)

I. This Society shall be called The Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

II. The object of the Society shall be to encourage the study of History, Architecture and Antiquities, to meet for the discussion of these subjects, and to collect and print information relative thereto.

III. The subscription of each member of the Society shall be *One Guinea* annually, such subscription to be due on the first day of January in each year; on the payment of which sum he shall become entitled to all the publications of the Society during the current year.

IV. A member shall be allowed to compound for his future annual subscriptions by one payment of *Ten Guineas;* or, after the payment of fifteen annual subscriptions, by the payment of five guineas.

V. If the annual subscription of any member be twelve months in arrear, the Treasurer shall make application for it, and if it be not paid within one month, a second application shall be made for it, and if that is not attended to within one month, a notice of the same shall be suspended in the Society's usual place of meeting, and the Secretary shall inform the member thereof: if the said subscription be still unpaid at the expiration of two years from the time when it became due, the name of such person shall be announced at the next Annual General Meeting as having been struck off the list of the Society.

VI. No Member whose subscription is in arrear, and has been applied for (according to Law V), shall be entitled to vote at any meeting of the Society.

VII. Any person who is desirous of becoming a member of the Society shall be proposed by two members at any of the ordinary meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting: but all Noblemen, Bishops, Heads of Colleges, and Professors of this University shall be balloted for at the meeting at which they are proposed.

VIII. Honorary Members may be proposed with the sanction of the Council by at least two members of the Society at any of the usual meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting. No person shall be so proposed who is either resident within the county of Cambridge or a member of the University. Honorary Members shall receive all the current publications of the Society.

IX. In the voting by ballot for the election of members and honorary members one black ball in four shall exclude.

X. The management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a President (who shall not be eligible for that office for more than two successive years), three Vice-Presidents (of whom the senior shall retire at each Annual Meeting and be ineligible for re-election during the next two years), a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not more than twelve nor less than seven other Members, to be elected from amongst the Members of the Society who are graduates of the University. Each member of the Council shall have due notice of the meetings of that body, at which not less than five shall constitute a quorum.

XI. The President, one Vice-President, the Treasurer, and the Secretary, and at least three ordinary members of the Council, shall be elected annually by ballot, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May, the three senior ordinary members of the Council to retire annually.

XII. At the Meetings of the Society or of the Council the Chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, by the senior Vice-President, the Treasurer, or senior ordinary member of the Council then present. The Chairman shall have a casting vote in case of an equality of numbers, retaining also his own right to vote upon all questions submitted to the meeting.

XIII. The accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society shall be audited annually by two Auditors, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting; an abstract of such accounts shall be printed for the use of the members.

XIV. The Meetings of the Society shall take place once at least during each term: the place of meeting and all other arrangements, not specified in the Laws, shall be left to the discretion of the Council.

XV. No alteration shall be made in these Laws, except at the Annual General Meeting or at a special General Meeting called for that purpose, of which at least one week's notice shall be sent to all the members at their last known place of abode: and one month's notice of any proposed alteration shall be communicated, in writing, to the Secretary, in order that he may make the same known to all the members of the Society.

It is requested that all Communications intended for the Society, and the names of Candidates for admission, be forwarded to the Secretary, or to the Treasurer, 1 *Silver Street, Cambridge.*

Subscriptions received by the Treasurer, or by his Bankers, Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge; or at the Bank of Messrs Smith, Payne, and Smith, London, "To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's account with Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge."

VI. LIST OF COMMUNICATIONS (No. XXIX) ISSUED WITH THE PRESENT REPORT, BEING PART III OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

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X. On a Roman Inscription upon a slab of Parian marble, lately presented to Trinity College Library. Communicated by C. W. KING, M.A., Trinity College 313

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X. On the Epitaph of M. Verrius Flaccus. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College.

[October 25, 1886.]

The Collection of Antiquities formed by Count d'Hérisson, from long-continued excavations in Apulia and about Carthage, contained a marble slab, thus humourously described in the sale catalogue of June last: "The Epitaph of M. Verris and his brother Celsus, with two skulls, and an axe."

The merest novice in the Latin language could easily read the inscription as:

"To Marcus Verrius, son of Marcus, of the Tribe Falerina, his brother Celsus" [erected this monument]

M. VERRIO
M. F. FAL. FLACCO
CELSVS FRATER.

The words are cut in the round, bold characters, used in the later years of the Republic, but which did not outlast the first century of the Empire. The material is a slab, 28 in. long by 18 in. wide, of *Parian* marble; for the quarries of Carrara (*Luni*) were but recently worked when Pliny wrote.

The back of the stone has been left very uneven and rough, for the purpose of taking better hold upon the bedding of mortar, by which it was incrusted in the façade of the monument, no doubt a *brick* construction. The once polished surface is much weathered, giving evidence of the many centuries during which it had maintained its original position (in which probably, it had witnessed the fall of that Empire with whose birth it was nearly co-eval) before it was buried amongst the ruins of the tomb. About one-third of the surface has suffered more corrosion than the rest, in consequence of having been covered to that extent by rubbish containing a larger admixture of lime from the disintegrated mortar.

Before attempting to identify the person thus briefly commemorated, I shall remark that the *Verria* was a plebeian family; and the *Falerina*, in which it was registered, a *Rustic* Tribe. *Flaccus* was the actual name of the deceased, for the *Nomen* and *Tribus* of the Verria gens had been (as was the rule) assumed by his father, originally a slave, upon becoming a freedman of that family. That *Flaccus* was a word of some Italian dialect (probably Oscan, from the analogy of *Maccus*) is fairly certain, and that, with *Bassus*, *Varus*, and the like, it denoted some personal peculiarity in the man who first bore it, cannot reasonably be doubted. It probably was synonymous with *pendulus* in the sense of "lop-eared," for its Latin derivative *flaccidus* is applied to anything that droops.

Thus far the marble is of little importance in itself, except as being a fine specimen of early Roman epigraphy: but, by the rarest good fortune, this is one of those uncommon instances, where the name and fame of the deceased are embalmed in history—a circumstance that gives the highest interest to the memorial of the man.

We learn from Suetonius that Verrius Flaccus was the son of a freedman (*libertinus*)—as was the *father* of his contemporary and namesake, the poet Horace. He possessed a

remarkable talent for the education of youth. His plan, apparently a novel one of his own invention, was to set his pupils themes for declamations, in which they should compete with each other for the prize, which was a *book*, valuable either for its antiquity or its beauty. The novelty of his system seems to have been the encouragement of diligence by reward, instead of by punishment for laziness. Induced by his high reputation, Augustus appointed him praeceptor to his grandsons, Gaius and Lucius, with a salary of one hundred *sestertia* a year. He also lodged Verrius together with his whole school of twenty boys in the Palace, stipulating, however, that he was not to increase the number. The grammarian added to his reputation by drawing up a set of *Fasti* (Kalendar of the Months), which were engraved on marble tablets, and inserted in the walls of the Hemicyclium at Praeneste, where his statue was still standing when Suetonius wrote. Verrius died at an advanced age, in the early part of the reign of Tiberius.

Ovid alludes to these Tablets, where he introduces Juno saying (*Fast.* VI. 58):—

> Inspice quos habeat nemoralis Aricia Fastos,
> Et populus Laurens Lanuviique nemus;
> Est illis mensis Junonius. inspice Tibur,
> Et Praenestinae moenia sacra Deae.

From this it would appear that the *Hemicyclium* formed part of the Temple of Fortune, the great goddess of Praeneste, in the same way as it is still a remarkable architectural feature of Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome.

Suetonius' tradition has been confirmed by a fortunate discovery. In the year 1770, Foggini, a Roman antiquary, made excavations in the ancient Forum of Praeneste, and came upon the ruins of a circular (semi-circular?) building from amongst which he recovered the Tablets containing the Kalendar for the months of January, March, April and September, in a perfect state, together with numerous fragments of the rest.

Our Verrius appears to have been held of high authority in matters of antiquity, for Pliny quotes him no fewer than *seven* times, as a source of curious and valuable information; as the following summary of the subjects will evince.

1. That the Romans, upon laying siege to a town, began by evoking the presiding deities thereof (*in quorum tutela esset*) by promising them equal, or superior honours at Rome, a form of evocation being still preserved in the Pontifical Books. The true name of the guardian of Rome was therefore kept secret, for fear some enemy might employ it for the same purpose.

2. That *Vermilion* was in such high estimation with the ancients that the face of Jupiter Capitolinus was painted therewith on the great festivals; and also the faces of generals when they rode in triumph:—citing Camillus as an example.

3. That Tarquinius Priscus wore a tunic woven entirely of gold wire[1]: an example followed by Agrippina, at the opening of the tunnel of Lake Fucinus.

4. That lampreys have *thin*, eels *thick* skins: the latter being used, according to old law, for the whipping of boys under age (*pueri praetextati*) because they were not liable to pecuniary fines; according to the rule that who cannot pay in purse, must pay in person.

5. Verrius had also collected numerous instances of sudden and painless deaths (which Pliny considers the height of felicity) from joy and similar causes.

6. That the Romans, for the first three centuries, were not acquainted with *wheat*, but lived upon *spelt* in the shape of frumity (*farre ex frumento*)[2].

[1] As that of Virgil's Lausus:

...molli quam neverat auro
Mater...

Forty pounds in weight of gold was obtained from the robes of the child Maria Honoria when her coffin was discovered in digging the foundation of St Peter's.

[2] It is true that the earliest coins of Metapontum attest that "bearded

7. That the Romans once (no date specified) exhibited fighting elephants in the Circus, and afterwards slaughtered them with darts, because they knew not what to do with them (*inopia consilii*); for they were unwilling to incur the expense of keeping such great beasts; and did not choose to make presents of them to foreign princes.

These casual extracts sufficiently indicate that had the *Res memoria dignae* of Verrius[1] come down to us, the work would have been as valuable a mine of information on subjects of Roman, as the *Deipnosophists* of Athenaeus is on those of Grecian archaeology.

The *praenomen* of our Verrius is not recorded by Suetonius, but is given as 'Marcus' by Jerome in his *Chronicon*, who puts down the grammarian as flourishing (*floruit*) at the same time

wheat", *triticum*, was the staple in *southern* Italy as early as 600 B.C., but it must be remembered that the Romans had little intercourse with Magna Graecia before the War with Pyrrhus. *Spelt* is the primitive form of the cereal, just emerging from the state of a *grass*: the grains smooth, and thinly set upon a long ear: and by its nature, the hardiest of its species, whence Virgil calls it *robusta farra*. The actual date of *bakers* setting up shop in Rome is given by Varro, who states that previously the citizens used corn only in the form of porridge, *pulmentam*: exactly as the Red Indians of to-day make their maise into *hominy*. Similarly this most primitive preparation of the grain constituted the "national diet" of the Celts, after they had ceased to depend solely for food upon the flesh and milk of their cattle. Jerome, squabbling with the Irishman, Celestinus, despatches him with an ironical allusion to this porridge: "Hoc non videt Celestinus Celtarum pultibus praegravatus." And Ammian notices that Julian, in the disastrous retreat from Persia, lived on nothing save "parum pultis etiam gregario milite fastidiendum;" and it must be remembered that the chief strength of his army lay in the Gauls and Germans who had followed the Emperor from the West.

[1] Quoted under that title by A. Gellius. But his most important work was the "De Verborum Significatu," only known to us by the abridgement made by Festus in the following century. From this also A. Gellius quotes largely on points of etymology. From the first-named work he cites a remarkable anecdote of the treacherous advice given by Etruscan Augurs, called in when the statue of Horatius was struck by lightning, whence "Malum consilium consulenti pessimum."

with the philosopher, Athenodorus of Tarsus. The agreement, therefore, of our inscription with Jerome in this important particular strongly supports the presumption that both refer to the same individual, whose date, again, is almost exactly ascertained from archaeological evidences deducible from the epitaph itself.

A 'T. Verrius' is one of the duumviri of Caesaraugusta (*Saragossa*), who coined brass civic pieces in the name of Augustus, in the 19th year of his reign. Can this man have been the grammarian's father? Certainly, the name of his colleague, C. Alliarius, has so rustic a sound, that we can hardly think it beneath the dignity of its bearer to have been joined in office with a manumitted slave.

Two skulls, an axe, and a great iron bangle, came to London in company with the monument, as purporting to have been disinterred in the same tomb. These human remains are very remarkable in themselves. The one is that of a man so advanced in life, that the *sutures* are entirely obliterated; yet the teeth are sound, although much ground down on one side, as if the owner had chewed on that, in preference to the other. Its form is unusually elongated, the forehead rather low, but very broad, giving evidence of considerable mental power. The other skull is that of a young man, fairly shaped, with teeth of the most exquisite regularity and enamel. As even the audacity of an Italian *antiquario* could hardly attempt to pass them off (like the celebrated duplicates of Cromwell) for those of the *same* man in youth and old age (unless indeed the mistranslation of the epitaph, above quoted, suggested the production of the remains of the *two* brothers), we must attribute them, if really exhumed in company with the monument, to long subsequent interments in its neighbourhood. But the question of ownership in the matter of these relics of humanity is settled by another consideration not to be gainsaid. It was as impossible for the corpse of the Augustan schoolmaster to

have been committed to the earth *entire*, as it was (till lately) for that of an Englishman of the same status to have been *cremated*. That these skulls must be given to some of the barbarous races, who long after the times of Verrius so frequently overran Apulia, may fairly be assumed from the nature of the articles deposited with them[1].

The *axe*, though much corroded, preserves the exact shape of the *francesca*, the formidable weapon that derived its name from the Franks. The *bangle* also, a flat bar one inch in width, intended to be irrevocably fixed on the wearer's wrist by hammering up the two ends until they overlap—is an ornament peculiar to savage races. Add to which, the sound condition of the teeth in the elder defunct, is a convincing evidence that he had never enjoyed the blessings of civilization.

It is so rare to meet with the actual memorials of personages named ever so incidentally in ancient history, that shall have escaped

"The Goth, the Christian, Time, War, Flood and Fire"

that this marble may justly be reckoned amongst the most interesting relics of antiquity that are come down to our times. As the memorial of a great scholar, who enjoyed so high a reputation in the brightest days of literature, no more fitting shrine for its reception could have been found than the Library of Trinity College; where the *manes* of the ancient Professor will, after so many centuries of oblivion, hear his name and fame once more echoed by innumerable voices; and be (let us hope) propitious to the *second* dedicator, who has thus carried out the last lingering desire of the lost soul:

"Rinfresca la memoria mia che giace!"

[1] These *crania* are now deposited in the Museum of the College of Surgeons.

XI. On Mural Paintings and other Coloured Decorations at Chippenham Church, Cambridgeshire. Communicated by C. E. Keyser, M.A., Trinity College, F.S.A.

[November 22, 1886.]

The Church of St Margaret, Chippenham, contains many features of architectural interest, but is especially noteworthy for the remarkable series of paintings on the aisle walls, and for the profuse decoration which has been lavished upon it, apparently in the early part of the 15th century. Much white-wash still remains, and it may reasonably be expected that many more subjects may be discovered.

In the Chancel, a considerable amount of colouring remains on the piscina, which occupies the usual position in the south wall, near the east end.

The Chancel Screen, specially mentioned in Lysons' *Magna Britannia* (Cambridgeshire), retains on the lower panels some of the original colouring, viz. a scroll pattern in yellow on a groundwork of red and green on the alternate panels.

The Roof of the North Chapel is a lean-to, the rafters being

painted in dark colour, with stars, or suns, quatrefoils, tracery, and other ornamental designs.

The nave arcade. On all the pillars are traces of colour, the two east on the north side being most marked. On the south-east face of the east pillar is a head. The capitals and abaci are also richly decorated.

South wall of south aisle. St George and the Dragon. Unfortunately a tablet has been inserted in the centre of the picture. Enough however is visible to identify the subject. In the centre is the head and body of St George with his cross painted on his breastplate and epaulettes. He is probably on horseback, and leaning forward in the act of piercing the dragon with his spear, which he grasps in his right hand. The tail of the dragon with a kind of roundel at the end is alone visible at present. Behind St George may possibly be made out the Princess, whom the saint has rescued, kneeling with her lamb, and on the eastern part of the picture are seated on the walls of the city the king and queen beholding the combat. A gateway with portcullis is portrayed below. The general groundwork is diapered with roses and (?) poppies. The pattern in darker colour of crowns, &c. above appears to belong to another course of decoration.

This subject is comparatively common, but the only other example recorded in Cambridgeshire is at Eversden.

It is constantly found as in the present instance facing St Christopher.

The wall space to the east of the window shows traces of painting, but has not yet been relieved of the whitewash.

North wall of north aisle. Occupying its usual situation is the upper part of a very large painting of St Christopher, placed at the east side of the north door and facing the southern entrance. The saint is nimbed and has long flowing beard, and hair. His features are defaced, but he is plainly looking up at our Saviour seated on his shoulder, staggering under the

weight of his burden, in accordance with the usual rhyming distich

"Parve puer quis tu? graviorem non toleravi,"

to which our Lord replies

"Non mirans sis tu, nam sum qui cuncta creavi."

St Christopher is clad in rich flowing drapery coloured vermilion and Indian red, and is grasping his staff in his right hand, being as usually represented in mid stream. The figures of the attendant hermit, and probably an angler on the bank, and of fish and ships in the water will doubtless appear when the lower part of the picture is uncovered. Our Saviour is seated on the left shoulder of the saint. He is nimbed and clad in a red garment but the features are defaced. He holds the orb in His left hand, while the right is held up with the two fingers extended in the act of Benediction.

A black letter text has been painted over this subject.

St Christopher became most popular throughout England in the 15th century, and a large number of mural paintings and other representations of him in our Churches have been recorded, especially in the Eastern Counties. A portion of a similar painting remains at Burwell, and other examples have been found in Cambridgeshire, at the old Chapel of St John's College, Cambridge, Cherry Hinton, Eversden, Hardwick, Impington, Grantchester, Milton, Bartlow, and Wilburton. Several examples in old glass are mentioned in Cole's MS. notes of the Cambridgeshire Churches.

An article on this subject will be found in *The Antiquary*, 1883, p. 193. Two of the finest existing examples are at Horley, Oxfordshire, and Raunds, Northamptonshire.

Above and around the window to the east of St Christopher is some nice decorative colouring.

To the east of this window is portrayed the martyrdom of St Erasmus, with all its horrible details. The saint nimbed

and with his bishop's mitre, is laid on a bed, nude with the exception of a loin cloth. Above are two figures on either side of a windlass round which they are winding the bowels of the saint. Above again seated on a throne is a royal personage to whom two figures in evident amazement are pointing out the scene depicted above, viz. the soul of the bishop being borne up to heaven in a napkin held by angels. The rays of heaven are shown in the upper part of the picture. This subject is comparatively rare, and the only recorded English examples in mural painting have been found at Ampney Crucis, and Cirencester, Gloucestershire, and Whitwell, Isle of Wight. A statue of a Bishop recently found and preserved at Trinity Church, Cambridge, is supposed to represent St Erasmus. At Buckenham Ferry, Norfolk, and Durweston, Dorset, sculptures have been found treating the subject exactly as at Chippenham.

On the north wall of the north Chapel to the west of the window has been a large and very interesting subject. Although a large tablet has unfortunately been fixed in the middle of the subject, there is no doubt that here has been depicted "St Michael weighing Souls, and the Blessed Virgin interceding on the Souls' behalf." Above the tablet can be seen the wings of the Archangel, and on each side the scales of the balances which he is holding. On the west side are demons trying to force down the scale containing the evil deeds of the deceased, while on the east is a majestic figure of the Virgin, crowned and nimbed, holding a sceptre in her left hand, while with her right she is touching the scale, which according to the legend at once goes down and the soul is saved. The Virgin is clad in rich garments, with outer cloak, and a diaper of pomegranates on her dress. The ground on which she stands is grey, and the general background red. In the upper part of the picture is the coat of arms of the person at whose expense the painting was executed, viz. gules a chevron or between three double edged combs argent. These were the armorial bearings of the

Bothell or Botell family, and furnish us with a most interesting clue to the date of the paintings and the benefactor at whose charge they were executed. In the year 1184 William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, gave the Manor of Chippenham to the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, and a small preceptory subordinate to the chief house at Clerkenwell was founded here, mainly for the benefit of the sick brethren. It is therefore only natural to expect to find some connection between the Hospital and the Parish Church, and accordingly amongst the Priors occurs the name of Robert Botyll, who was ruling over the House as head of the order in England in the year 1439, and who resigned his office in 1469. There can therefore be no doubt that we have here the armorial shield of Robert Botyll, and a clear proof of this painting and possibly some of the others having been executed at his cost. At Gawsworth, Cheshire; Kirton in Lindsey, Lincolnshire; and Cirencester, Gloucestershire; the shields of the donors of the Mural Paintings are similarly introduced, and it is not uncommon to find the armorial bearings of benefactors to the Church painted on various portions of the walls. In some instances, as at Cirencester, Gloucestershire; Ridge, Hertfordshire; and Whimple, Devonshire; kneeling figures of the donors are portrayed with scrolls requesting a prayer for their souls. This practice of introducing the portraits of the donors is more generally met with on the ancient stained glass windows. The subject of St Michael weighing Souls is generally found in representations of the Great Day of Judgment, to which it of course always alludes. The particular treatment as at Chippenham is not uncommon. An explanation of the legend of the intervention of the Blessed Virgin, will be found in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XXXIV. p. 235.

The wall to the east of the window is covered with decorative painting, and part of a scroll remains with "orate pro aia Matt.——" on it, no doubt invoking a prayer for the soul of the

donor of the above-mentioned painting, who was most likely a substantial benefactor to the Church, or of some member of his family. The word "Matt" is not very clear, and may be a shortened form of "Magistri," which would be a fitting title to a person holding the distinguished position of Robert "Botyll."

On the east wall of this north Chapel is some interesting decoration, viz. a diaper of white flowers on a red ground. A black letter text has been painted over it.

The Church was visited by me and notes of the paintings, &c. taken, October 13, 1886.

APPENDIX I.

List of Churches where representations of both S. Christopher and S. George have been noted, (A) with St Christopher on N., St George on S. wall: (B) with the two saints side by side.

Pickering, Yorkshire (B).
Gawsworth, Cheshire (B).
Hargrave, Raunds, Slapton (A) — Northamptonshire.
Houghton Conquest, Bedfordshire (A).
Eversden, Cambs. (A).
Drayton (B), Fritton (B), Witton (B) — Norfolk.
Bradfield Combust (B), Chellesworth, Preston, Sproughton (B), Troston — Suffolk.
Croydon, Surrey.

Canterbury Cathedral, Kent (A).
Stedham, Sussex (A).
Devizes, St Mary's (B) } Wiltshire.
Wilsford and Lake (B) }
Whimple, Devon (B).

At Bradninch (Devon) both saints appear on the Screen, while at Horsham St Faith's (Norfolk), St George is painted on the Screen, and St Christopher on the Pulpit. At Randworth (Norfolk) and Winchester Cathedral are wall paintings of St Christopher and paintings on panels of St George.

In Cole's MSS. mention is made of several portraits in old glass of St Christopher in the Cambridgeshire Churches, e.g. at Barrington, &c. At Hildersham (Cambs.) and Clavering (Essex), both St Christopher and St George are noticed as being represented in old glass in Cole's time. The lower part of a sculptured figure of St Christopher, formerly part of a reredos, remains at Toft (Cambs.).

APPENDIX II.

St Erasmus.

The following examples of the martyrdom of St Erasmus have been noted:

(1) In Mural Paintings:

At Ampney Crucis, Gloucestershire.

At Cirencester, Gloucestershire, figured in *Archæologia*, XV. 405.

At Whitwell, Isle of Wight, mentioned in *Archæological Journ.* XXII. 79; *Society of Antiquaries Proceedings*, 2nd series, VII. 36; and *The Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1865, p. 402.

(II) On a panel:

At St Michael at Plea, Norwich, mentioned at p. xxxix of the Norfolk Volume of the Royal Archæological Institute.

(III) In Sculpture:

At Buckenham Ferry, Norfolk, see *Norfolk Archæol.* I. 243.

At Durweston, Dorset. Cast at the Society of Antiquaries Rooms.

These all correspond with the treatment at Chippenham.

Figures of the saint also occur in Mural Painting, (?) at Tawstock, Devonshire, on screens at Hempstead, Norfolk, and (?) Roxton, Beds., and sculptured at St Alban's Cathedral.

APPENDIX III.

St Michael weighing Souls.

This subject is comparatively common, and is found at a very early date. An example of the 12th century occurs at Kempley in Gloucestershire, and it is commonly introduced in representations of the Great Doom.

In the instances where the intervention of the Blessed Virgin is portrayed, of which no examples occur in England prior to the 14th century, a special tradition is exemplified which is briefly set out in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XXXIV. 238.

Representations in Mural Paintings have been noted at the following Churches:

Slapton, Northamptonshire.
Beckley, South Leigh, } Oxfordshire.
Lathbury, Bucks.
Toddington, Beds.

Fingringhoe, Essex.
Lenham, Kent.
Lindfield, Preston, } Sussex.
Catherington, Hampshire.
Melcombe Horsey, Dorset.

N.B. In the "List of Buildings in Great Britain and Ireland having mural and other painted Decorations" &c., as compiled by me for the Council of Education, South Kensington Museum, a considerable number of examples of St Michael weighing souls have been collected (see Index, p. 373), and no doubt in many instances, besides those specified above, the intercession of the Virgin is introduced.

XII. Bit of a Middle-English Romance in Verse. [Chaucer's "Troilus."] By Prof. Dr George Stephens, Litt.D., F.S.A. Lond. and Edinb. Communicated by the Rev. Professor Skeat.

[March 7, 1887.]

These little slips of vellum, taken from a bookback, are about 10 inches high by 1½ broad. The MS. would seem to date from about 1400—1450, and has apparently been written in two columns, each containing four stanzas of seven lines each. Double ornamental lines, one red, one blue, have been run between each stanza. As the whole is so fragmentary and sometimes injured, what is left is difficult to copy; many words are doubtful—till we get the context. Temporarily, I take A first, as perhaps the first column of the *recto* folium; then B, as then the 2nd column of the *verso* folium. The rime was, may be, *a, b, a, b, c, d, d.* [Rather, *a, b, a, b, b, c, c.*]

What the subject was, I do not know. It mentions the death of Meleager, and other such Classical legends. I do not remember to have seen it before in English, either as a complete Epical lay or as an episode. But the Editor will kindly elucidate all this, for he has access to the great Cambridge bookhoard.

[Here follows a reading of the contents of one of the slips; readings of the contents of both slips are given below.]

ADDITIONAL NOTE; BY THE REV. PROF. SKEAT.

To these words of Prof. Stephens, I have to add the following.

The poem is certainly written in the ordinary seven-line stanza, used by Chaucer in his Troilus and Cressida, and by Lydgate in his Falls of Princes. At first sight, I should have supposed that the fragments really belong to the latter work, but I find that Lydgate gives the story of Meleager in somewhat similar, but decidedly different language, in Bk. ii. ch. 14. As far as I can tell at present, the fragment belongs to a poem hitherto unknown. The writing and composition belong to the fifteenth century. Part of the story is ultimately from the eighth book of Ovid's Metamorphoses.

I arrange the slips in a different order to that suggested above, and mark them with the numbers 1 and 2. The columns which Prof. Stephens marks as A and B, are what I should call 2 recto, and 2 verso. 1 is legible enough, but the back of it, or 1 verso, is almost wholly blank. The poem was clearly written, I think, in single columns, not double; I know of no instance in which poems in seven-line stanzas are written in double columns on parchment of this length. Still, 1 and 2 are parts of the same leaf. The contents shew that 1 precedes 2, and also immediately precedes it. It is clear that the story alluded to is something like the following.

There is first of all mention of a dream; then the name of Cassandra occurs. Diana is mentioned as being wroth, apparently with the Greeks, because men brought her no incense. She therefore avenged herself. Here come the words "for with a b...," which I take to mean "for with a *bore*," i.e. boar; the allusion being to the boar sent by Diana to the woods of Caledon. We next have the words: "To slay this boar was,"...and we know that the boar-hunter was Meleager. Then we are told that there was a certain maiden; this is Ovid's Atalanta. Meleager fell in love with this fresh (i.e. fair) maiden; and

waxed so courageous that he slew the boar. Whence, as the old books say, arose a great strife; in fact, Meleager slew his two uncles, brothers of his mother Althea, as may conveniently be read in Dryden's translation from Ovid of the story of "Meleager and Atalanta." The poet says that the story about Meleager and his mother is too long to recount; however, we know that Althea burnt the fire-brand on the preservation of which her son's life depended. Then come the words "She told eke how;" and the story next alluded to is that of "the strong city," i.e. Thebes, and how Tydeus was sent to claim the kingdom for his comrade Polynices, "the which the brother dan Eteocles full wrongfully of the" crown had bereft. "This tale she told by process," i.e. in due order. She also told how "dan Tydeus" was slain, "and how that seven kings besieged the city all about," and she told also "of the holy serpent, and of the furies all." The rest is quite fragmentary; there is something about a man who wished for some one to expound his dream; and there is the exclamation "O brother dear," apparently uttered by a "sister" mentioned in the preceding stanza, and who perhaps expounds the dream, as requested.

Meagre as these fragments are, there is quite enough to identify the poem to which they belong, if we can once tell where to find another copy in a complete form.

POSTSCRIPT. I have thought it best to leave this nearly as it was written. I have since found that the passages really *do* form a portion of Chaucer's Troilus, book v. st. 207—214; and that my tentative arrangement and description are fairly correct. See Chaucer, ed. Morris, vol. v. p. 60.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CONTENTS.

Strip 1 (recto); a strip at the inner edge of the leaf.
Strip 1 (verso); the same; nearly blank.
Strip 2 (recto); a strip near the outer edge of the leaf.
Strip 2 (verso); the same, turned over.

CONTENTS OF THE LEAF (*recto*); st. 207—210.

Strip 1.	*Strip* 2.
þis dreme...	.. ...*ha*]ue eke byforn
May neuer...	...*a*]nce
He þouȝt ay...	...*l*]ady lorne
And þat þat...	...]yance
Hym schew[*ed*...	...signifiance
Of hyr vn...	*au*]enture
And þat þis...	...hym [in] figure
For whyche...	...suster sent
þat Called...	...aboute
And al hys...	...*h*]yr er he stente
And hyr by...	...doute
Of þe stro[*nge*...	...sto[ut]e
And fynaly...	...*sto*]unde
Cassandre...	...hys dreme expounde
Sche gan fy...	...o broþer dere
ȝif þou a s...	...knowe
þou most a...	...es here
To p*ur*pos ho[*w*...	...þrowe
Haþ lo[r]des...	...wiþ-in a þrowe
þou w[e]le...	...w & of what kynde
He comen is...	...ynde
Dyane why...	...*w*]as [and in ire]
For Grekes...	...*s*]acrifice
Ne encens...	...sette afyre
Sche for þa[*t*...	...*h*]yr so despise
Wroke hyr...	...l wyse
For wiþ a b[*ore*	...ox in stall
Sche made...	...& v[y]nes all

CONTENTS OF THE LEAF (*verso*); st. 211—214.

Strip 2 (*Strip* 1 *is blank*).

T]o slo þis bore was...
A]monges whyche *þer*...
A] mayde on of þis...
A]nd meleagre lord of...
He] loued so þis fressh[*e mayden*...
þa]t wiþ hys manho[*de*...
þe] bore he slouȝ & hy[*r*...

O]f whyche as olde bo[kes
A]rose a contek & a g...
A]nd of þis lord descen[ded...
B]e ligne or elles olde...
Bu]t how þis Meleag[re...
....]en hys moder wyl...
Fo]r al to long it were...

Sc]he told eke how T[ydeus...
vn]to þe strong Citee...
to] claymen kyngdom...
...e hys felaw dan p[olimites
of] which þe bro*þer* dan [eteocles
fu]l wrongfully of þe...
þi]s tolde sche by *proces*...

Sc]he tolde eke how he...
Wh]an Tydeus slouȝ...
Sc]he tolde eke al þe *prop*[hecies...
An]d how þat .vij. kyn[ges...
Bes]egeden þe Citee a[l aboute
An]d of þe holy serpe[nt...
And] of þe furyes al...

XIII. On a Seventh Century Leaf of the Lex Wisigothica. By Professor Dr George Stephens, Litt. D., F.S.A. Lond. and Edinb. Communicated by the Rev. Professor Skeat.

[March 7, 1887.]

Besides some Manuscripts proper, I have a large number of leaves and bits of leaves, most of them taken from book-backs. These were chiefly gathered many years ago, for such things are daily getting scarcer and dearer. Overwhelmed with hard work, I have only been able to make public a couple. To these I now add the following.

Long since, from an old printed book in folio, I took a leaf of thinnish vellum nearly 11 inches high by 7½ broad. It is written in double columns, each containing 37 lines, but a couple of lines have been cut away by the bookbinder at the bottom, as also some letters nearest the back. There are also a couple of pieces torn or fallen away, and other injuries. The rubrics are in a kind of silver ink, now much faded and discolored, in fact reddish black. The initials are in slight simple colors, chiefly brown and ink or ink alone.

The leaf has belonged to a very old codex—in my opinion of the 7th century—of the Lex Wisigothica. The edition used by me here in aid is that by *Jo. Gottl. Heineccius*, Corpus Juris Germanici Antiqui, 4to., Halae Magd., 1738. No later *better* text is in my own or in any public library here, as little as a couple of modern writings on the *Antiqua* text of this Law.

My own persuasion is, that the leaf gives us an additional bit of the *Antiqua* (see note [5] on next page). It opens near the beginning of Lib. II., Cap. 17 (Cap. 18 and 19 do not exist in this transcript). It then goes on with Lib. III., Cap. 1, Cap. 2, Cap. 3, and (Rubric and King's name cut away) part of Cap. 4. But the Cambridge editor will kindly decide as to details. He has the details at hand; I have not.

At all events an exact copy will be valuable, and this I here give, line for line. All contractions are expanded *in Italics*. Unreadable or lost letters or words are *in parenthesis*, where possible from the "textus receptus" in Heineccius; where doubtful, they are headed by a ? Where *nothing* can be read, there is ??? in parenthesis.

CHEAPINGHAVEN, DENMARK;
Aug. 31, 1886.

[I have compared the text with that of Heineccius, and added a few notes to make it clearer, without noticing all the numerous variations.—W. W. Skeat.]

P. 1, Col. 1 (ed. Heineccius, col. 1912).

(r)ecte de re*bus* sibi deuitis[1] pat(tu)erit
(esse) con(s)criptas fuerit exorta (co)nten-
(tio) Si (i)lle qui[2] scriptura profertur nes-
(cire) se dixerit ipsius scripture ueritate*m*
(mox) probatur[3] ille iurare cogatur
(nil) fraudis in ea quandoq*ue* aut a se
(fact)um esse aut ab aliquo quocunq*ue*
(fact)um omnimodo cognobisse[4] u*e*l nosse
(sed i)ta manere sicuti auctor ei*us*
(uolu)it u*e*l hordinare[5] u*e*l robo*r*are

[1] Ed. debitis. [2] Ed. cui. [3] Ed. prolator.
[4] Ed. cognouisse. [5] Ed. ordinare.

(Dein)de ille qui hanc renuit accipere
(cog)atur iurare se hanc scripturam
(uera)m esse nescire nullaque euidenti
(cog)nitione sapere seu ab hauctore[1]
(suo l)egitime (? hec in domesticis scriptis)
(exis)tere neque (? subscriptionem uel signum)
(auc)toris (? ueridice factam cognoscere)
(Post)hec (? querenda ab utrisque partibus)
(in sc) (? riniis domesticis instrumen)-
(ta ch) (? artarum ut comprobatis aliarum)
(sub)[2] (? scribturarum subscribtionibus atque signis)
(possit a)(? gnosci utrum habeatur ido)-
(ne)a an reprobetur indigna (? et)[3]
(tunc si in) (? ? scriniis auctoris scrip)-
(-ture non fuerint) (? ? alias procuret)

[*Here the* MS. *misses some of the text. It goes on with* Lib. III. c. 1; col. 1915.]

TITULUS DE DIS
POSITIONIBUS
NUBTIarum

(? Ut tam gotho ro)-
(? manam quam romanam gotho)[4]
(? Nubere liceat matrimonio)[5]
(Equi)(? ? dem utilitati)[6]
( )[5]
(? ? potest dispon)-[5]
(sare) (?? conscribendi dotis)[5]
(?? conserbet)[5]
[6](Solicita cura in principe esse)
[6](dinoscitur cum futuris utili)-

[1] Ed. auctora. [2] Ed. *omits* sub. [3] Ed. Iam.
[4] Ed. quam Romano Gotham. [5] Ed. *omits these six lines.*
[6] These 2 lines cut away.

P. 1, Col. 2.

tatibus (beneficia populorum prouidentur)
nec par(um exultare debet libertas)
ingenit(a cum fractas uires habu)
erit prisce legis abo(lita sententia quae in)-
congrue diuidere maluit (personas)
in coniuges quas dignitas compares
exequaberit in genere. Ob hoc melio-
ri proposito salubriter consentes
prisce legis remota sententia
hac in *per*petuo ualitura lege
sancximus. Ut tam gothus r(oma)-
nam. quam etia*m* gotha*m* rom(anus)[1]
sibi coniugem habere uoluerit
*per*missam petitionem dignissime
facultas eis nubendi subiaceat.
Liberoq*ue* sit libera*m*[2] quam uoluerit
honestam coniunctionem con-
sultu*m* *per*quirendu*m* prosapie (psol)-(*sic*!)
lemni consensu comitti *per*cipere
coniugem ATq*ui*A N*on*[3] si puella con*tra*
uoluntatem patris aliu*m* nubat
cum sit alteri disponsata [*rubric*]
Si quis puella[4] contra volu*n*tatem
patris sponsata[5] habuerit
et ut ipsa puella contemnens
volu*n*tatem patris. ad aliu*m* ten-
dens. patri contradicat ut illi
non detur cui a patre fuerit pac-

[1] Ed. *inserts* si.
[2] Ed. Liberumque sit libero, liberam.
[3] Ed. *ends* Cap. i. *with* coniugem. *Then follows*—II. ANTIQUA. Si puella, &c.
[4] Ed. puellam.
[5] Ed. sponsatam (*text varies*).

ta. eam nullo modo facere per-
mittimus. Quod si ipsa puella
contra uoluntatem pater-
nam. ad alium quem ipsa se[1] cu-
piebat forte peruenerit. et ip-
se eam uxorem habere pre-
sumserit. ambo in potesta-
te eius tradantur qui eam
cum uolun(ta)tem[2] patris
[3]s(ponsam habuerit. Et si fratres)
[4](uel mater eius aut alii parentes male uoluntati eius consenserint ut eam illi traderent quem ipsa sibi contra paternam uel parentum uoluntatem cupierat et hoc ad)

P. 2, Col. 1.

(effectum perduxerint. illi qui) hoc ma-
(chinauerunt libram auri den)t cui
(rex iusserit. sic tamen ut u)oluntas
eorum non habeat) firmitatem: Sed
(ipsi si)cut superius diximus ambo tra-
dantur cum omni substantia sua
illi cui antea fuerat sponsata.
Eandem legem precipimus custo-
diri si pater de filie nubtiis
definierit. et pretio conuenerit. huc[5]
(si a)b hac uita transierit. antequam
(eam) pater suus nubtui tradat[6].
cui patre uel matre pacta cons-
titerit FLbs chNS[7] Rex

[1] Ed. *om.* se. [2] Ed. voluntate. [3] Nearly all cut off.
[4] All this cut away. [5] Ed. ac.
[6] Ed. *inserts* vt illa puella tradatur.
[7] = CHINDASVIND. Ed. *has* FLS. CHDS. REX. (Cap. III.).

De non reddendis datis arris [*rubric*]
Dum preteritorum facta recoli-
mus. futuris ponere presumtio-
nibus terminum consultissimum
arbitramus. Quia ergo sunt plerique
qui facta sponsione inmemores
nubtiarum federum definitionem
differant adimplere; Abrogare
decet huius rei licentiam aut[1] non
unius[2] quisque pro suo uel[3] alteri di-
lationem exibeat: Ideoque a die
late huius legis decernimus. ut cum
inter eos qui disponsandi sunt.
siue inter eorum parentes. aut for-
tasse propinquos pro filiorum nub-
tiis coram testibus precesserit
definitio. et anolus[4] arrarum nomi-
ne datus fuerit uel acceptus. quam-
uis scripture non inter-currant.
nullatenus promissio uioletur. nec
liceat uni parti suam inmu-
tare aliquantenus uoluntatem.
si pars altera prebere con-
[5](sensum noluerit, sed secundum legum ordin-
em altera constitutione dotis impleta nuptiarum
inter eos peragatur festi celebritas)

P. 2, Col. 2. (*Part of* Cap. IV.)

Tunc directum in spem procrea(tio)-
nis future transmitt(i)tur (quando)
nuptiarum fedus totius solle(m)ni(tatis)

[1] Ed. vt. [2] Ed. vnus-. [3] Ed. velle.
[4] Ed. annulus. [5] Cut away.

concordia hordinatur N(am si) a(ut)
etatum aut personarum i(n)eom(p)ete(nti)
condicione adtenditur (? c(op)ulum (nup)-
tiale. quid restat in procr(ea)tion(is)
origine. nisi quod aut nascit(urum) a(ut dis)-
simile maneat[1] deforme. ne(c e)nim p(ote)-
rit in pacis (concor)dia nasci. quod per d(iscor)-
diam originis noscitur sem(i)nari. (Uide)-
mus enim quosdam non (aui)dos amor(e na)-
ture. sed impletos cupid(i)ta(ti)s ard(ore)
filiis suis tam inordinati[2] (d)ispon(ere fe)-
dera nuptiarum. ut in eorum hactis[3]. (nec)
etatum consors sit hordo[4]. nec morum (.)
Nam cum uiris res illa dederi(t) nome(n quod)
cum[5] feminas agant. histi[6] per rep(ugnan)-
tiam nature cognouimus (puellas)
ante ponunt. dum infantibus (adules)-
centulas dispensationis copul(a coniun)-
gunt; Sicque per etatis preposter(e tempus)
honestatis lucrum dilabi (? coniungu)(nt ad)
inpudice (*sic!*) lapsum[7]. dum pu(e)lla(rum auidior et)
maxime[8] aetas seros (tardosque uirorum)
contemnit expect(are prouentus.)
Ut ergo male hor(dinata[9] propagatio)
generis in hordine(m[10] transductionibus reuo)-
cantur[11] inlicitis (huius sanctione discer)-
nitur legis ut (femina maiore semper eta)-
te[12] uiris maioribus (in matrimonio dispon)-
setur; Aliter disponsatio f(acta si una)

[1] Ed. *inserts* aut. [2] Ed. inordinate. [3] Ed. actis.
[4] Ed. ordo. [5] Ed. in. [6] Ed. isti.
[7] Ed. dilabi cogunt ad impudicitiae lapsum. [8] Ed. maxima.
[9] Ed. ordinata. [10] Ed. ordinem. [11] Ed. reducatur.
[12] Ed. minoris semper aetatis.

pars contradicere uideatur. N(ullo modo)
iubetur; A die uero sponsionis u(sque ad nup)-
tiar*um* dies no*n* amplius quam uien(nio)[1]
expectetur. nisi aut parentu*m* a(ut cog)-
nitionis u*e*l certe psor*um* (*sic!*) sipsor*um* (*sic!*)[2]
[3]iam etatis. honesta et (conueniens adfuerit)
[4](consensio uoluntatis &c. &c.)

[1] Ed. biennio.
[2] Ed. vel certe sponsorum ipsorum, si perfectae sint iam aetatis; &c.
[3] Partly cut away.
[4] This and following lines cut away.

XIV. Note on the Seal of John Salle, Esquire.

Communicated by the Rev. C. R. Manning, M.A., Corpus Christi College, F.S.A.

[May 23, 1887.]

The seal here figured is said to have been found at Grantchester about forty years ago, but there is no trustworthy evidence of the fact. Its origin can only be determined by the identification of the person for whom it was made.

It is of bronze, seven-eighths of an inch in diameter, with an upright trefoiled handle. The device is a shield of arms, viz. a falcon, or eagle, between three mullets of six points; surrounded by the inscription: S'. IEHAN · SALLE · ESCVIER ✣. These arms are not to be found in any of the armories with the name of Salle; but they are entered in Papworth (p. 316) on the authority of this seal.

Salle is a village in Norfolk, well known for its fine church. There was an ancient family of de la Salle there, but their arms were different from these. (Blomfield's *Norfolk*, VI. 478, VIII. 273.) A William Salle of Cambridge is mentioned in Blomfield's *Collectanea Cantab.* p. 13, as Patron of the rectory

of Kingston, co. Cambridge, in 1408. Possibly a branch of the family may have settled in Cambridgeshire, of which this John was one. The date of the seal appears to be about the middle of the fifteenth century.

P.S. A *Rationale divinorum* in the University Library (Ii. 2. 28) came there "ex legato M^{ri} Joh^{is} Salle decretorum doctoris nuper socii Aule sancte Trinitatis." Mr Bradshaw (*Communications* Vol. II. p. 278) observes "there is no date, and the Trinity Hall records throw no light on it, but the book must have been given between 1440 and 1473, and the donor may have been John Salle, Vicar of Happisburgh in Norfolk 1429–1455." He may also have been the owner of this seal.

LIST OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

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Report XLVII (with Abstract of Proceedings, 1886—87); Communications, No. XXIX. 1890. 3*s*.

[1] Nos. XV and XVI were marked XIV and XV by mistake.

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*** This paper has also been printed in the Society's *Communications*, Vol. III, No. XXXV.

List of the Members of the Society, May 26, 1879. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 24, 1880. 8vo.

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List of the Members of the Society, May 23, 1887. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 21, 1888. 8vo.

List of the Members of the Society, May 27, 1889. 8vo.

Note.—The Secretary of the Society is the Rev. S. S. Lewis, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; to whom all communications relating to the Society may be addressed.

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REPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS.

REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 21, 1888,

WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY
1887—1888.

ALSO

Communications

MADE TO THE SOCIETY.

No. XXX.

BEING No. 4 OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

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REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 21, 1888.

WITH APPENDIX.

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1890.

Cambridge:

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AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

REPORT.

THE Council has the pleasure of announcing that since the last Annual Meeting No. XXVIII. of the Society's Reports and Communications (for 1885—1886), and Essex's Journal of a Tour in Flanders, have been issued to our Members; No. XXIX. is far advanced towards being ready for press, as is also Alderman S. Newton's Diary (1622—1717), and Mr Hailstone's History of Swaffham Bulbeck.

The Registers of St Michael's Parish are being transcribed, and will be published under the editorial care of Dr J. Venn.

The Pedes Finium for Cambridgeshire are being transcribed under the superintendence of Mr Walter Rye, and will be issued, it is hoped, in the course of this year.

Six General Meetings have been held, at which twelve Communications were read by ten Members; twice also the Curator has favoured us with an exhibition and description of antiquities that have lately been added to the Museum of General and Local Archaeology.

Excavations, conducted during March and April of this year by Members of our Society, have brought to light a Saxon Cemetery upon land belonging to St John's College, which has yielded many highly interesting specimens; these will ere-long be exhibited in the Museum of General and Local Archaeology.

Twenty new Members have been elected; but on the other hand our losses by death and retirement have been unusually heavy: Mr Beresford Hope had been an active member of the Society at an early period in its history: Dr Bryan Walker had long been a Member of our Council, and had enriched our annual volumes with many valuable memoirs: Captain Philip Going's genial presence will be much missed from our excursions: in Sir H. Maine and Dr C. A. Swainson we lose a jurist and a divine of world-wide reputation. The Rev. C. W. King's fourteen Communications during the past nine years have formed so interesting a feature of our meetings, that—though his name never appeared on our List of Members—we cannot think of him otherwise than with most grateful and affectionate regret.

Last August our Society (in conjunction with the Essex Archaeological Society) visited the parish church and other mediaeval buildings of Thaxted and the neighbouring parts of North Essex; valuable papers were read by the local clergy; and a hospitable welcome was given by Mr and Mrs Gilbey at Elsenham Hall.

The following Societies have been added to our list for the exchange of publications &c.

The British Archaeological Association.

The Folk-lore Society.

The St Albans Architectural and Archaeological Society.

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I. AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 21, 1888.

October 31, 1887. Professor A. Macalister, M.D., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

The following new members were elected:

Alderman E. Bell, Chesterton.
Rev. E. W. Cory, M.A., Meldreth Vicarage.
Rev. H. W. Fulford, M.A., Clare College.
Colonel G. F. Herbert, Stoke Hall, Clare.
F. H. Howe, Esq., Trinity College.
E. F. J. Love, B.A., St John's College.
C. B. Margetts, Esq., Huntingdon.
Rev. E. F. Miller, M.A., St John's College.

The new PRESIDENT in his inaugural address paid a well-deserved compliment to the learning and energy of his predecessor in the Chair (the Rev. G. F. BROWNE, B.D.), and alluded with deep regret to the two distinguished Members—the Rev. C. A. Swainson, D.D., and the Rev. Bryan Walker, LL.D.—whom the Society had lost by death during the recent Long Vacation: in Mr Beresford-Hope one of our few surviving Founders has passed away.

A communication by the Rev. C. W. KING, M.A. upon four Gnostic gems lately added to the Lewis Collection was read. (See *Communications*, Vol. VI, No. XV.)

Professor HUGHES made the following remarks upon some mortars—two of stone, one of wood—which he exhibited.

"The objects which I exhibit this evening have but just passed out of use in Wales; yet so few now know what they are, that ready credence was not long ago given to the suggestion that one of them was the font in which in ancient times all the members of a well-known Welsh family had been baptised. The stone bore the initial of the family name, and was found in the yard of one of their country-houses.

They are quite common throughout Wales, being seen perched on the

wall of the haggard, or the window sill of the byre, of many an old country seat or farm-house. The basin is always of about the same size, but the outside varies much in size and form. Some are hollowed out of a rough boulder which is left undressed, others, as in the case of the two exhibited, are carefully shaped, and some have the date and initials carved upon them.

Of those exhibited one bears the initials HH. and the other WW. with the date 1688.

Enquiries throughout the country, with the assistance of the Rev. David Evans, Vicar of Abergele, to whom I am indebted for the larger specimen, have left no doubt that these were mortars, in which simples and other medicines were bruised for cattle, in the old times when the assistance of doctor or the veterinary surgeon could not always be obtained, and emergency called for the quick application of home-knowledge and homely remedies."

Professor Hughes made a communication on the ancient earthworks between the Solway and the Tyne. (See *Communications*, Vol. VI, No. XVI.)

Professor Clark agreed with Professor Hughes that there were numerous instances of Roman fortifications based on older earthworks. With regard, however, to the works of which Professor Hughes spoke, he considered that they rather appeared to have been subsidiary, from the first, to the Roman wall.

Lt. General A. Pitt-Rivers was unanimously elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

November 21, 1887. Professor A. Macalister, M.D. (President), in the Chair.

A collection of 250 impressions of mediaeval seals, referring to Cambridge and the neighbourhood, was offered to the Society by Professor C. C. Babington, and gratefully accepted.

A communication from Dr J. B. Pearson was read, in which he compared the various land-measures known as the *acre* in different parts of the British Islands and of Normandy.

With reference to the names of the Seven Angels on a Gnostic signet, exhibited at the last meeting, Dr Raven communicated a suggestion that the number 365 may be found in the successive initial letters.

Mr Bowes made a communication upon the Cambridge University Press (1701–1707), with special reference to the relations between John Owen and Dr Bentley. (See *Communications*, Vol. VI, No. XVII.)

Baron A. von Hügel (Curator of the Museum of Local and General Archaeology) exhibited a canoe from the Solomon Islands, and a large

series of stone-headed weapons, hafted stone-implements, celts, etc. selected from the ethnological and antiquarian collections of the Museum.

The Curator explained that though the canoe had been presented to the University some while ago by the Hon. Sir Arthur H. Gordon, G.C.M.G., Governor of Ceylon, it had owing to the difficulty of transport but recently reached the Museum from Sydney, to which place it was brought some years ago by the late Commodore Wilson. The canoe is intended to hold three persons. It is sixteen feet in length, and is built of a number of planks, on the inside of which ridges, pierced at intervals with holes, have been left, so as to allow of their being securely lashed to three shaped pieces of wood which form the ribs of the vessel. The planks are not riveted, but sewn together, the seams being neatly caulked inside and out with a black gum. There is no keel, and both stem and stern are greatly prolonged, and curve inwards so as to give the vessel a crescent shape. The extremities are ornamented with inlaid work; small variously shaped pieces of mother-of-pearl, neatly set in gum, form lines which follow the outline of the canoe.

Three varieties of the paddles used by the Solomon Islanders, two with narrow leaf-shaped blades, and one with a broad rounded blade, were shewn in connection with this canoe, and compared with other forms from New Britain, D'Entrecasteaux Islands, Fiji, Mangaia, and the Gulf of Benin (Africa).

The weapons included spears from the Admiralty Islands and Northern Australia, stone-headed clubs from the Fly River (New Guinea) and from New Britain, battle-axes from New Caledonia, New Zealand, &c.

Twenty-seven hafted stone-implements were also exhibited. These the Curator had arranged near an ethnological map of Oceania, so as to shew the range of the three very distinct forms of celt, which he described as being found in the Pacific Islands. Of these one, the eastern of the two Polynesian types, is quite peculiar to Oceania, and it is even there restricted to comparatively few groups of islands. Of the other two—the plain flat-sided (*Polynesian*) and the round-sided (*Melanesian*) forms—varieties are to be met in every quarter of the globe, and those two types are as clearly defined in collections of pre-historic celts as in those of modern times. The Curator is convinced that in the islands of the Pacific Ocean, anyhow, there is a very distinct connection between the people and the form of celt that they manufactured. This point gains materially in interest, when we consider that the same stone and the same means for shaping it have had to be employed by both races, and that the use for which the implements were destined was identical; moreover, that though the islanders of each archipelago have in time succeeded in giving their celts some touch, however slight, of individuality, yet the rule as to the grinding of the sides has never been transgressed.

The various methods of hafting stone-blades was then considered, but

specimens from Australia and the Pacific Islands only were available in illustration of this most interesting part of the subject. The series of stone implements, both ancient and modern, on view included specimens from Cambridgeshire, Denmark, Greenland, the United States, California, Mexico, Guatemala, Easter Island, Tahiti, the Hervey Islands, New Zealand, the Friendly, Navigator and Fiji Islands, New Caledonia, the Solomon Islands, New Britain, New Guinea, and Australia.

February 6, 1888. Professor A. Macalister, M.D., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

The following new members were elected:

Rt Rev. the Lord Bishop of Chester.
H. M. Jonas, Esq., Brooklands Avenue.
J. Mortlock, Esq., Meldreth Court.
Rev. C. F. S. W. Warren, M.A., Corpus Christi College.

Professor MACALISTER exhibited six skulls, types of the large Egyptian collection recently acquired by him for the Cambridge University Museum, and commented on their ethnic characters, observing that craniology had as yet given no support whatever to Professor Huxley's theory that the aborigines of Egypt were akin to the Australoid tribes. He remarked also that skulls from Egyptian sepulchres were scarcely ever of senile subjects, pointing to the prevalence of epidemics, which we know from other sources. Of the six skulls exhibited, one showed the prognathous features of the negro type. He also exhibited a number of articles which had been lately found in the coprolite-diggings at Hauxton, Cambs., including coins of Hadrian, Gratian, Nerva, and Constantine, stycæ of Eanred and Burgred, and several bronze and brass rings, buckles and pins: several iron knives and hooks, and two carved bone handles. These were found at very different depths in the excavations.

Mr MAGNÚSSON read a paper on four Runic Calendars, originals of three of which were exhibited, one belonging to Mr Henry Gurney of Reigate, two to the Museum of General and Local Archaeology here, and one to the Archducal Museum at Mannheim in Germany. (See *Communications*, Vol. VI, No. XVIII.)

Professor SKEAT remarked, that he thought that the compound characters for 10, 17, and 19 in the calendars might be explained as being merely the Arabic numerals. The first was composed of 1 and a small square 0, the two being joined together; the second of 1 and a small 7 joined together; and the third of 1 joined on to a slightly imperfect 9.

As to the old puzzle concerning the order of letters in the ancient *Futhork*, or runic alphabet, for which no explanation had hitherto been found, he suggested that it was not impossible that it had something to

do with the Paternoster. The Paternoster was regarded as a charm, and the letters had magical virtues. Even the order of the letters was regarded with a superstitious reverence, as shewn by the curious Anglo-Saxon poem on the subject published by Kemble. A translation of the Paternoster into any Low German dialect would begin, as in Anglo-Saxon, with the words—Fæder ure, thu on (*or* in) heofonum; where the words begin with F, U, TH, O. This gives the first four letters. Of course this is but a guess, but, in the absence of further evidence, it seemed to him to be worth mentioning.

That the runes were originally scratched rather than cut is curiously shewn by the English word to *write*. It is cognate with the German *reissen*, and meant originally to tear or scratch a surface.

March 5, 1888. Professor A. Macalister, M.D., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

The following new members were elected:

L. Ewbank, M.A., Clare College.
Rev. Canon C. Scott, D.D., The Catholic Rectory.
J. T. Wood, Esq., Alexandra House.

Professor J. H. Middleton read notes on the Temple of Apollo and its existing remains, which he has since embodied in an essay published in the *Journal of the Hellenic Society*, 1888.

Mr J. W. Clark made some remarks on a fireplace associated with the Lady Margaret lately discovered in the Master's Lodge at Christ's College. (See *Communications*, Vol. VI, No. XIX.)

Mr J. J. W. Livett read an account of his visit to the Cistercian monastery at Whitwick, on the northern border of Charnwood Forest in Leicestershire, a house where at the present day the strictest rules of the order are observed. The buildings consist of museum, poor-house, guest-chambers, cloisters, cells, &c., described by the architect, Pugin, as "in the lancet style, with massive walls and buttresses, long and narrow windows, high gables and roofs, with deeply-arched doorways." Every portion of the architecture and fittings corresponds to the austerity of the order. The monks assemble in the chapel at 2 a.m. on week-days, and at 1 a.m. on Sundays, no one being allowed to speak till 5.30 a.m. The cloisters resemble those at Queens' College. In the museum is a 'Crucifixion' by Van Dyck, and a 'Veronica' by Albert Dürer, as well as two remarkable illuminated antiphonaries of the twelfth century. There are also collections of fossils and Roman coins. The monastery was founded in 1833 by brethren from Mount Melleray in Ireland, so that it is directly descended from Citeaux through the houses of La Trappe, Valle Sainte, and Saint Susan's, Lulworth.

Mr F. C. Wace exhibited a copper ornament found by the Rev. C. B. Drake, Rector of Teversham, in his garden. It bore the arms of Pope Pius VII. (1800–1823). Mr Wace gave a short sketch of the events of Pius VII.'s reign.

April 30, 1888. Professor A. Macalister, M.D., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

The following new member was elected:

Alderman W. Cockerell, Fitzwilliam Street.

Among other presents that were laid upon the table, may be mentioned: (1) from the Rev. Professor G. F. Browne, Syllabus and Pictorial Illustrations to his Lectures of this year on Sculptured Stones; (2) from Mr Stoakley, Porter of Pembroke College, a neolithic flint implement from the eastern side of the Gogmagog Hills.

The Secretary read a memoir by Mr C. T. Martin (of the Public Record Office) upon eleven deeds, mostly charters of feoffment, dating from 1439 to 1646 A.D.; they had been found by the Rev. F. C. Marshall, Rector of Wilbraham Parva, in the parish-chest, and relate to three several properties in that parish. One of these charters (no. 4, dated 1480) bears the signature of the Earl of Surrey, the victor of Flodden; Sir John Cheyne, who is mentioned in the same deed, afterwards fought by the side of the Duke of Richmond against Richard III. at the battle of Bosworth. In no. 5 mention is made of Anglesey Priory, a house of Austin Canons founded by Henry I., and granted at the Dissolution to John Hynde; of this a full account has been given in the *History of Bottisham* by Mr R. Hailstone, issued by this Society in 1873–78.

Mr Jonas exhibited and described a collection of antiquities, found within the last few years in the neighbourhood of Royston, of which the following are the most notable:

A small gold annular brooch set with two red stones, and bearing a Christian legend IESV..., dating probably from the twelfth century A.D.

Bronze bust of a Roman lady, three inches high; the hair is dressed in the style of the end of the third century A.D.

Of the nine Saxon fibulae exhibited, the most remarkable were a pair, found at Barrington, with trefoil and crescents at the ends, about two inches long; and a smaller annular one from Royston Heath, formed of thick wire, convoluted in half of its circuit.

From the same place came a beautiful bronze awl, possibly Keltic, two inches long; one of similar form is given by Evans (*Ancient Bronze Implements*, page 189, fig. 224).

Two bronze bangles from the western side of Buckland Hill, Bassingbourne.

Mr Jonas kindly presented to the Society's Museum two harp-shaped fibulae from the same neighbourhood.

A communication by the late Rev. C. W. King, M.A., upon an Etruscan intaglio representing the Fall of Capaneus, was read by the Secretary. (See *Communications*, Vol. VI, No. XX.)

May 21, 1888. *Annual General Meeting.* Professor A. Macalister, M.D., F.R.S. (President), in the Chair.

The following Officers were elected for the next academical year:

President: Alexander Macalister, M.D., F.R.S., St John's College, Professor of Anatomy.

Vice-President: Edwin Charles Clark, LL.D., F.S.A., St John's College, Regius Professor of Civil Law.

Treasurer: William Milner Fawcett, M.A., F.S.A., Jesus College.

Secretary and Librarian: Rev. Samuel Savage Lewis, M.A., F.S.A., Corpus Christi College.

New Members of Council:

Rev. Henry Richards Luard, D.D., Trinity College, Registrary.

Thomas M'Kenny Hughes, M.A., F.S.A., Clare College, Woodwardian Professor of Geology.

John Willis Clark, M.A., F.S.A., Trinity College, Superintendent of the Museums of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.

Montague Rhodes James, B.A., King's College, Assistant Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Auditors:

Frederick Charles Wace, M.A, St John's College, Esquire Bedell.

Robert Bowes, Esq.

The following new members were elected:

G. M. Garrett, Mus. Doc., St John's College.

W. G. Monckton, B.A., Trinity College.

J. J. Nunn, Esq., Downham Market.

Hon. L. W. Rothschild, Magdalene College.

The Annual Report was presented and read.

Professor G. F. Browne made a communication on the sculptured tympanum of the south door of Pampisford Church. (See *Communications*, Vol. VI, No. XXI.)

Professor Middleton thought that the style of the work dated it 100 years earlier than Professor Browne's suggestion would place it.

Mr Bilon thought 150 years.

Mr M. R. James described a representation of the obtaining of the Head of St John Baptist, sculptured, at Amiens Cathedral.

Professor Browne also exhibited a figure of a Saint.

The figure (copper gilt) was found in the parish of Guilden Morden, near the place where an ancient Chapel known as Redderia used to stand. It is probably of 13th century workmanship. The youthful face and the clasped book held in the left hand suggest the attribution to St John the Evangelist. The figure has probably been one of the figures on a shrine, and in that case it would naturally stand on one side of Our Lord, the Virgin standing on the other side. It was fixed to the shrine by two large studs, the holes in which remain in the figure; these bores are at an angle of about 20° with one another, as though the figure stood at one corner of the shrine. Height, about 3 inches.

Professor Hughes made a communication upon the subject of Limblow Hill, a tumulus between Royston and Litlington. (See *Communications*, Vol. VI, No. XXII.)

Baron A. von Hügel and Mr Jenkinson exhibited some of the ornaments, &c. from the Saxon cemetery recently found at the back of St John's College. Over fifty skeletons had been examined; the specimens obtained, especially the brooches and the belt-plates, compared favourably with those yielded by other localities, though no such brooches as the large one from Haslingfield, in Trinity College Library, had turned up. There were more pierced Roman coins than at Girton, and also more male skeletons with shields and spears; both which facts may point to a slightly earlier date. Otherwise, and especially in the apparent concurrence of inhumation and urn-burial, the two cemeteries were much alike. Some of the urns now found are very remarkable; they will be exhibited on another occasion.

Mr Mortlock (of Meldreth Court) exhibited a photograph of an oaken mantel-piece 11 feet in height by 7 feet in width, that he had lately bought from a house at Lynn, which once belonged to the Taylor family. The house seems to have been completed soon after 1700; the said mantel-piece with all the adjacent panelling is a noble specimen of Jacobean work, and has been erected in a room at 31, Orchard Street, Portland Square, London, where it may now be seen.

Mr Beloe (of Lynn) spoke of the great prosperity of the town and port in the fifteenth and three following centuries, during much of which time Lynn was the third port of England, ranking next to London and Bristol: he mentioned that it is said that Cromwell had battered the tower which was attached to this house; but whether there was more rough usage from Cromwell's artillery outside than there has been from the wreckage inside, he would leave his hearers to decide.

A valuable memoir on the deeds from Wilbraham Parva (exhibited at the last Meeting) has been kindly sent by Mr Ed. Hailstone; it will be printed entire among the *Communications*.

II. LIST OF COUNCIL ELECTED MAY 21, 1888.

President.

ALEXANDER MACALISTER, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Anatomy.*

Vice-Presidents.

CHARLES CARDALE BABINGTON, M.A., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Botany.*

Rev. GEORGE FORREST BROWNE, B.D., St Catharine's College, *Disney Professor of Archaeology.*

*EDWIN CHARLES CLARK, LL.D., F.S.A., St John's College, *Regius Professor of Civil Law.*

Treasurer.

WILLIAM MILNER FAWCETT, M.A., F.S.A., Jesus College.

Secretary and Librarian.

Rev. SAMUEL SAVAGE LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A., Corpus Christi College.

Ordinary Members of Council.

*FRANCIS JOHN HENRY JENKINSON, M.A., Trinity College.

*JOHN EBENEZER FOSTER, M.A., Trinity College.

*Rev. Canon MANDELL CREIGHTON, M.A., Emmanuel College, *Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History.*

*GEORGE WALTER PROTHERO, M.A., King's College, *University Lecturer in History.*

*CHARLES WALDSTEIN, M.A., Litt.D., King's College, *Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum and Reader in Classical Archaeology.*

*Rev. WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, M.A., Litt.D., Christ's College, *Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon.*

*JOHN HENRY MIDDLETON, M.A., F.S.A., King's College, *Slade Professor of Fine Art.*

*NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, M.A., LL.M., Downing College.

Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Trinity College, *Registrary.*

THOMAS MCKENNY HUGHES, M.A., F.S.A., Clare College, *Woodwardian Professor of Geology.*

JOHN WILLIS CLARK, M.A., F.S.A., Trinity College, *Superintendent of the Museum of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.*

MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, B.A., King's College, *Assistant Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum.*

Excursion-Secretary.

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, M.A., LL.M.

Auditors.

FREDERICK CHARLES WACE, M.A., LL.M., *Esquire Bedell.*

ROBERT BOWES, Esq.

* Remaining from the Old Council.

III. SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1887.

Receipts.

	£.	s.	d.
Balance	478	4	8
Annual subscriptions	282	9	0
Life Members' subscriptions	10	10	0
G. E. Railway	3	17	4
Publications, Macmillan and Co.	5	10	6
G. E. Railway	3	17	6
Publications, Macmillan and Co.	3	8	3
	£787	17	3

Payments.

			£.	s.	d.
Cheque book			0	5	0
Kerridge and Shaw, work at Old Abbey			4	13	2
Macintosh, lamps			1	2	0
Spalding, stationery			1	2	0
University Press			100	15	0
Scientific Instrument Co.			38	0	0
Johnson, Neville's "Saxon Obsequies"			1	15	0
Rev. S. S. Lewis (Secretary's expenses)			1	15	0
J. Ansell, bookcases			29	13	0
Chapman (attendance)			2	10	0
Kerridge and Shaw, doors to Old Abbey			22	10	6
Scientific Instrument Co.			9	18	0
Baron A. von Hügel, Curator of Museum			50	0	0
"East Anglian"			0	5	0
Returned subscriptions (paid in error)			5	5	0
			281	18	8
Balance in Bank	504	4 7			
„ in Cash	1	14 0			
			505	18	7
			£787	17	3

Examined and found correct, F. C. WACE, ROBERT BOWES } *Auditors.*

19 *March*, 1888.

IV. LIST OF PRESENTS

RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 21, 1888.

ANTIQUITIES, &c.

From Professor Babington:

An antique bronze statuette of a Fawn carrying an amphora on his left shoulder; found at Bradfield, Suffolk.

A collection of 250 impressions of mediaeval seals, referring to Cambridge and its neighbourhood.

From Mr J. H. Bloom (Non-Coll.).

Five panes of stained glass dug up at Castle Acre Priory in the spring of 1854.

From the Rev. W. G. Searle, M.A.

A Roman tile found at the eastern corner of the south transept of St Alban's Abbey.

From Mr Stoakley, Porter of Pembroke College:

A neolithic flint implement found on Good Friday 1887, on the eastern side of the Gogmagog Hills.

BOOKS.

A. From various donors:

From Mr Edmund Durrant (of Chelmsford):

Handbook for Essex. By Miller Christy. Chelmsford, 1887.

From the Rev. J. C. Cox, LL.D.:

The Reliquary Vol. I, No. 3; Vol. II, No. 1.

From Mr F. W. Putnam, Curator of the Peabody Museum:

Conventionalism in Ancient American Art. With 12 Plates. 8°.

From Mr H. Phillips, Ph.D. (Philadelphia), Honorary Member:

Virginia Historical Collections, Vol. VI.

History of the Bank of North America. By Lawrence Lewis, jun.

Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land en Volkenkunde. By Brandes and von Wijk.

Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuursvergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Deel XXIV. (1886).

Catalogus der Archeologische Verzamelung van het Bataviasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. 1887.

De Vestiging van het Nederlandsche Gezag over de Banda-Eilanden 1599–1621, door J. A. van der Chijs. Batavia, 1886.

From Mr Stewart Culin (Philadelphia):

China in America.

From Professor Newton, F.R.S.:

Museum Regium ab Ol. Jacobaeo descriptum. Hafniæ, 1696.

From Mr J. Cox (Trinity):

Analytical Index to the Remembrancia of the City of London.

From the Rev. T. Clarke (Rector of Ormside, Appleby):

Thesaurus Antiquitatum Francicarum et Saxonicarum. Lemgoviæ, 1710.

From the Rev. Professor Browne:

Syllabus and Pictorial Illustrations to his Lectures, Lent Term, 1888.

From M. A. Bertolotti:

Relazioni dei Inglesi col Governo Pontificio nei Secoli XVI, XVII, XVIII. By the Donor. Pisa, 1888.

From Mr F. H. Stoddard (A.M., University of California):

References for Students of Miracle-Plays and Mysteries. By the Donor.

B. From Societies, etc. in union for the exchange of publications:

1. The Society of Antiquaries of London (W. H. St J. Hope, Esq., M.A., *Assistant Secretary*, Burlington House, London, W.):

   Proceedings, Vol. XI, Nos. 3, 4.

2. The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (R. H. Gosselin, Esq., *Secretary*, Oxford Mansions, Oxford Street, London, W.):

   The Archaeological Journal (Vol. XLIV) Nos. 174, 175, 176.

3. The St Paul's Ecclesiological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, E. J. Wells, Esq., Sandown House, Mallinson Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W.):
   Transactions, Vol. II, Part 2.

4. The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society (*Hon. Secretary*, F. S. Pulling, Esq., M.A., 69 Walton Street, Oxford):
   Proceedings, Nos. III—VII, VIII—XX, XXIII—XXX.

5. The Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, R. Fitch, Esq., Norwich):
   Archaeologia Cantiana, Vol. XVII.

6. The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. F. Haslewood, M.A., St Matthew's Rectory, Ipswich):
   Proceedings, Vol. VI, Part 3.

7. The Essex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, H. W. King, Esq., Leigh Hill, Leigh, Essex):
   Transactions of the Society, Vol. III, parts 2, 3.

8. The Kent Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. Canon W. A. Scott Robertson, M.A., Throwley Vicarage, Faversham):
   Nothing received this year.

9. The Sussex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Librarian*, R. Crosskey, Esq., Lewes):
   Sussex Archaeological Collections, Vol. XXXV.

10. The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society (*Curator*, P. B. Hayward, Esq., Cathedral Yard, Exeter):
    Transactions, Vol. V, part 1.

11. The Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, W. F. Freer, Esq., Stoneygate, Leicester):
    Transactions, Vol. VI, Part 4.

12. The Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, Bedford, Leicester, etc. (*General Secretary*, Rev. Canon G. T. Harvey, Vicar's Court, Lincoln):
    Reports and Papers read during the year 1886.

13. The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (*Hon. Curator*, Rev. J. Mansell, 12 Kremlin Drive, Liverpool):
    Nothing received this year.

14. The Liverpool Numismatic Society:
    Nothing received this year.

15. The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (*Secretary*, R. BLAIR, Esq., The Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne):

    Archaeologia Aeliana, Vol. XII (new series), No. 2.
    Proceedings, Vol. III, Nos. 4—26.

16. The Cambrian Archaeological Association (*Secretary*, Rev. R. TREVOR OWEN, M.A., Llangedwyn, Oswestry):

    Archaeologia Cambrensis (Fifth Series), Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17.

17. The Powys-Land Club (*Hon. Secretary*, M. C. JONES, Esq., F.S.A., Gungrog, Welshpool):

    Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. XXI, Parts 2, 3; Vol. XXII, Part 1.

18. The Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Association (*Hon. Secretary*, ARTHUR COX, Esq., Mill Hill, Derby):

    Journal of the Society, Vol. X.

19. The Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland (*Hon. Secretary*, J. G. ROBERTSON, Esq., Kilkenny):

    Journal of the Association (Vol. VIII), Nos. 69a, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74.

20. La Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (*Archiviste*, M. Pol. NICARD, Musée de Louvre, Paris):

    Mémoires de la Société, Tome XLVII.
    Bulletin de la Société, 1886.

21. The Norwegian Archaeological Society (Antiqvar N. NICOLAYSEN, *Sekretær*, Kristiania):

    Nothing received this year.

22. Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale de Norvège à Christiania (*Bibliothécaire*, A. C. DROLSUM):

    Nothing received this year.

23. La Commission Impériale Archéologique de la Russie (*Secrétaire*, M. TIESENHAUSEN, à l'Hermitage, Pétersbourg):

    Nothing received this year.

24. Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρία (Mr ET. A. COUMANOUDIS, *γραμματεύς*, Athens):

    Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική, Vol. III, 1887, Part 1.

25. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (F. W. PUTNAM, Esq., *Curator*):

    Nothing received this year.

26. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. (SPENCER F. BAIRD, Esq., *Secretary*):

    Annual Report of the Board of Regents for 1885, Part 1.

27. The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia (H. PHILLIPS, Jun., Esq., Ph.D., *Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer*, 320 South Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.):

    Nothing received this year.

28. The Archaeological Institute of America (*Secretary*, E. H. GREENLEAF, Esq., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.):

    Nothing received this year.

29. The Bureau of Ethnology, Washington (W. J. HOFFMANN, Esq., M.D., *Secretary*):

    Bibliography of the Eskimo language. By J. C. Pilling.
    " " Siouan " "
    Work of the Bureau in Mound-exploration. By C. Thomas.
    Perforated Stones from California. By H. W. Henshaw.
    Use of Gold among the inhabitants of Chiriqui. By W. H. Holmes.

30. The Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences (W. H. PRATT, Esq., *Corresponding Secretary and Curator*, Davenport, Iowa, U.S.A.):

    Nothing received this year.

31. La Société Jersiaise (*Secretary*, M. EUGÈNE DUPREY, Queen Street, St Helier, Jersey):

    Douzième Bulletin Annuel (1886).

32. The London and Middlesex Archaeological Society (JOHN E. PRICE, Esq., *Secretary*, 27 Bedford Place, Russell Square, London, W.C.:

    Transactions, Part XX.

33. The Surrey Archaeological Society (THOMAS MILBOURN, Esq., *Hon. Sec.*, 8 Dane's Inn, London, W.C.):

    Nothing received this year.

34. The Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (J. A. TURNER, Esq., *Curator*, The Castle, Taunton):

    Proceedings (during the year 1886), new series, Vol. XII.
    Proceedings (during the year 1887), Vol. XIII.

35. Verein für Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde (*President*, Dr DIETRICH SCHÄFER, Jena):

    Zeitschrift des Vereins, Band V, Heft. 3, 4.

36. American Antiquarian Society: (*Librarian*, E. M. Barton, Esq., Worcester, Massachusetts, U.S.A.):

Nothing received this year.

37. The Johns Hopkins University (N. Murray, Esq. *Secretary of the Publication Agency*, Baltimore, Maryland):

University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Fifth Series), Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

Studies from the Biological Laboratory, Vol. iv, Nos. 1, 2.

38. Die Historische Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen (Dr Ehrenberg, *Sekretar*, Posen, North Germany).

Nothing received this year.

39. The British and American Archaeological Society of Rome (*Secretary*, The Hon. A. J. Strutt, 76 Via della Croce, Rome).

Nothing received this year.

40. The Architectural, Archaeological, and Historic Society of Chester (*Honorary Secretary*, T. Hughes, Esq., F.S.A., The Groves, Chester): [Nov. 2, 1886.]

Nothing received this year.

41. Clifton Antiquarian Club (*Honorary Secretary*, A. E. Hudd, Esq., 94 Pembroke Road, Clifton: [Nov. 2, 1886.]

Nothing received this year.

42. The British Archaeological Association (E. P. Loftus Brock, Esq. *Hon. Secretary*): [December 8, 1887.]

Journal, Vol. xliii, Parts 1—4; Vol. xliv, Part 1.

43. The Architectural and Archaeological Society of St Alban's (The Rev. Canon Davys, M.A., *Hon. Secretary*): [March 5, 1888.]

Transactions for 1885.

Transactions for 1886.

44. The Folk-lore Society (J. J. Foster, Esq. *Secretary*, 36 Alma Sq., St John's Wood, N.W.): [May 21, 1888.]

45. The Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors:

Transactions, Nos. 1, 2.

The Bureau of Education, Washington:

Report of the Commissioner for the year 1884–85.

" " " 1885–86.

Circulars of Information (1887), Nos. 1, 2, 3.

V. LAWS.

(*Revised Feb.* 28, 1881.)

I. THIS Society shall be called THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

II. The object of the Society shall be to encourage the study of History, Architecture and Antiquities, to meet for the discussion of these subjects, and to collect and print information relative thereto.

III. The subscription of each member of the Society shall be *One Guinea* annually, such subscription to be due on the first day of January in each year; on the payment of which sum he shall become entitled to all the publications of the Society during the current year.

IV. A member shall be allowed to compound for his future annual subscriptions by one payment of *Ten Guineas;* or, after the payment of fifteen annual subscriptions, by the payment of five guineas.

V. If the annual subscription of any member be twelve months in arrear, the Treasurer shall make application for it, and if it be not paid within one month, a second application shall be made for it, and if that is not attended to within one month, a notice of the same shall be suspended in the Society's usual place of meeting, and the Secretary shall inform the member thereof: if the said subscription be still unpaid at the expiration of two years from the time when it became due, the name of such person shall be announced at the next Annual General Meeting as having been struck off the list of the Society.

VI. No Member whose subscription is in arrear, and has been applied for (according to Law V), shall be entitled to vote at any meeting of the Society.

VII. Any person who is desirous of becoming a member of the Society shall be proposed by two members at any of the ordinary meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting: but all Noblemen, Bishops, Heads of Colleges, and Professors of this University shall be balloted for at the meeting at which they are proposed.

VIII. Honorary Members may be proposed with the sanction of the Council by at least two members of the Society at any of the usual meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting. No person shall be so proposed who is either resident within the county of Cambridge or a member of the University. Honorary Members shall receive all the current publications of the Society.

IX. In the voting by ballot for the election of members and honorary members one black ball in four shall exclude.

X. The management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a President (who shall not be eligible for that office for more than two successive years), three Vice-Presidents (of whom the senior shall retire at each Annual Meeting and be ineligible for re-election during the next two years), a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not more than twelve nor less than seven other Members, to be elected from amongst the Members of the Society who are graduates of the University. Each member of the Council shall have due notice of the meetings of that body, at which not less than five shall constitute a quorum.

XI. The President, one Vice-President, the Treasurer, and the Secretary, and at least three ordinary members of the Council, shall be elected annually by ballot, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May, the three senior ordinary members of the Council to retire annually.

XII. At the Meetings of the Society or of the Council the Chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, by the senior Vice-President, the Treasurer, or senior ordinary member of the Council then present. The Chairman shall have a casting vote in case of an equality of numbers, retaining also his own right to vote upon all questions submitted to the meeting.

XIII. The accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society shall be audited annually by two Auditors, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting; an abstract of such accounts shall be printed for the use of the members.

XIV. The Meetings of the Society shall take place once at least during each term: the place of meeting and all other arrangements, not specified in the Laws, shall be left to the discretion of the Council.

XV. No alteration shall be made in these Laws, except at the Annual General Meeting or at a special General Meeting called for that purpose, of which at least one week's notice shall be sent to all the members at their last known place of abode: and one month's notice of any proposed alteration shall be communicated, in writing, to the Secretary, in order that he may make the same known to all the members of the Society.

It is requested that all Communications intended for the Society, and the names of Candidates for admission, be forwarded to the Secretary, or to the Treasurer, 1 *Silver Street, Cambridge.*

Subscriptions received by the Treasurer, or by his Bankers, Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge; or at the Bank of Messrs Smith, Payne, and Smith, London, "To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's account with Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge."

VI. LIST OF COMMUNICATIONS (No. XXX) ISSUED WITH THE PRESENT REPORT, BEING PART IV OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

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XV. Observations upon four Gnostic Gems, lately added to the Lewis Collection. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A., Trinity College.

[October 31, 1887.]

To protect oneself from evil, or to procure good, through the innate influence of external objects, natural or artificial, carried upon the person, is a practice as ancient as human society itself. It prevails with equal force amongst all nations, whether barbarous or civilized, wherever the idea of an invisible power is found, and is coeval with the existence of such an idea. The earliest amulets were natural objects, whose odd shape, and inexplicable occurrence, like that of the belemnite and the ammonite, bordered upon the supernatural. The very name amulet (as Pliny relates) signifies no more than the cyclamen root, because its growth in any place was a preventive of the effect of all poisons in that place[1]. The word talisman, on the other hand, marks a far higher step in civilization, for coming as it does from *ἀποτέλεσμα*, *the influence of heavenly bodies*, it has its origin in the study of astrology. Hence come *sigils*, the attempted representations of the Astral Powers, whose protection is solicited by the wearer of the talisman.

The early Greeks appear to have employed these supernatural aids rather in the form of *written* spells, than as en-

[1] In omnibus serenda domibus, si verum est ubi sata sit nihil nocere mala medicamenta; amuletum vocant. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxv. lxvii.

gravings in hard materials: the most important of the class being the celebrated "Ephesian Letters"—the six words in an unknown tongue cut upon the zone of the great oriental Artemis. The *phylacteries* (literally 'preservatives') of the Jews, i.e. texts of Scripture written on parchment strips; and the *grigris* of the Arabs, the Koran similarly utilized—are examples of the same custom preserved in full force to the present day.

But it was under the Roman Empire that this superstition attained to its fullest development, and has left to us innumerable relics of its universal prevalence in the imperishable material of gems. The manufacture of talismanic gems does not appear to have commenced in earnest in Europe before the second century of our era; for Pliny quotes only two examples (and that, with a sneer at the magi) of the virtues of the sigils of an eagle, and a beetle, engraved in amethyst and emerald. But the fashion, once set, soon grew to mighty proportions in the two centuries that followed, and the last efforts of the expiring glyptic art were devoted to this work—the gnostic gorgons of the Byzantine school going far down into the Middle Ages.

Rabanus Maurus, a great light of the Carlovingian Revival, has drawn up a copious list of the virtues of different sigils engraved upon their proper gems—they are remedies for every ill, and conductors of every blessing, that humanity can either fear or desire.

It cannot be supposed that the simple-minded old Frank drew upon his own fancy for this wondrous catalogue of virtues; he must have merely selected his examples from the numerous 'Guides to sigil-makers' then still mouldering in convent libraries; but of which even the names have perished, except in the case of king *Nechepsos*[1], quoted by Galen as to the

[1] That his work was a handbook for talisman-makers may be gathered from Ausonius' expression:

'Quique *magos docuit* mysteria vana Necepsus.

virtue of a lion-headed serpent engraved upon the green calcedony.

These interesting monuments of a most fascinating superstition may be divided into two great families, according to the religious ideas that inspired their fabricators. Two grand religions at that time divided the Roman world between them; and had virtually superseded the primitive nature-worship of Italy and Greece. These religions were the *Mithraic*, and the *Egyptian* in its latest form of exclusive devotion to Serapis and Isis, often much modified by the notions of the semi-Jewish philosophers of Alexandria. To the former belief are due all the talismans that bear evident allusions to solar influences, and rites of initiation: to the latter the countless types of Serapis, and the long strings of Hebrew titles of divine powers and attributes, phonetically rendered in Greek characters.

The two classes of practitioners who got their living by working upon these two different lines are well set before us by Juvenal in his description of the quacks who fattened upon the credulity of the Roman ladies in the beginning of the second century. First comes the lordly Chaldean, the man who deals with changes of empire and political revolutions, and is often a state prisoner on that account:

> "Cujus amicitia, conducendaque tabella,
> Magnus civis obit, et formidatus Othoni."[1]

After him, steals in the poor trembling Jewess:

> "Arcanam Judaea tremens mendicat in aurem:"[2]

whose art goes not beyond the causing and the interpretation of *dreams:* and whose fee is only a handful of small coppers.

These preliminary observations are intended to give a general idea of the origin, nature, and destination of talismans, to such antiquaries as have hitherto paid no attention to them. The four examples here described offer unusually valuable

[1] Juv. Sat. VI. 558. [2] Ibid. 543.

illustrations of some of the classes into which the subject may be divided, and one of them (No. 2) offers an arrangement of its components of which no other example has hitherto been published. They were selected from a large series of the so-called "Gnostic" Gems, which formed part of the celebrated Montigny Cabinet, dispersed by auction at Paris in June, 1887.

No. 1. A *Pantheus*, which goes by the name of the "Abraxas-God;" and which, probably, was composed by Basilides himself at the same time that he invented the appellation—at all events the figure is not to be found on monuments prior to the date of that heresiarch, the middle of the second century. He would seem to have borrowed the idea of this composite deity from the response of Serapis to Nicocreon, who desired to know with what god of the ancient creed of Greece he was to be identified. His words, as reported by Macrobius (*Saturnalia*, I. 20) may be thus translated:

> "A God I am, such as I shew to thee:
> The starry heaven my head, my trunk the sea;
> Earth gives my legs: the air my arms supplies;
> The Sun's far darting, brilliant rays, my eyes."

By which Serapis declares himself the type of the universe, and to be represented by the combination of all the elements.

Our Pantheus, if analysed, tallies very well with such a description: for the *cock* is the well-known symbol of the sun, as the earth-born *serpent* is of earth, who (we have seen already) furnishes the legs of Serapis, and the human trunk implies the element *water*. He brandishes a scourge, for the proper office of a talisman is to drive off evil spirits, to whose agency the Jews attributed, and still attribute, all the ills to which the human race is subject. The *shield* is added as an emblem of the protection which the god affords to his votaries. The *numerical value* of ΑΒΡΑΞΑΣ, viz. 365, makes it probable that the main idea was that of the solar power, the true fount of being: with which Macrobius (*l. c.*) labours with many

ingenious arguments to identify Serapis. In the field below is placed a *sigla*, perhaps only an ill-cut Θ, and if so, the numeral *Nine*.

The reverse is occupied with the names of seven angels in the following order:

Michael = Who is like unto God?

Gabriel = The mighty one of God.

Uriel = The light of God.

Raphael = The healing power of God.

Ananiel = The mercy of God.

Prosorael = Diffuser of the light of God.

Absael = The binder-up of God.

This is the only instance known to me in which more than *four* angels are invoked: the increase of their number indicates a Magian influence at work that sought in the Jewish celestial hierarchy for representatives of the seven *Amshaspands* of Zoroaster. St Paul (Coloss. ii. 18) strongly reprobates the "voluntary humility and *worshipping of angels*" which some interlopers were seeking to introduce among his flock: and this gem is a proof of the prevalence of such doctrines; for these angels usurp the honour usually assigned by the talisman-makers to the *Great Name*, or titles of the God of the Jews. Another, and, from its connexion, most striking evidence, of the faith in the virtue of angelic names is the gold plate scratched in Greek letters with "Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel," deposited with her other jewels in the sarcophagus of Maria the infant bride of the very orthodox Honorius: of which discovery (A.D. 1546) the eye-witness L. Fauno has left so interesting an account in his *Antichità di Roma*. Another circumstance that gives additional interest to our gem is that it has been figured by Chiflet in his *Abraxas Proteus*, No. 15, from a cast, being then in the cabinet of the celebrated antiquary, Laurentius Pignorius.

The intaglio is in a superior style to most of its family: and

the material is, as usual, a dark green jasper, much blanched by fire.

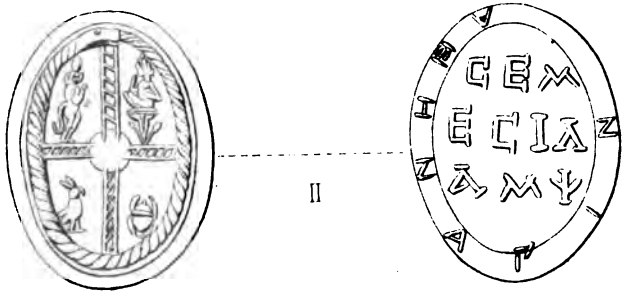
No. 2. In many ways a remarkable gem: in design it is altogether unique: its elements are the combined signs of two widely distant religions, and its execution is much beyond that of the generality of its class. At first sight it would be taken for an *heraldic* shield, divided into four *cantons* by as many ladder-shaped bars, intended to represent rays issuing from a central sun. In the first canton is placed the regular Mithraic Lion, *fascino erecto*, typical of his office of impregnating the soul with fresh vitality[1]. In the second canton appears Horus seated on the lotus; the well-known type of the vernal sun presiding over the universe. In the third, the cock, attribute of the god of day: and in the fourth, the scarabeus, by which the Egyptians symbolised the Demiurgus himself. The reverse bears a legend referable to this combination of solar emblems: "Thou sun of the universe:" followed by the Greek numeral for 700, which is frequently found in the same connexion, and consequently must be either the numerical *equivalent* of the letters making up some sacred name, according to cabalistic rules (as 888 stands for the name Jesus in the same system), or it may be the actual *number* dedicated to some deity, a practice dating from the earliest Assyrian times; which number was used in the place of his regular name. The bevelled edge of the stone also bears a legend of much value as preserving the name of the lady for whom the talisman was engraved—viz. ΑΕΙΕΙΝΑΓΙΝ—in which the mystic vowels which shroud the ineffable name of the God of the Jews are called

ϲ ε м
ε ϲ ι λ
α м ψ

[1] A doctrine set forth by Plutarch in his *Face in the Moon, sub fin.*; "in the next place, the Sun having impregnated the *Mind* with vital force, produces new *Souls*." The same idea is very materialistically exemplified in an intaglio published by Matter, *Hist. Crit. du Gnosticisme*, Pl. I F. No. 1.

ΜΙΧΑΗΛ
ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ
ΟΥΡΙΗΛ
ΡΑΦΑΗΛ
ΑΝΑΝΑΗΛ
ΠΡΟΣΟΡΑΙΗΛ
ΥΑΒΣΑΗ

I



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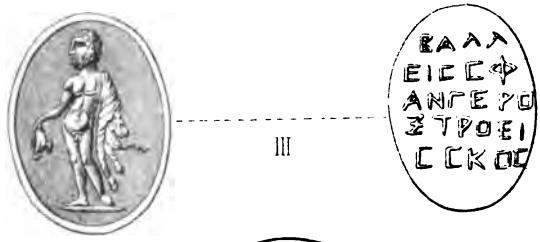
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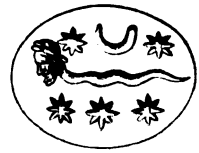
III



IV

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upon to protect the wearer *Nagis*. Black haematite, perhaps magnetic.

No. 3. Hercules standing, holding his club and a cantharus: the commonest of gem-types, but rendered a "stone of virtue," by the very uncommon legend engraved on the reverse. A clue to discovering the *language* of this inscription is the recollection of the fact that such writings frequently terminate in the name of the person who bespoke the talisman, and consequently I read the words as corrupt Greek (as spoken by the Jews of Alexandria)—instead of the phonetic Hebrew, so much more in fashion for the same purpose—and render them thus; "Advance to distinction (*φανερὸν*) Satroiscos." The man's name is sufficiently uncouth; but in the mongrel population of the great emporium no vagary of the kind can be rejected as impossible. Good authority for *βάλλε* in the sense I have given it is found in the Aristophanic *βάλλ' ἐς κόρακας*. Calcedony.

ΒΑΛΛ
ΕΙCCΦ
ΑΝΓΕΡΟ
ΕΑΤΡΟΕΙ
CΕΚΟC

No. 4. An elegant and also unexampled variation of the type of the human-headed Agathodaemon serpent. Instead of having the human neck made a *continuation* of the serpent's so as to appear in its natural position only when the reptile erects itself, the head is in this case set at right angles to the neck of the serpent, so as to fall naturally when the latter revolves its coils along the ground. The head thus completing the serpent is usually that of Serapis, as is well shown on many coins from the Alexandrian Mint, notably on a First brass of Hadrian published by M. Feuardent in *Ancienne Égypte*, No. 1420. The strange union must have been suggested by the figure of the serpent, which enveloped the three-headed monster that symbolised Past, Present, and Future, and caressed the right hand of the god, according to the graphic description of Macrobius (*Saturnalia*, I. 20). The same idea is converted into an ingenious piece of flattery by the designer of a bronze in the

Lewis Collection, where the twin serpents are graced with heads of M. Aurelius and Faustina Iunior, who are thereby immortalised as the "good genii" of the land of Egypt. In my own collection was a very curious *variant* upon this type, which displayed Serapis enthroned, with orb and sceptre, but furnished with head and neck of serpent instead of his own. Before him kneels the *Cynocephalus* in adoration; and the fact that the animal is an attribute of the Moon makes it probable that here also we see a personification of the Powers of Light.

That "Agathodaemon" was the popular name for these large crested snakes, we learn from Lampridius, who, enumerating the various extravagances of Heliogabalus, states, amongst the rest, that he kept and exhibited serpents commonly called "Agathodaemons," hippopotami, crocodiles, and all sorts of Egyptian animals. The sober historian evidently regarded it a proof of the most extravagant folly to maintain a zoological collection. I have also seen a gem engraved with a pair of these reptiles with the name 'Agathodaemon' added in the field. Their figures were painted up by the ancient Romans on blank walls to preserve them from defilement, for the same reason that a white cross is by the moderns at the present day: thus Persius:

> "Pinge duos angues—pueri, sacer est locus—extra
> Mejite."

But, to return to the intaglio which we are discussing, it is worthy of notice, as doubtless involving a great esoteric truth, that the serpent is keeping on his way amongst *five* stars and the lunar crescent. Why this limitation of number, except to show that the *sixth* (the sun) is to be understood in the figure of the serpent? And in fact Horapollo in his explanation of hieroglyphics, actually states that a planet was represented by a serpent, on account of its *winding* motion through the heavens.

XVI. On the Ancient Earth-works between the Mouth of the Tyne and the Solway. Communicated by Professor Hughes. (With one Plate.)

[October 31, 1887.]

From history, and from the objects found, it is known that the Romans occupied, strongly fortified, and long held, the country between the mouths of the Solway and the Tyne. So everything has been looked at from the Roman point of view. The question has been always 'when and why did the Romans make this object or construct that work?' not 'did the Romans construct it, or adopt and modify pre-existing works?'

The analogy of similar things referred to the Romans elsewhere has been sought, but seldom has there been a comparison of works found along the line of Roman advance with those constructed by the pre-Roman inhabitants of Britain in other parts of our island.

I invite the Society to-night to consider the question from the British stand-point.

I have already more than once called attention to the distinguishing characters of the camps of the native British, who were acquainted with all the passes and the strongholds which commanded them, as compared with the camps of the invading Romans, all ordered on one plan, easily carried out whatever the nature of the ground might be.

Let us then examine the distribution of the British camps in the district between the Tyne and the Solway, in order that we may be in a position to consider whether some of the works which have been called Roman do not seem to be connected

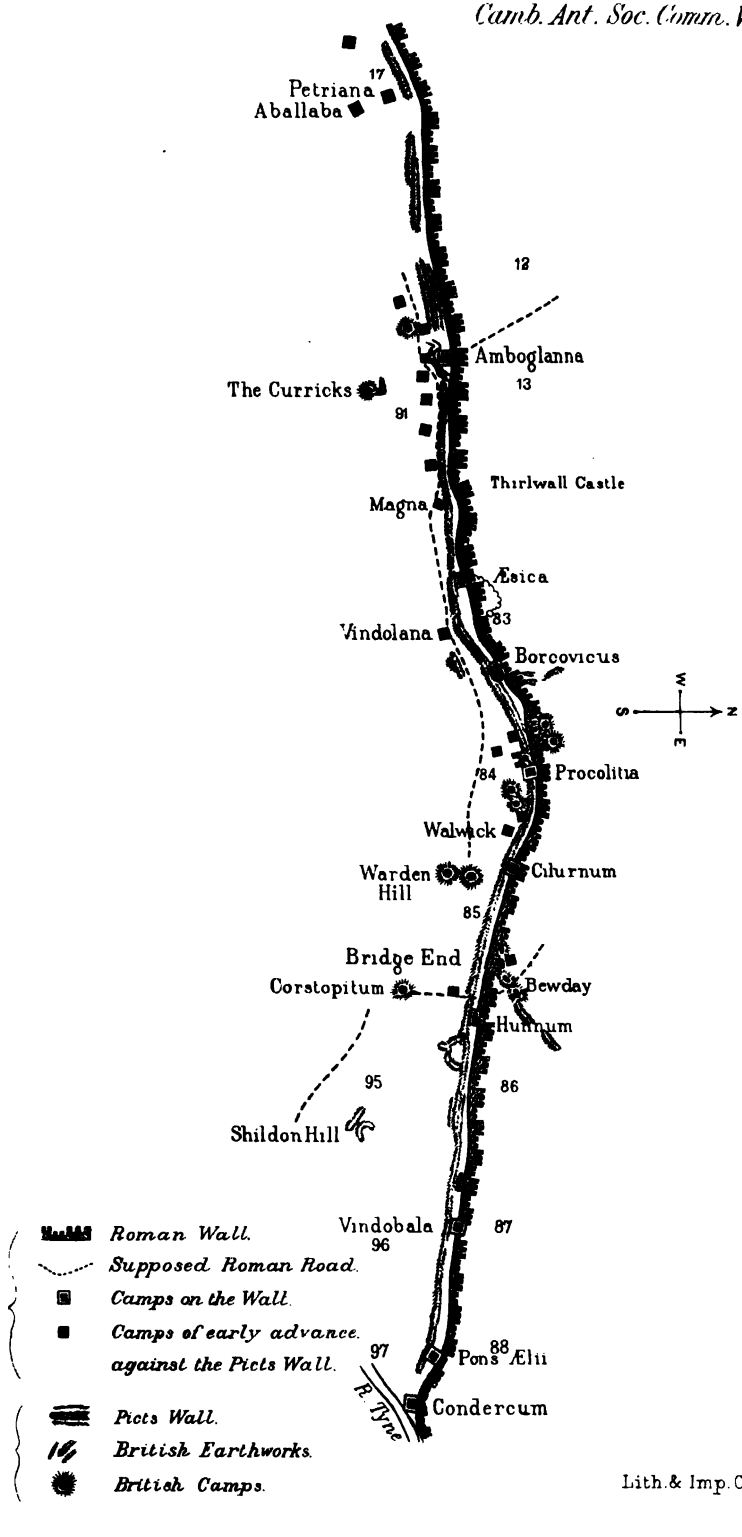
rather with the British than with the Roman occupation of the district.

I do not propose now to offer any criticisms upon the Roman Wall, properly so called, in fact I have not much to add to what has already been said about it. Nor do I refer to previous writers except to say that I visited it formerly under the guidance of Dr Bruce, and recently under that of Dr Hodgkin, who almost carry in themselves the literature of the subject.

I confine myself to the discussion of one point. What is the "Vallum"?

To help in this enquiry I laid down upon the six inch map, in blue, the earth-works which I think should be referred to the British, and in red the Roman. Others of doubtful age I coloured yellow. Further, I prepared a rough diagram on which the results are brought together on the scale of 1 inch to the mile, a reduction of which to the scale of about 6 miles to 1 inch is given in the Plate annexed to this paper.

Why did every successive wave of Roman advance seem to be checked along the line of the Roman Wall? It is true that the estuary of the Solway and the Tyne offered at either end a safe point on which to rest the flank of an advancing army, but all the intermediate ground was easily traversed. No physical feature of any importance barred their progress: yet the remains of walls and earth-works tell us that it was here, in the middle of the low undulating country, that the greatest difficulty was met with. Only some of the camps are Roman; a large proportion are the irregular rounded forms which for convenience are collectively spoken of as British. The wave of Roman military advance here broke on a low bank bristling with British forts—Borcovicus at the west end and Hunnum at the east end, being themselves for some reason of different form from the other Roman camps. It is clear that this district was strongly held by the British. At least twelve British earth-works may be traced within a distance of twelve miles from east to west, and



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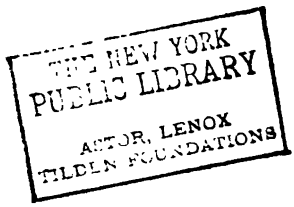
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three miles from north to south. These are flanked by long lines of fosse and vallum near Borcovicus and Bewclay. Irregularly entrenched positions are seen on the south-east at Hunnum, Corstopitum, and perhaps Shildon Hill. The two first were occupied and modified by the Romans, but the outer earth-works show that they had been originally British towns.

Within the same area, counting Corstopitum, twelve Roman camps occur, and the Roman Wall bends four miles to the north to take this district in.

The Roman camps are of very different sizes. They point, not to one steady advance but to different attempts, sometimes with larger, sometimes smaller bodies of troops. This is a point that should be carefully worked out all along the Roman Wall, if we are right in supposing that the Romans made their symmetrical camps always with reference to the troops to be contained, whereas the irregular British camps were constructed to take advantage of the inequalities of the ground, and extended up to any precipice or river, regardless of the area thus included. These small Roman camps are irregularly distributed throughout the district, and seem to point to the earlier advance far into the enemies' country. The larger camps along the district south of the Wall from Amboglanna to Magna, most of them with lunettes or barbicans, show the advance of a stronger body of troops up to a definite line.

The Romans were of course victorious in the long run. The British camps were stormed, and the towns taken. Perhaps it was then that the British towns Hunnum and Corstopitum were occupied. But it is a curious circumstance that with very few exceptions, such as the small camp near Bewclay, these Roman camps were all crowded along the south side of the earth-works, known as the "Vallum," which run south of the Roman Wall. Except where the basalt precipices run, there is no geographical reason for this, but it is easily explained on the hypothesis that the British held some line of defence approximately coinciding

with the Vallum. In later times there was a distinct advance north of the Vallum. This is marked by the great camps afterwards joined together by the Roman Wall.

Can we then suppose that some such earth-work did exist in pre-Roman times, but that the Romans built their wall on it and obliterated it? There are many difficulties in the way of the acceptance of this hypothesis. The British had, it is true, not always selected the best line even for their own purposes in each part of the district, because they wished to make it as short and straight as possible, but it was chosen as on the whole the best line of defence against the *South*.

The Romans could not leave this line north of them, and therefore must have built on it or beyond it. But the Romans wished to construct a line of defence against the *northern* tribes. Thus it was improbable that exactly the same line as that selected by the British would suit the Roman engineers, and if they could not build on it they would have to build beyond the British entrenchments, and include them.

In accordance with this view we find south of the wall of masonry, at a distance varying from nothing to nearly half a mile, the long line of earth-works known as the Vallum, often hanging on the steep slope of the hills facing south, generally consisting of a deep fosse on the south, and a bank on the north, or a succession of such entrenchments apparently thrown up with a view to defence against the rush of a southern foe.

The terminations of these banks are undefended; they are sloped off, leaving the ends of the fosse exposed. They overlap one another, or have short outer works unterminated, in a manner with which we are familiar in British camps, e.g. that on Hereford Beacon. This is well seen about half a mile south-west of Amboglanna, where the earth-works of the Vallum do not end off abruptly as shown upon the six-inch map, but die out as I have drawn them.

If there be, as I have pointed out, much to suggest that there was somewhere along the Roman Wall a continuous line of defence held by the British against the Roman advance, may not this great continuous line of earth-works known as the "Vallum" be the "Picts' Wall" facing south, as the Roman Wall beyond it shows its strong front to the north?

The natives have preserved in their own tongue the tradition of their own lines of defence, and speak of the "Picts Wall," not of the later "Roman Wall."

The alternative is the usually received opinion that the Romans, when they built their wall, threw up also a line of earth-works, firstly in order to ward off any sudden attack from the powerful tribes they had left behind them, who might gather in the rough wooded ground on the northern slopes of the Pennine Range or on the wild moorlands beyond that, and secondly in order to provide a safe belt of land between two lines of defence in which the cattle, for the supply of their garrisons, might graze, and along which their road might run.

Is it probable that while they used masonry all along the northern line they should have had only earth-works even in the weakest parts of the defences on the south, or that they should have thought it necessary to run such a line within a few feet of a strong wall; the wall moreover being equally well faced on both sides, and no readier access being afforded to the part that on this hypothesis ran between their own lines?

The wall *was* the road for the Romans in time of danger. They did not need another road outside except for trade and ordinary traffic in time of peace, and then it was unnecessary to enclose it. An examination of the run of the "Vallum" shows, when once the question has been raised, how unlikely it is that the Romans could have constructed it *when they built their wall.* It is often for many miles too near the Roman Wall to leave any room worth mentioning between the two for grazing cattle; and—a still stronger argument,—the "Wall" and "Vallum"

are for many miles so far apart as to have rendered it impossible to man the "Vallum" without dangerously weakening the defence wall.

Between Appletree and Wall Bowers the Roman Wall cuts off the end of one of the lines of the "Vallum." If a Picts' Wall, with its many lines of fosse and vallum, existed before the Roman Wall, it is easy to see how this might happen. The fosse and vallum cut off by the wall was a British covered line of advance from the higher ground to the entrenchments lower down the hill. But, on the hypothesis that the "Vallum" was constructed by the Romans with an interval between it and the "Wall" to protect their roadway and their cattle, here was an obstacle to both. It would not be a likely place for them to build a hedge to limit the straying of the cattle, as that might have been done more easily a little further on, whereas this was a longer line to construct, and in a less convenient part for the purpose suggested.

That the Romans modified a pre-existing earth-work, rendered it less dangerous to themselves, and utilised the fosse to rest their camps upon, is likely enough.

That they may for some reason have excavated the basalt blocks which lie, a source of great wonderment, beside the Vallum about a mile east of Procolitia is not improbable; but we must remember that, as the rock was already cut up by joints, the removal of the blocks by the pre-Roman people would not be such a marvel as the construction of cromlechs, menhirs, and chambered tombs.

It may be felt to be a difficulty in the way of accepting the view here advocated that the great barrier between the Danube and the Rhine, the Limes Imperii (Pfahlgraben or Teufelsmauer or Schweingraben), which is generally attributed to the Romans, is like the *Vallum*, and not like the *Murus* of North Britain. But, seeing that there are important differences between the various portions of that earth-

work; that it was not always represented by a single or even double bank and ditch; perhaps a similar line of enquiry might suggest a doubt as to whether parts at any rate of those works may not have been adapted, rather than constructed, by the Romans.

The historical mention of appointing a *limes* can hardly be considered as evidence of the construction of a wall; for, if we forced this kind of argument, we should prove that when the Romans fixed the Limes Saxonicus they excavated the English Channel.

The occupation of an old line of defensive works, adjoining strong natural features, and the building of forts along it, would be a natural and probable course for the Romans to have pursued.

On the whole therefore it would appear:

(1) That the distribution of the Roman camps suggests that there was a system of defensive works held by the British approximately along the line of the "Vallum."

(2) That the "Vallum" must have been a source of weakness and danger to the Roman "Wall."

(3) That the position and arrangement of the lines of the "Vallum" are inconsistent with the hypothesis that it was constructed *at the same time as* the "Wall."

(4) That the "Vallum" cannot be considered a Roman work thrown up as a line of defence against the Caledonians during an earlier advance long before the Wall was built, because its construction shows that it was intended as a defence against the south.

(5) That in character the "Vallum" represents British rather than Roman work.

(6) That the "Vallum" should be regarded as the pre-Roman Picts' Wall afterwards included within the Roman line of forts, which were lastly joined together by the Roman Wall.

XVII. Note on the Cambridge University Press (1701—1707). Communicated by Mr R. Bowes.

[November 21, 1887.]

In Hearne's Diaries, Vol. II. of Mr C. E. Doble's edition[1], occur two entries referring to John Owen:

(1) "Friday, July 25, 1707...There is lately publish'd Modena's History of ye present Jews translated from ye Italian by Mr [S]im. Ockley, Author of ye Introductio ad Linguas orientales, who has added some Notes of his own to this Translation. There is a Dedication prefix'd to it to Elias Abenaker of Lond. Gent. written by John Owen (whose Name is subscrib'd) the undertaker I think, in which he has reflected upon Dr Bentley, tho' Bentley's Name is not added."

(2) "Nov. 21, 1707. Hearne to Barnes.....Suspects the rumour of an *Ath. Cantabrigienses* to refer to a paper which Owen designed to print on purpose to abuse Dr Bentley."...

Of the book referred to in the first of the above extracts there is a copy in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, the fly-leaf of which has a note by Porson:

"N.B. This book was written by Simon Ockley, and published with his name in the title-page, and subjoined to a dedication, which he inscribes to Dr Henry James, Divinity Professor in the University of Cambridge. I know nothing of Mr John Owen. See a copy of the genuine edition in the Inst. Lib." [London Institution.]

[1] Oxford Historical Society, 1886.

This copy has not the name of the translator *printed* on the title-page, but it has been written in by Porson. There is however a copy in the Bodleian Library of the same date with the translator's name and the dedication to Dr Henry James; and this is evidently that described by Porson as the genuine edition. A second copy in the Bodleian, dated 1711, is the same book with a new title-page[1].

The dedication alluded to by Hearne is as follows:

"To Elias Abenaker of London, Gent. Worthy Sir, Leo Modena, now arriv'd in England, desires your Protection; you know his Character too well, for me to say anything to you concerning him, or his Abilities, for a Performance of this Nature; tho' his profound Judgment, his universal Knowledge and approved Sincerity, were universally known to the Learned World, not being confined to those of his own Persuasion only.

[1] (*a*) The Trinity Copy (C. 6. 2):

The History of the Present Jews Throughout the World. Being An Ample tho Succinct Account of their Customs, Ceremonies, and Manner of Living, at this time. Translated from the Italian, written by Leo Modena, a Venetian Rabbi. To which are subjoin'd Two Supplements, One concerning the Samaritans, the other of the Sect of the Carraites. From the French of Father Simon, with his Explanatory Notes. London: Printed and Sold by Edm. Powell in Black-fryars near Ludgate. 1707.

Collation: Title-page as above, * 2 * 3+2 leaves+a 4−12+A−M^{12}, pp. 288.

(*b*) The Bodleian Copy of 1707, catalogued as Juda (R. Leo):

Title-page as above with addition between title and imprint: Simon Ockley, Vicar of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire. Collation: a 12+A−M^{12}.

(*c*) The Bodleian copy of 1711.

Title-page as above, but imprint thus altered: London: Printed by E. P. and sold by G. Harris next the Bagnio in St James-Street 1711. Collation as (*b*).

Mr F. Madan who has kindly compared (*b*) and (*c*) says that the latter "is a mere re-issue, down to the advertisements."

From the collation given above it is probable that the book was first printed with Ockley's name and his dedication to Dr James, but that Owen cancelled these and inserted his own title and dedication.

Be pleased, Sir, favourably to accept of him from my Hands, as a small Acknowledgment of the many great undeserved and continued Favours, you have so generously bestowed upon me. I am so full of, and overwhelm'd with, the Sense of them, that I am not able to express my self; and want Words to tell the World how much I am your Debtor, how often you have rescued me and my whole Family from the Jaws of Destruction; what noble Assistances you have supplied me with, to raise my Fortune in the World, and put my Affairs into a prosperous and flourishing Condition, had not a Person of an high Character, and a pretending Encourager of Arts and Sciences, and Printing in particular, (by the Encouragement of whose specious Promises I was induced to leave Oxford) been as Sedulous and Industrious to ruine and destroy me, by such Injustice and Cruelties, which if I should particularize, would gain Credit with few but those of the University of Cambridge, where the Fact is notoriously known. Good Sir, I am under such Obligations unto you, that whenever it shall please God to enable me to make you a Pecuniary Satisfaction, I shall account the greatest part of my Debt still unpaid; for I am sure great Sums of Gratitude are justly due upon such Occasions; which I shall always be paying to you, and studying for Opportunities, to declare how many and unmerited the Kindnesses you have, and are pleased daily to confer on,

Honoured Sir,

Your most Obliged, and most Humble Servant

JOHN OWEN."

Owen's dedication is interesting, as showing the circumstances under which he became connected with the University Press. There is no reference to Owen in any printed letter of Bentley's, but he is referred to by some of Bentley's foreign correspondents; once by Rheland, and twice by Kuster.

BENTLEY'S CORRESPONDENCE, Ed. Wordsworth, 1842.

RHELAND TO RICHARD BENTLEY.

"I send you six copies of this little book of mine, which is now coming out. I intend them for yourself, Sike, Barnes, Wass, and the other two for E. Spanheim and P. Allix; to whom I beg you to see that they are delivered in my name. But if this is troubling you too much, Sike will undertake it. An Ennius has come out here, with the entire notes of Columna, Merula, etc. It is a most elegant edition. A Pollux, too, has come out. Of these authors doubtless your Owen, who will give you this letter, will bring some copies with him. I have sent by him to Wass two MSS. of Sallust, and I will shortly send collations of ten other MSS."...

UTRECHT, 13*th August*, 1706.

LUDOLPH KUSTER TO RICHARD BENTLEY.

"Although I have not yet received a reply to my last, nevertheless I was unwilling, as Owen is returning to you, to send you no letter by him. The little packet which Owen will deliver to you, Professor Rheland, of Utrecht, my very great friend, sent to me, that I might forward it to you."...

AMSTERDAM, 16*th September*, 1706.

LUDOLPH KUSTER TO RICHARD BENTLEY.

..."Rheland's parcel, which I have entrusted to Owen, who was returning to you, I hope you have received. I write this because Rheland has recently enquired of me about the matter."...

AMSTERDAM, 7*th January*, 1707.

From these extracts it will appear that Owen was in Holland in 1706, and that he was commissioned to bring a packet from Rheland to Bentley.

What I previously knew about Owen is given on pp. 312, 313 of *Camb. Antiquarian Society's Communications*, Vol. 5, and may be shortly summarized thus:

1701. Oct. 4. "John Owen of Oxford, stationer" entered into an agreement with the University of Cambridge for the production of an edition of Suidas' Lexicon in 3 vols. fol.[1]

1703. April 16. A Grace was passed for a new contract with Sir T. Jannson in place of John Owen, insolvent.

1703. Vol. 1 of an edition of Cellarius's Geography in quarto appeared with the name of John Owen, Cambridge, on the title-page.

1706. Simon Ockley's "Introductio ad Linguas Orientales" was printed at Cambridge with Owen's name.

From the minute-book of the curators of the Press I find that other books were printed, or at least arranged-for with Owen at this period:

1701. Oct. 4. Gataker on a Tract of Galen.

1704. Sept. 6. Caesar's Commentaries, 4to.[2]

1705. May 1. Sallust, 4to.

1706. Dec. 18. Minucius Felix, ed. Davies.

From subsequent entries in the "minute-book" it appears that nearly all these books became the property of the University, from Owen having failed to pay for the printing, and whatever ground he may have had for charging Bentley with harsh treatment, there is every appearance of his having been treated with consideration by the University, many of the books

[1] ΣΟΥΙΔΑΣ. Suidae Lexicon, Græce et Latine. Textum Graecum cum Manuscriptis Codicibus collatum a quam plurimis mendis purgavit, Notisque perpetuis illustravit: Versionem Latinam Æmilii Porti innumeris in locis correxit; Indicesque Auctorum et Rerum adjecit Ludolphus Kusterus, Professor humaniorum literarum in Gymnasio Regio Berolinensi. Cantabrigiæ, Typis Academicis. MDCCV.

[2] Caesaris quae extant Omnia. Ex recens. Joannis Davisii, etc.... Cantabrigiae, Typis Academicis. Impensis Joannis Oweni, Typographi. MIDCCVI.

having been printed for him on credit after his failure respecting Suidas.

The following is the curious prospectus relating to an *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* alluded to by Hearne:

ADVERTISEMENT.

Just ready for the Press, and will speedily be Publish'd.

An Essay of an *Athenæ Cantabrigienses:* Or, an Account of the Learned Men that have Flourisht in that Antient and Famous University, from its first Foundation, to this present Time. Containing the Life of the Rev. Dr. Rich. Bentley Master of Trinity Coll. Keeper of the Royal Library at St, James's, and Late Vice-Chancellor: His Extract, Education, Extraordinary progress in Universal Litterature; his Works, his generous Endeavours for the promoting of Printing; his Treatment of Printers, and what Encouragement he hath given for the Printing some of the Best of the Classics, and others of the most Celebrated Antient Authors; his Pompous Buildings, Erected by him; and his indefatigable Industry and liberal Contribution, towards making the River Cham Navigable. Such Gentlemen as have any memoirs by them, relating to the Subject aforesaid, and are willing to communicate them; are desired to send to Mr John Inwood at Mr Howard's in Warwick-street near Chearing-cross, and they shall be impartially and candidly inserted, and gratefully Acknowledged, if desired.

XVIII. On four Runic Calendars. Communicated by Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A., Trinity College. (With eighteen Plates.)

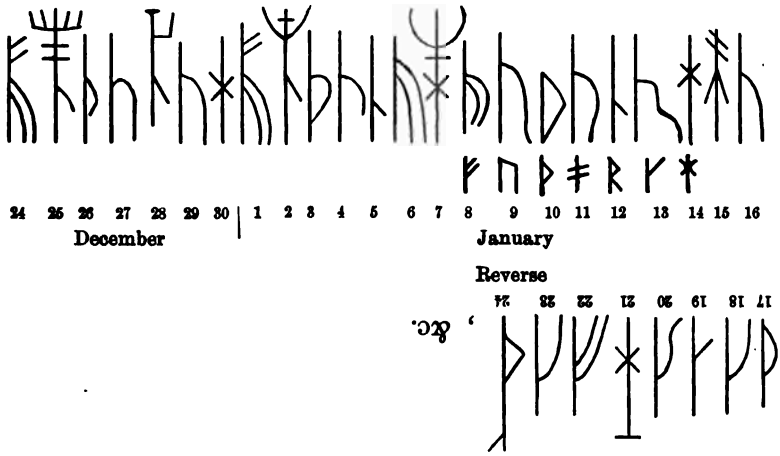
[February 6, 1888.]

Of the four Runic Calendars that form the subject of my paper, the first belongs to Mr Henry Gurney of Reigate. It was obtained by him in Lessjedal in Norway on a late occasion. The second and third are preserved in the Museum of General and Local Archæology here. The fourth is copied from an original in the Archducal Museum at Mannheim. This I will describe first.

It is a book-shaped calendar, carved on six plates of wood, and wrought in a peculiar fashion. The letters of every obverse side turn from left to right; those on the reverse side from right to left. The forms of the runes vary a good deal, with the exception of that which stands for the seventh day, which retains an identical form throughout. This rude and primitive register of time began the year on the 24th of December, left out the 31st of that month, and consequently showed a year too short by one day. Without exactly copying the form of the runic characters, the following is the general appearance of this specimen, a good deal reduced in size (ordinary runes

for the Sunday letters are added by way of explanation and the days of the month in Arabic numerals).

Obverse



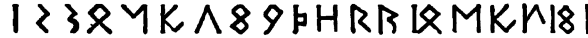
Reverse

This calendar has much in common with that described by me in 1877.[1]

Mr Gurney's calendar, represented on the A group of the accompanying plates, is curious both for the peculiar form of the runes employed as Sunday letters and for the characters used as Golden Numbers. As will be seen from the plates, the Sunday Letter Series is ᚼᛒᚦᚴᚠᚱᛏ, ordinarily represented by ᚠᚢᚦᚽᚱᚴᚼ = FUÞORKH. One of these characters is not a rune at all, namely the K; the others, though runic in form, do not occupy their proper places as the first seven figures of the runic alphabet, with the exception of the ᚦ and the ᚠᚱᛏ, if they were, as seems to be the case, meant for ᚽᚱᚴ. In order to make the Sunday Letter Series clear to any inquirer, the ordinary runic Sunday Letter Series is added on the plates by way of explanation as well as the Roman

[1] *Camb. Antiq. Communications*, IV. 17.

in common use in Calendars. Another peculiarity of this Calendar is the form used for the Golden Numbers, which is derived from the Arabic numerals on the traditional principle of rune carvers, to avoid scratching any runic stroke so that either main-staves or by-lines should run parallel with the drift of the grain of the wood. This the carver of this calendar had mostly achieved. The numbers are



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

All these signs are intelligible, except that for 6 and 16, which is in both cases identical. This, however, is evidently a carver's blunder, for clearly the sign for 6 was originally , that for 16 therefore . stood for (= 12) and for (= 13), for (= 10) and probably for . These numerals bore a distinct likeness to those one meets with in MSS. of the XIVth century. In these same characters this stave also represents the golden numbers of the Paschal Term, and of that of Pentecost, in accordance with the perpetual Lunar Calendar of the Christian Church.

The Calendar represented by the B group of Plates is the Golden Number Calendar belonging to the Museum of Local and General Archæology. The runic signs used for Sunday letters in this specimen are of a somewhat unusual type, the exact difference between it and the usual forms being easily ascertainable by comparing it with the Sunday Letter series in usual runes added on the plates. The Golden Number runes are still more unusual, besides being rather irregularly executed as novilunial time-marks, when compared with the Golden Numbers of the perpetual Lunar Calendar, on the basis of which the Golden Numbers have been inserted, as shown in the plates. I am of opinion that this Calendar does not begin the year, as I first supposed, on the 14th of April, but on the 14th of October; or that, at any rate, the editor

of the stave must have begun the copying of it by the winter semester, and that he could no more have done this by accident than we could by accident copy the second part of a volume we were quite familiar with, and call it the first part. This is apparent from the fact, that the editor of the calendar had, by inadvertence, entered the 14th of April as the last date on the winter side. Nothing of this kind could have happened if the editor had begun the year by April 14th. To begin the year at this date was an older tradition than to begin it with the Summer, though, no doubt, the term of October 14th is much later than that of December 24—25. The former represents the beginning of the old civil-domestic, the latter that of the old historical year. It should be noticed, that the rune ᛯ following 1 = 14th of April is a catch letter, which has no calendric significance, and is added to show at which end of the staff the continuation of the Sunday Letters Series goes on. It is a rune-stave editor's adaptation of an admired printers' device. Like A and the Mannheim specimen this calendar presents a year of 364 days only, leaving out the 31st of December, as all these civil-domestic time-tellers must necessarily do, seeing that their year can be only a year of fifty-two perfect weeks, knowing neither Concurrents nor Bissextile (leap-year). This calendar-stave has an unusually full list of Saints' and mark-days, some of which are uncertain.

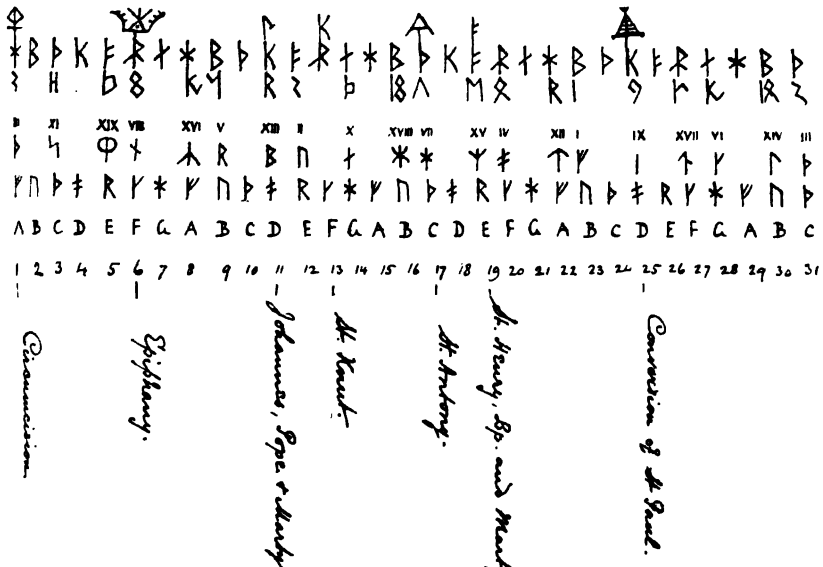
The second stave belonging to the Museum of General and Local Archæology, represented on the C group of plates, is without the accompaniment of Golden Numbers; it begins the year on the 1st of January and allows it 365 days. A strange peculiarity in this stave is that it must be read from right to left on both sides. Its Sunday Letter Signs are altogether out of the common, both as to their form, as runic characters, and as to the way in which the two last days of the week are invariably joined together by two strokes converging from left to right. This leaves the impression upon one's

mind that these two days are thus kept apart, as it were, from the rest of the days of the week for some special reason. Another stroke between the second and the fourth day of the week, apparently combining these days or joining them together in one group, seems to mean nothing more than to give one runic by-stroke to the second and third letters for the purpose of economising labour. But this reason cannot be urged with regard to the last two days of the week. I feel inclined to interpret this peculiarity as a pentade tradition still foisted on a Christian calendar. It is a very well-known fact among Scandinavian scholars, that the ancient northern week consisted of five days. This mode of computing the year on the basis of a multiple of five, i.e. $5 \times 72 = 360$ was evidently in vogue at an early period in the North, as is shown by the term 'aukanætr,' additional days applied to the four lacking days which were added to the summer in the old Icelandic Calendar[1]. That the year was thus divided into seventy-two weeks of five days each + four days, was still further borne out by the fact that in ancient Scandinavian law a 'fimt' = pentade, in relation to the run of summonses, respites &c. was a well-known term, which probably meant nothing but a week of five days. All four calendars are undoubtedly of Swedish origin.

The Saints' and mark-days' signs in these calendars are mostly of well-known types, or else so primitive, or so devoid of any special point, that it is scarcely worth while to analyse them. A proper description of the former would land one in a variety of typographical difficulties, while about the latter

[1] This fact was established in 1828, by the publication of Finn Magnússon's heathen calendar of the North, *Septentrionalium Gothorum, Scandinavorum aut Danorum gentile Calendarium* (Sæmundar Edda, 4to. ed. 1828, iii. 273—1142); and is not, as we have been taught of late years, a discovery of yesterday, made conjointly by a French Orientalist, and some students of Icelandic at Oxford.

JANUARY



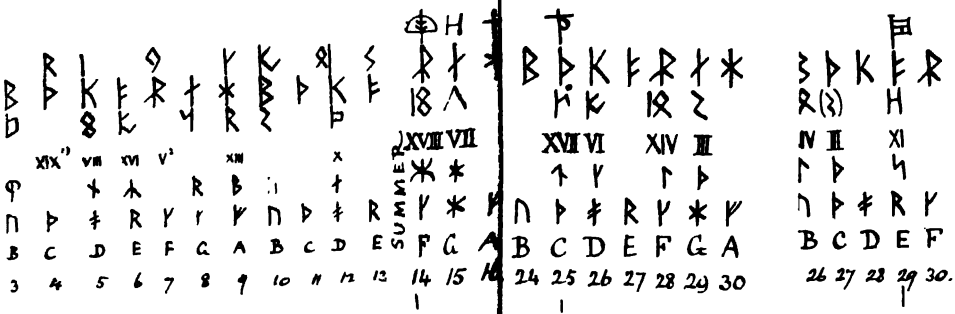
FEBRUARY

MAR

St. Gregory.

St. Gertrude

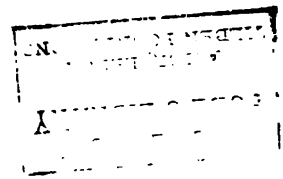
APRI



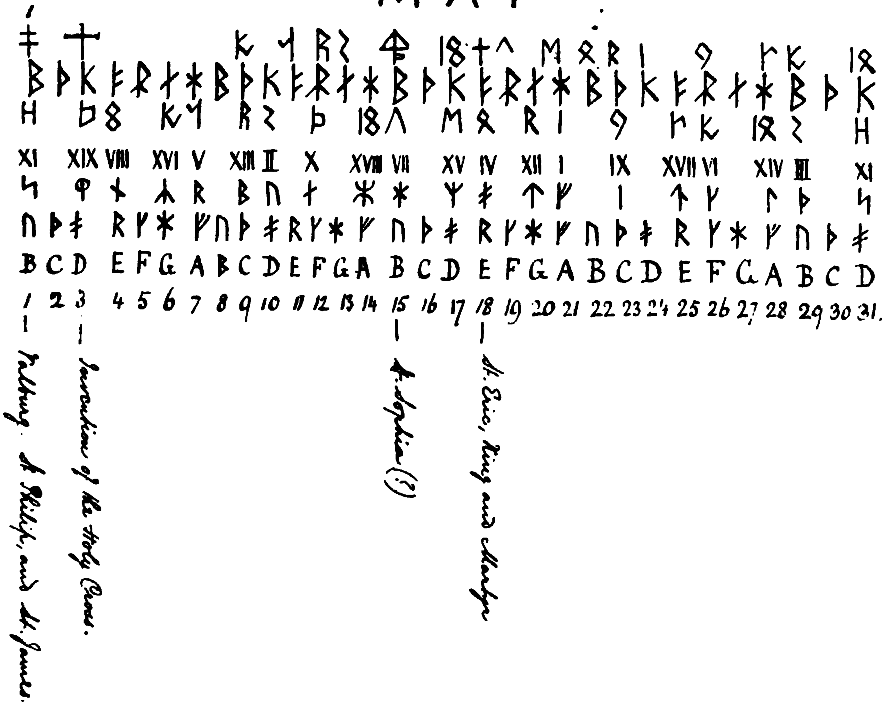
Tiburtius.

St. Mark.

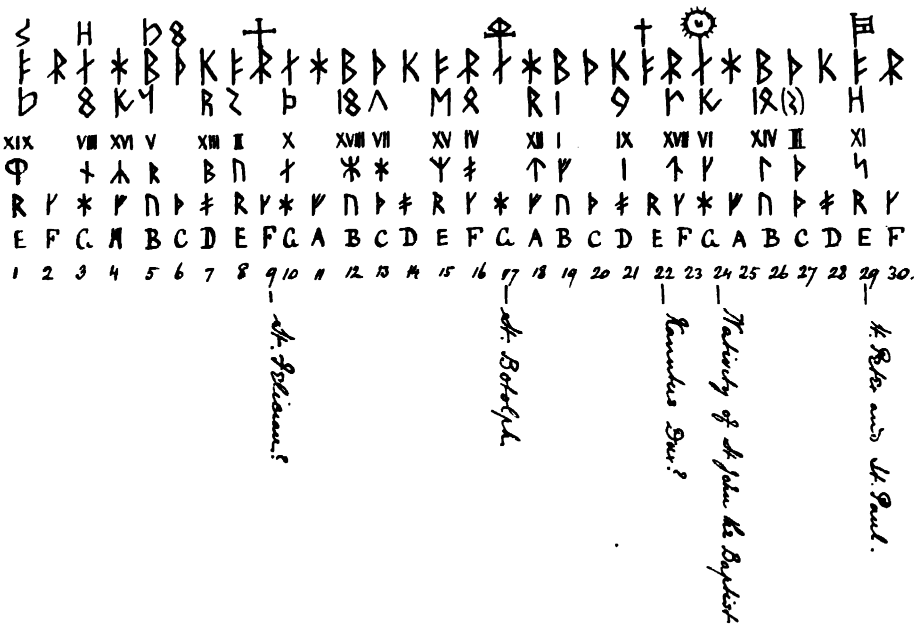
St. Peter and St. Paul.

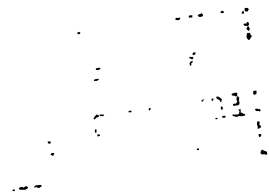


MAY

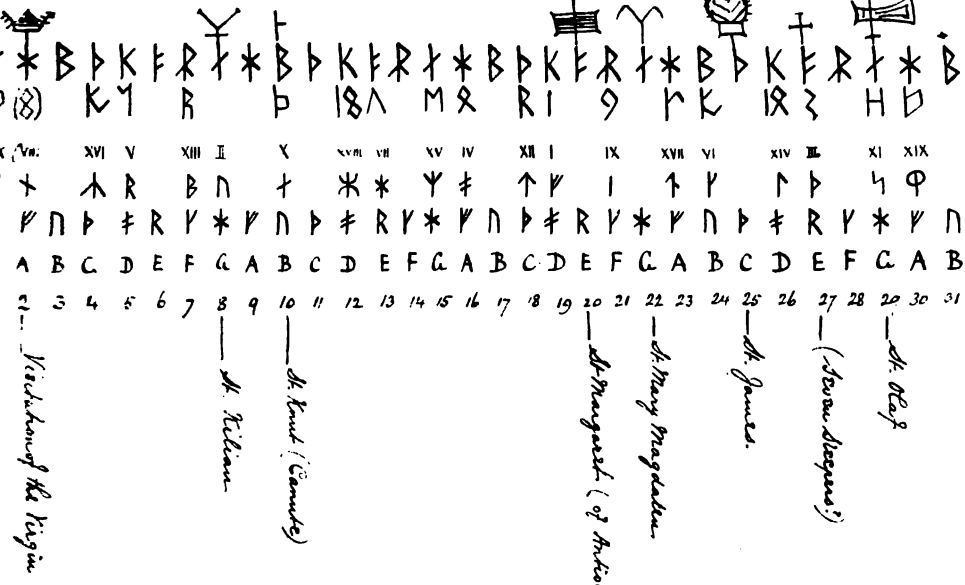

Valborg. St Philip, and St. James.
Invention of the Holy Cross.
St. Sophia (?)
St. Eric, King and Martyr

JUNE

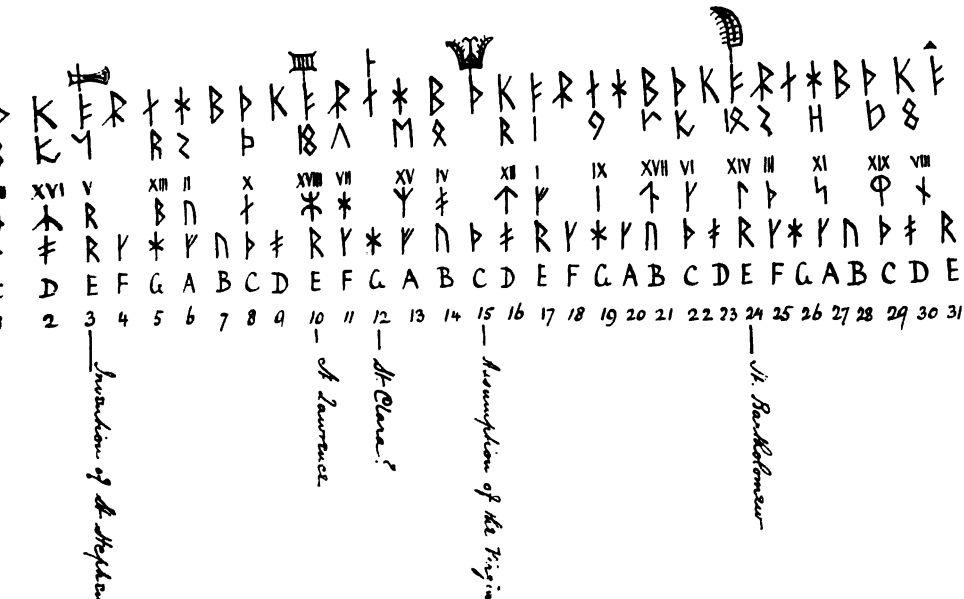

St. Felicianus?
St. Botolph
Kanutus Dux?
Nativity of St John the Baptist
St. Peter and St. Paul.

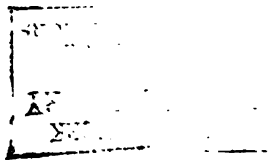


JULY


Visitation of the Virgin
St. Kilian
St. Knut (Canute)
St. Margaret (of Antioch)
St. Mary Magdalen
St. James.
(Seven Sleepers)
St. Olaf

AUGUST

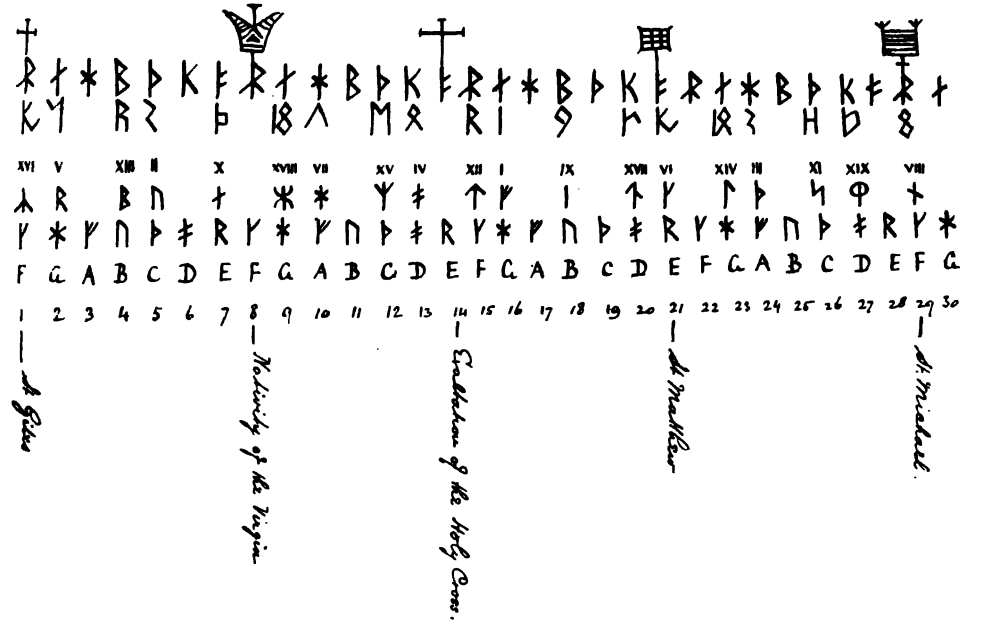

Invention of St. Stephen
St. Lawrence
St. Clara
Assumption of the Virgin
St. Bartholomew



SEPTEMBER

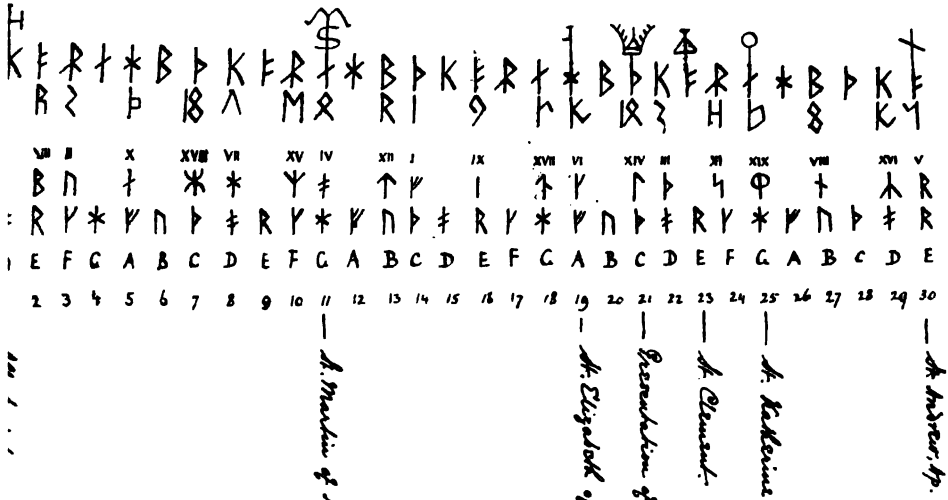
OCTOBER

SEPTEMBER

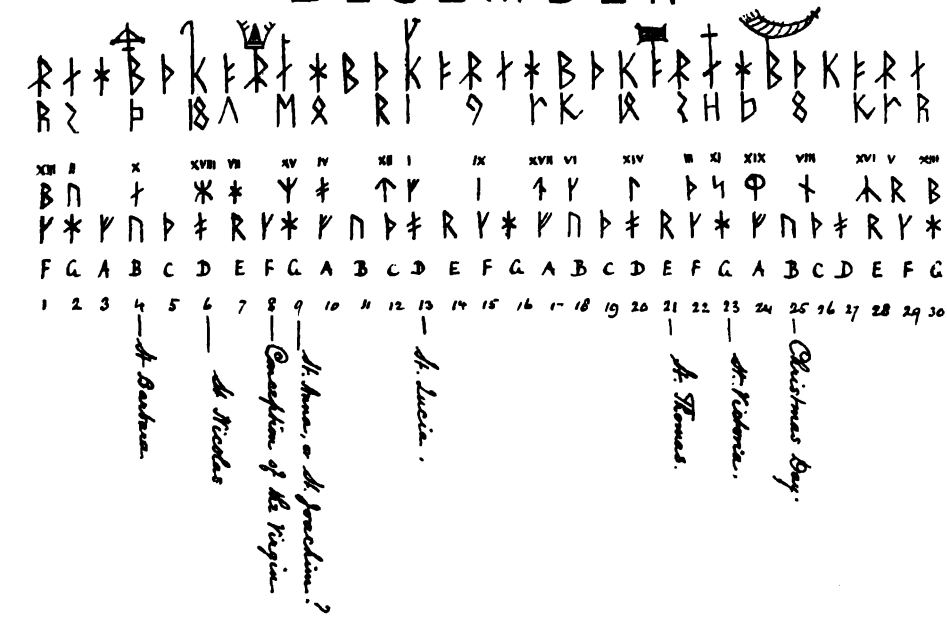


OCTOBER

NOVEMBER



DECEMBER

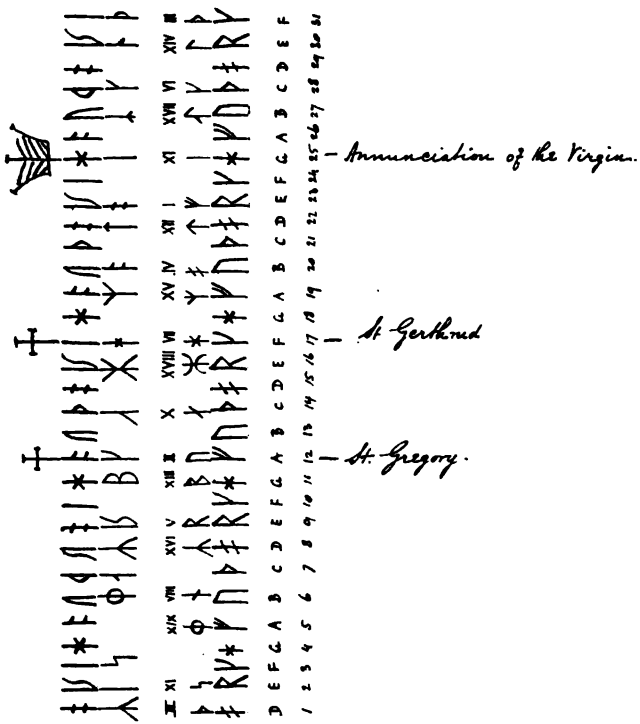


B

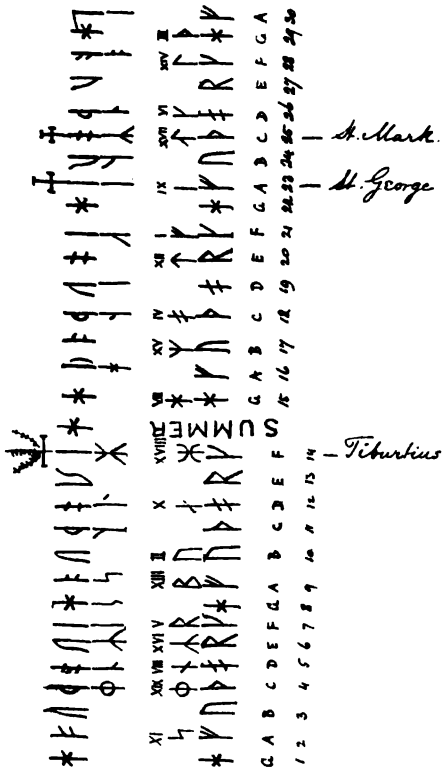
JANUARY

FEBRUARY

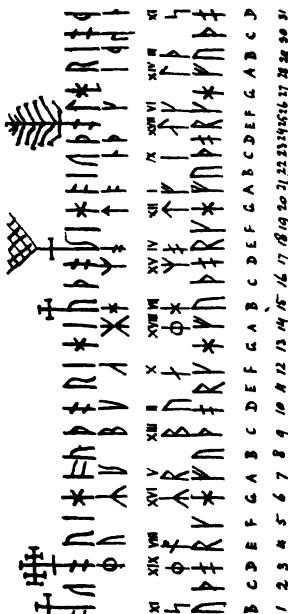
MARCH


Annunciation of the Virgin.
St Gerthrud
St. Gregory.

APRIL


St. Mark.
St. George
SUMMER
Tiburtius

MAY



St. Urban, Pope & Martyr

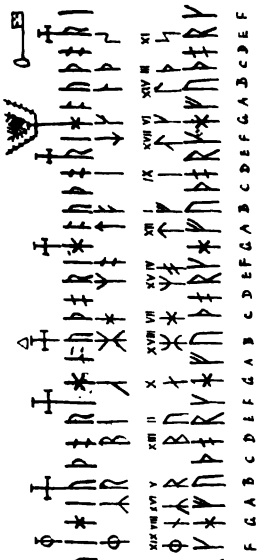
St. Eric, King and Martyr

St. Sophia (?)

Invention of the Holy Cross.

Valburg. & Philip, and St. James Epp.

JUNE



St. Peter and St. Paul.

Nativity of St John the Baptist.

Kanutus Dux?

St. Botolph.

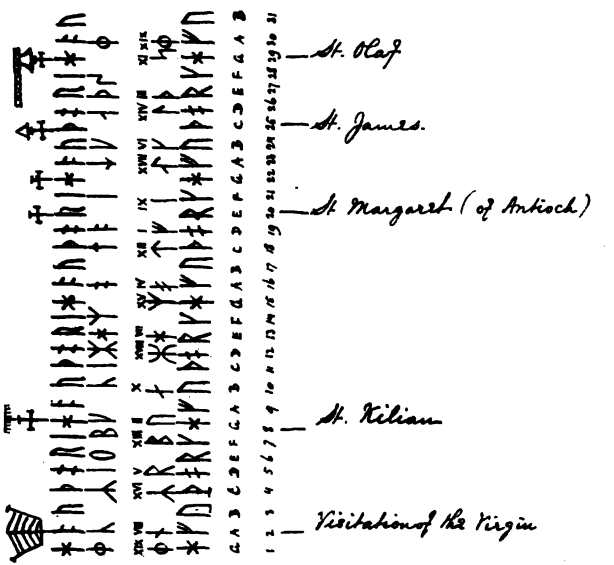
St. Eskill

St. Felician?

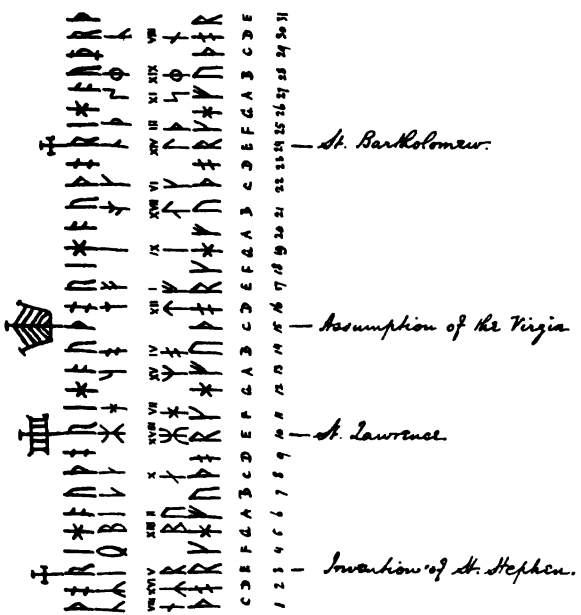
St. Boniface

Marcellianus?

JULY


St. Olaf
St. James.
St. Margaret (of Antioch)
St. Kilian
Visitation of the Virgin

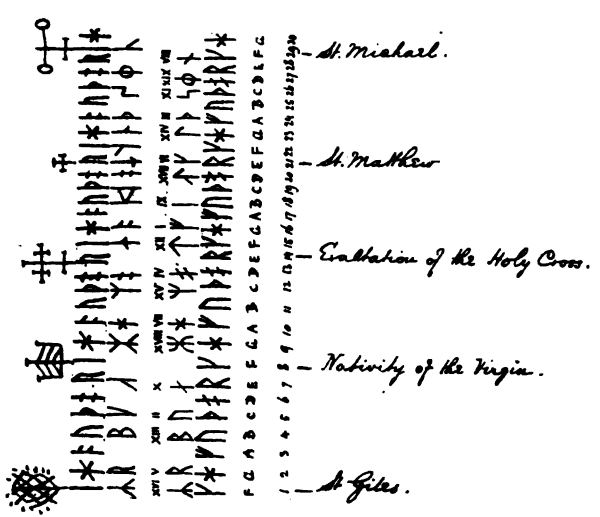
AUGUST


St. Barkholomew.
Assumption of the Virgin
St. Lawrence
Invention of St. Stephen.

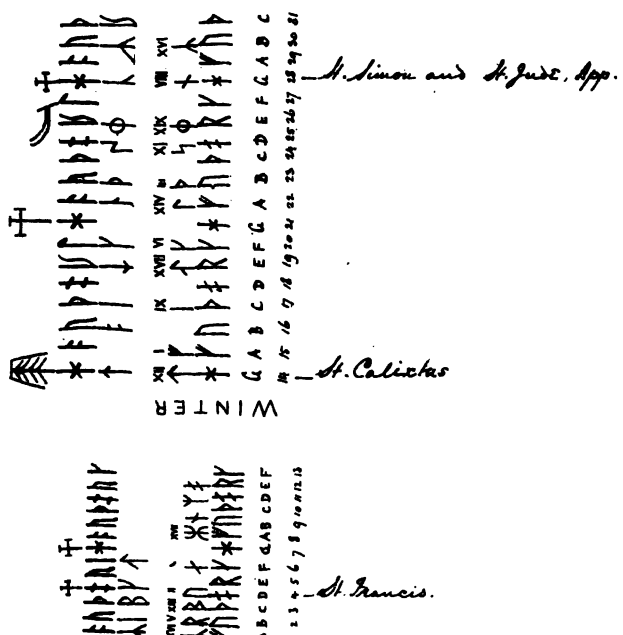
THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

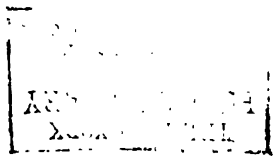
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

SEPTEMBER



OCTOBER





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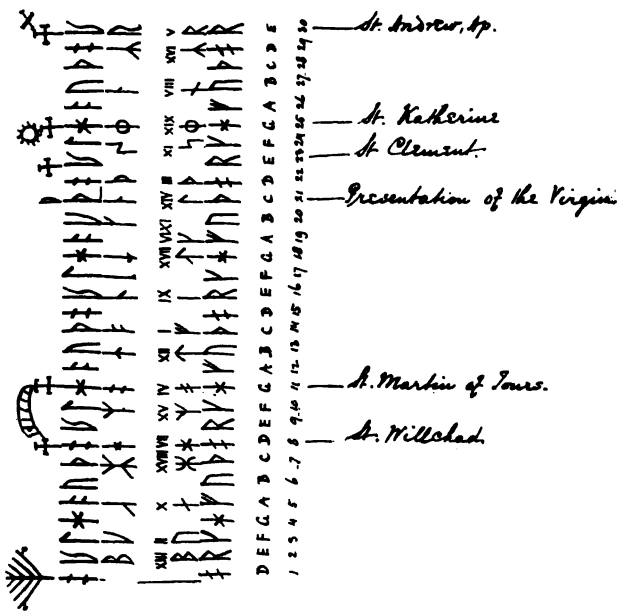

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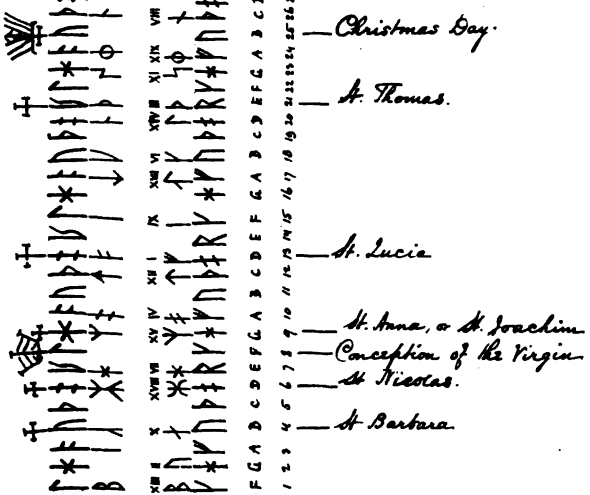

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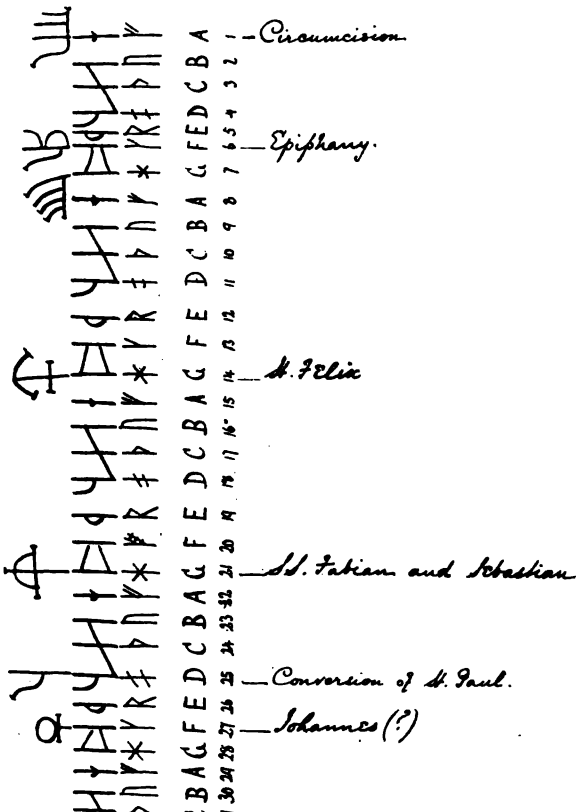

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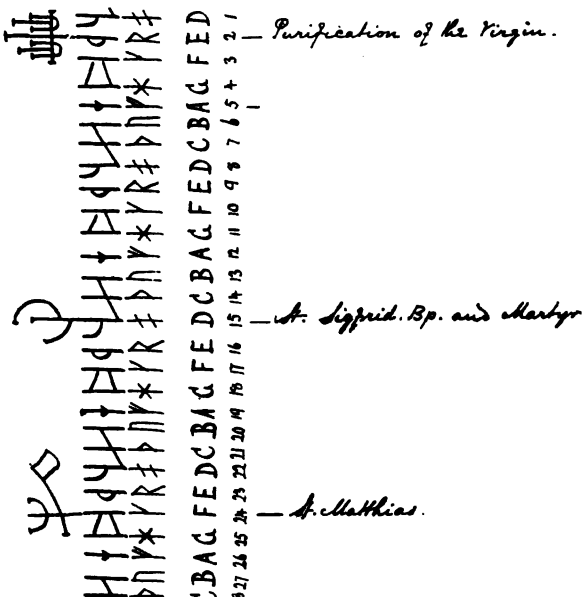

MARCH
St. Gregory.
Annunciation of the Virgin.

APRIL
Tiburtius.
St. George
St. Mark.

MAY

EDCBAG FEDCBAGFEDCBAGFEDCB
31 30 29 28 27 26 25 24 23 22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Fasting. St. Philip, and St. James Apps.
Invention of the Holy Cross.
St. Eric, King and Martyr
St. Urban,

JUNE

FEDCBAGFEDCBAGFEDCBAGFEDCBAGF
30 29 28 27 26 25 24 23 22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
St. Erkenwald
St. Botolph
St. John the Baptist. Nativity of
St. Peter and St. Paul.

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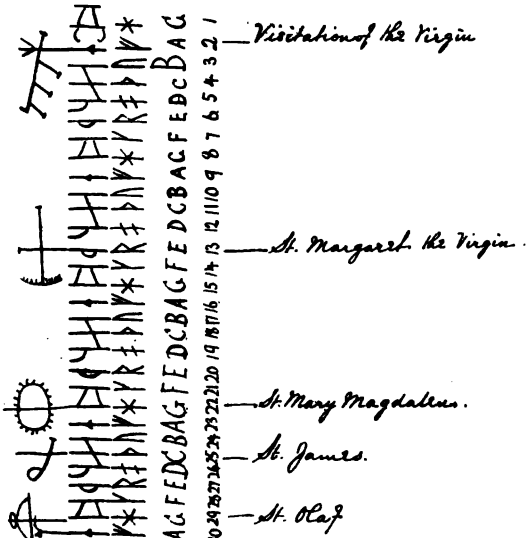
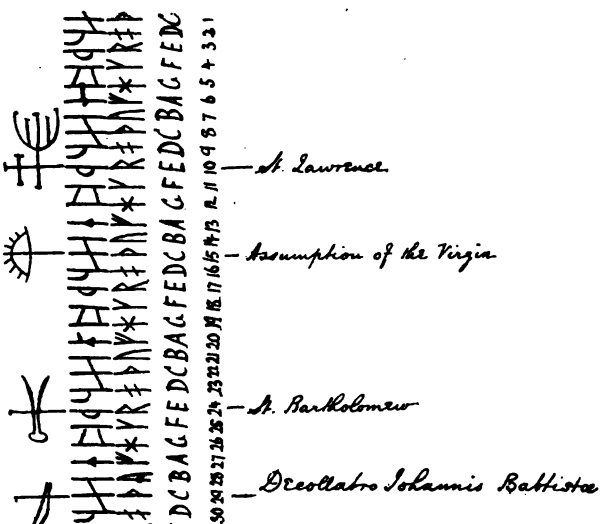
JULY


Visitation of the Virgin
St. Margaret the Virgin
St. Mary Magdalen
St. James
St. Olaf

AUGUST


St. Lawrence
Assumption of the Virgin
St. Bartholomew
Decollatio Johannis Baptistæ

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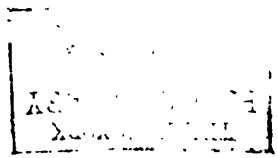
SEPTEMBER

OCTOBER



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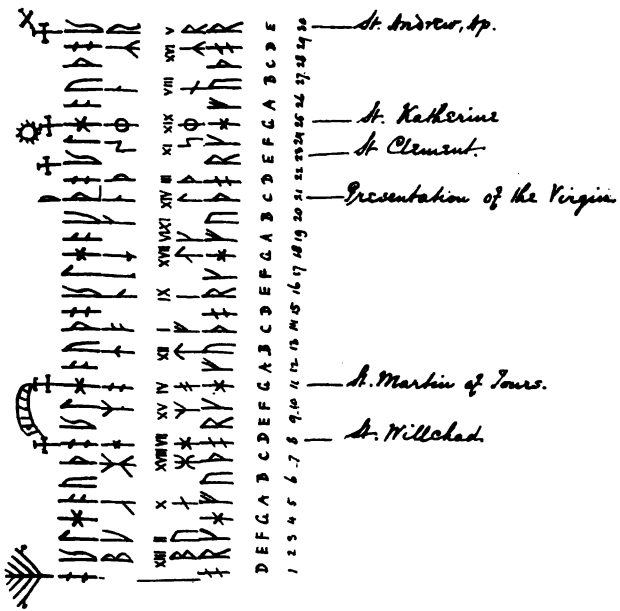

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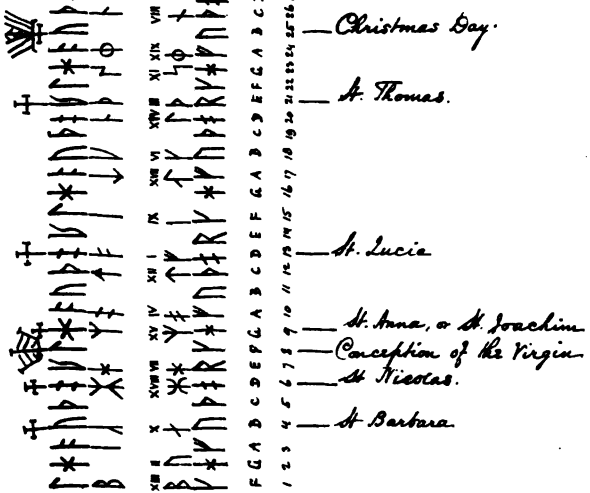


C

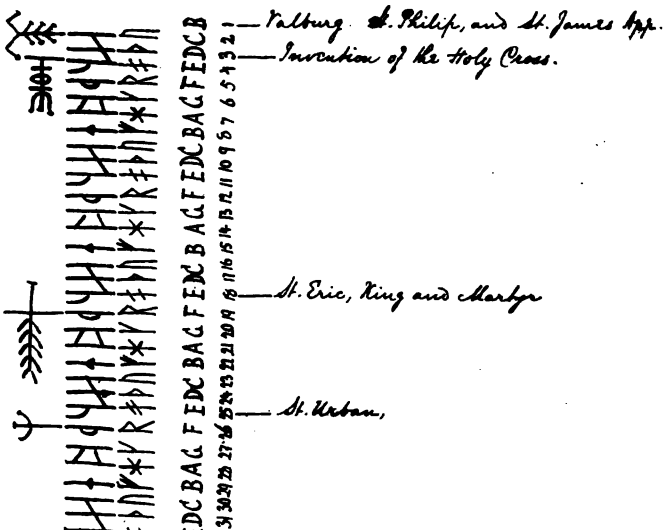
JANUARY

FEBRUARY

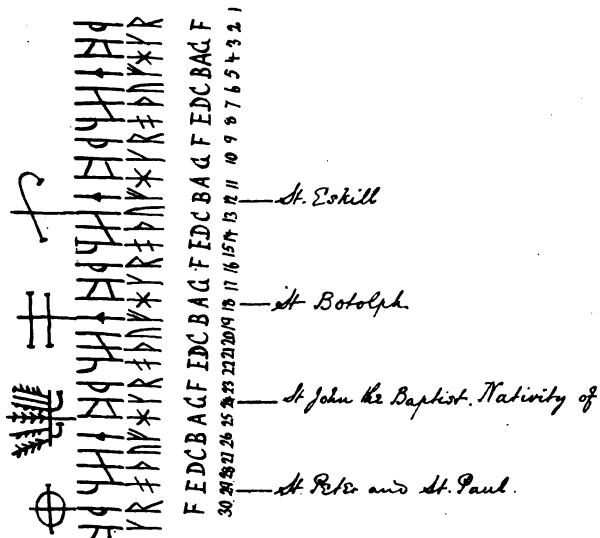
MARCH
St. Gregory.
Annunciation of the Virgin.

APRIL
Tiburtius.
St. George
St. Mark.

MAY


Valburg. St. Philip, and St. James App.
Invention of the Holy Cross.
St. Eric, King and Martyr
St. Urban,

JUNE


St. Eskill
St Botolph
St John the Baptist. Nativity of
St. Peter and St. Paul.

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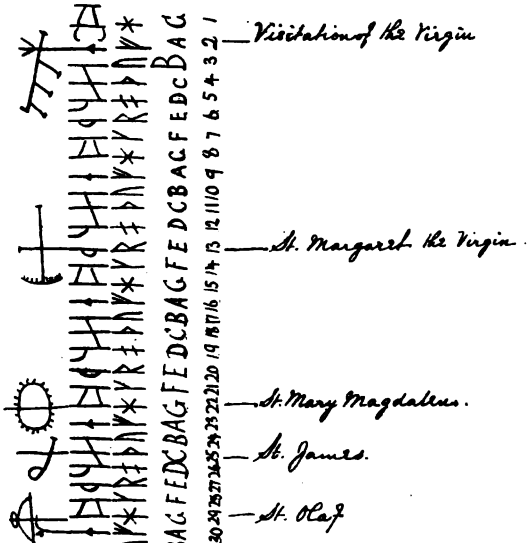
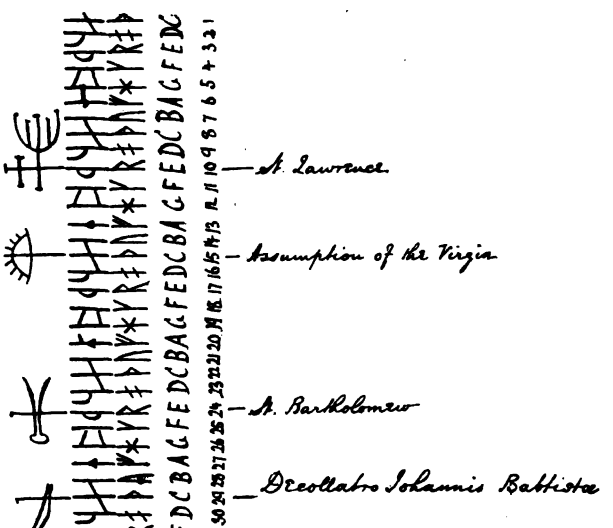

Visitation of the Virgin
St. Margaret the Virgin
St. Mary Magdalene.
St. James.
St. Olaf

AUGUST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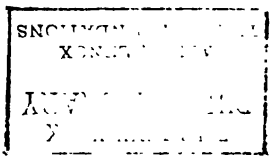
Decollatio Johannis Baptistæ



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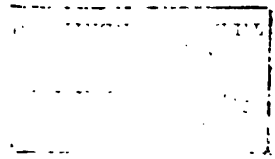

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there is nothing special to be said. The names of the sure saints that can be determined with certainty have been entered against their days on the plates. Those who are curious to know the emblems may be referred to Worm's *Fasti Danici*, Liljigren's *Run-Urkunder*, and my own paper on a Runic Calendar found in Lapland in 1866, already referred to above.

XIX. Notes on a fire-place lately discovered in the Master's Lodge, Christ's College. Communicated by J. W. Clark, M.A., Trinity College. (With one Plate.)

[March 5, 1888.]

The arrangement of the Master's Lodge at Christ's College has been so fully discussed by Professor Willis and myself[1], that in this place I need only mention that the rooms on the first floor, originally three in number, are those which the Foundress specially mentions in the Statutes as reserved for her own use. The fire-place which I am about to describe is in the eastern wall of the most important of these, now the drawing-room, directly opposite to the beautiful oriel-window looking into the Court. It was completely concealed by a modern chimney-piece, and accidentally discovered in the course of some repairs undertaken soon after the election of the present Master.

The fire-place (fig. 1) is a shallow recess. The opening (4 ft. 6 in. wide, by 4 ft. 4½ in. high) is finished with a four-centred arch of clunch, set in a square panel. The section (fig. 2) shews the profile of the moldings. The jambs, for a height of about 3 ft., are unmolded, and were originally ornamented with a fresco. A few traces of colour, and some outlines, were visible when the fire-place was first opened out, but the design could not be recovered. The spandrils are

[1] *The Architectural History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, Vol. II. pp. 212—219.

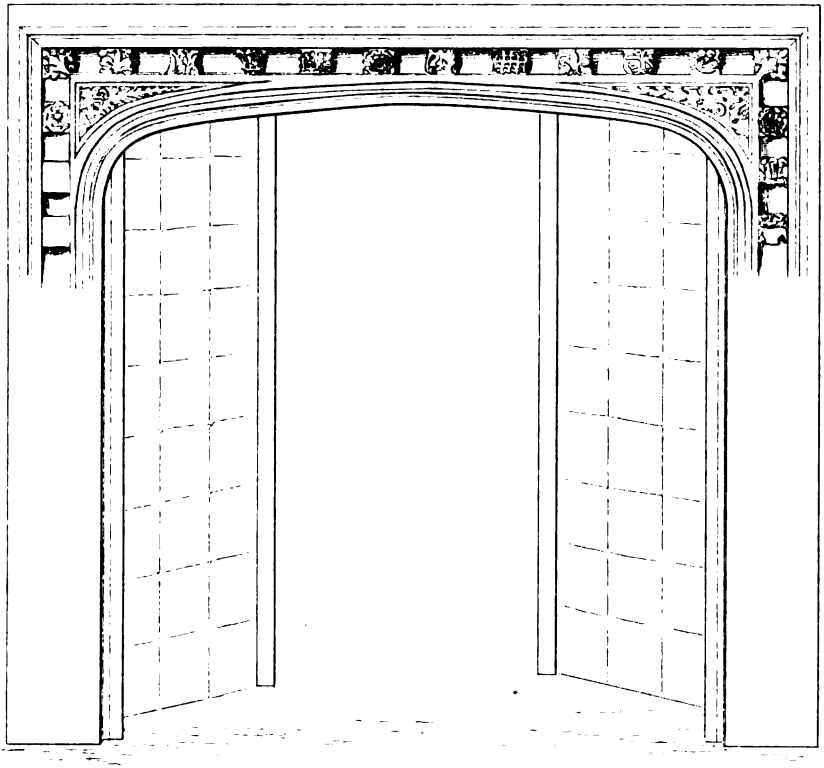


Fig. 1

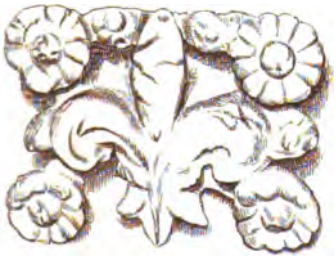


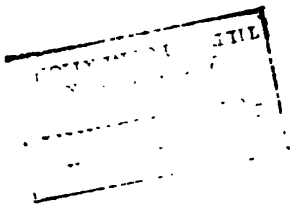
Fig. 3.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 4

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.



filled with foliage, beautifully designed, and admirably executed, as are the devices which ornament the square bosses projecting from the hollow which forms the principal member of the panel. These devices are in fairly good preservation, and of sufficient interest to require a particular description.

They were originally sixteen in number, without counting the foliage in the angles; but, when the fire-place was opened out, it was found that the two lowest on the left hand, as the spectator faces the fire-place, had been wholly destroyed. The remaining fourteen, counting from left to right, are as follows:

1. A full-blown rose, with two rows of five petals.
2. A fleur-de-lys, surrounded by daisies, some full blown, some in bud (fig. 3).
3. The letters H. R. knotted together by a piece of cord (fig. 4).
4. Three feathers, one drooping sinister, two drooping dexter, set in an escroll, bearing the words *Dieu et* (fig. 5).
5. A portcullis.
6. A full-blown rose, as in (1).
7. The letters H. R., as in (3).
8. A portcullis.
9. A fleur-de-lys, set on a back-ground of foliage.
10. An arched crown, surmounted by a cross, and backed by foliage.
11. A group of daisies and leaves, growing out of what appears to be intended to represent a flower-pot.
12. A full-blown rose, as in (1) and (6).
13. Three feathers, as in (4). The scroll bears the words *Dieu et mo.*
14. A basket, or flower-pot, out of which daisies are growing.

This series of devices or badges is well illustrated by the corresponding series on the oriel outside, where there are thirteen similar designs, in rather better condition, having

been protected by frequent coats of paint. They are in the following order, counting from left to right:

1. A full-blown rose[1].
2. The letters H. R. (fig. 6).
3. A fleur-de-lys.
4. A portcullis.
5. Three feathers rising out of a diadem.
6. A single rose, full-blown, but with only four petals.
7. A three-lobed leaf.
8. A full-blown rose with two rows of five petals.
9. A three-lobed leaf.
10. A fleur-de-lys and leaves.
11. A full-blown rose, like (6).
12. A leaf, like (9).
13. An ornament—half-broken.

Returning to the series on the fire-place, the badges resolve themselves into two groups—the one commemorative of the Lady Margaret, the other of King Henry the Seventh. The first group consists of the fleur-de-lys and daisies (2); the fleur-de-lys alone (9); the group of daisies (11); the basket of daisies (14): the second group of the portcullis (5), (8); the full-blown rose (1), (6), (12); the crown (10); and the letters H. R. (3), (7).

The fleur-de-lys is not one of the usual badges of the Lady Margaret. It does not occur on the gate of either of her colleges, except as part of the ornaments of the royal crowns at S. John's; and it does occur frequently as one of the badges of Henry VII., as in the heraldic glass in the upper lights of the windows of King's College, where it is associated with the hawthorn-bush crowned, the rose *en soleil*, and other well-known devices. Here, however, we find it not only alone, but surrounded by daisies, which connect it directly with her; and it should be remembered that it occurs alternately with the

[1] Partly concealed by the stone facing of the adjoining wall.

rose, on the coronet surmounting her arms on her seal[1]; that on her arms she bore it as part of the arms of France; and that her ancestor Edward the Third was the first English King who placed it on his seal. Her son—who adopted the portcullis from the Beauforts, calling it his *altera securitas*—may well have adopted the fleur-de-lys also from his mother, as a further proof of his royal descent.

The full-blown rose has only two rows of petals. On the gate of Christ's College one of the roses has three rows of petals, the other four; while in King's College Chapel, and on the gate of S. John's College, the roses have five rows of petals. It would be interesting to know whether these differences are accidental or intentional. The rose with two or three rows of petals may be intended for the rose of Lancaster or of York; and that with five rows for the rose of Tudor, as combining the former two.

The letters H. R. on the fire-place are so much broken, that for a time I was at a loss to make them out. Their identification is, however, placed beyond all doubt by their occurrence on the oriel, where they are both unbroken. The two devices are figured side by side on the plate (fig. 4, fig. 6).

I have left till the last the most puzzling device of all—the feathers with the scroll and motto (fig. 5). Feathers were much affected as a badge by the Beauforts, and they occur in two different arrangements on the gate of Christ's College—three single feathers, and three feathers united by a diadem. This last badge is found also on the oriel (5). Moreover a single feather with a label occurs on each side of the Lady Margaret's seal. But I have not been able to discover an instance of feathers used as the badge of a reigning sovereign, as the motto *Dieu et mon droit* would seem to imply.

[1] *Memoir of Margaret Countess of Richmond and Derby.* By C. H. Cooper. 8vo. Camb. 1874, p. 126. The seal is figured by Sandford, *Genealogical History*, fol. Lond. 1707, p. 246.

XX. The Fall of Capaneus: an Etruscan Intaglio. Communicated by C. W. King, M.A.

[April 30, 1888.]

The religious and mystic spirit of the Etruscans, apparent in all their works, is nowhere more conspicuous than in the choice of subjects for their signet-devices. They evidently sought that these articles, of such importance in those times, in all the relations of social life, should, small as they were, not be destitute of some useful moral:

"Centuriae seniorum agitant expertia frugis."

From the Dorian legends, that had superseded, or been grafted on, their primitive Nature-worship, which was utterly devoid of imagery[1] or even symbolism (for no traces are to be found of either), they selected such warnings against sin as Philoctetes stung by the serpent in the very act of betraying the deposit of his dying lord: the impious Theseus fixed eternally upon his iron chair before the gates of Hell: or the unconquerable Hercules a victim to the potency of wine. But of all these lessons none was more popular (as was natural in a sacerdotal community) than the fate of *Capaneus*, struck down by Jove's lightning from the Theban walls which he had sworn to scale, even in Heaven's despite. This scene the Tyrrhene

[1] Plutarch mentions a tradition that *idols* were strictly prohibited by Numa: and that they were not admitted into the Roman temples until the 175th year of the City.—*Vita Numae.*

engraver has repeated over and over again[1], and generally lavished upon it his utmost skill, always with some variation in the pose of the figure and in the details, for the exact reproduction of any signet-device was, for obvious reasons, strictly prohibited by law[2]. Of all these varied representations none has ever come under my notice so curious in its treatment and so valuable from the archaeological point of view, though far surpassed in beauty by many of its predecessors, as the calcedony upon which I propose to offer the following observations.

Capaneus, a nude, but helmeted, figure—according to the rule of perfected Greek art for Heroic types—is kneeling and falling backwards from the stroke of the thunder-bolt, which is seen at his breast in the shape of an eight-rayed star, not in that of the conventional *fulmen*[3]. He is in the moment of being dashed from the scaling ladder, which is tumbling about him, shattered into three pieces. The city-walls are briefly typified by a round tower, flanking a gate, only shown in half, in order not to interfere with the principal figure: the summit crowned with battlements of a peculiar form: and the mighty blocks of which it is constructed indicating the Pelasgian architecture of Amphion. The hero's figure is well drawn, and the sudden collapse of vitality in death from such a cause is indicated with considerable effect: but it is the *adjuncts* to the

[1] No less than three, all excellent in their way, are inserted in the '*Impronte Gemmarie*'—gems unpublished before 1830; and several more have subsequently come to my knowledge.

[2] Notably by Solon. It must be borne in mind that the ancient *seal* was the modern signature, and equally to be protected against forgery.

[3] In representations of the Death of Capaneus, the lightning which strikes him has the figure of a large *Star*. That such was the established mode of representing the actual flash as distinguished from the weapon *fulmen*, appears from Virgil's expression (*Aen.* II. 693):

> Intonuit laevum et de cœlo lapsa per umbras
> *Stella* facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit,

and again Diomedes, "triste Minervae *sidus*" (XI. 260).

scene that now constitute the chief value of the picture to the mind of the intelligent archaeologist. There can be no doubt that its artist, for want of better authority to guide him, put down for the Cadmean gate the portal of his native city[1]. Not the least remarkable feature in its construction are the tall slender battlements, topped with balls, so strongly reminding the *prehistoric* Cantabrigian of the Jacobean pinnacles of our own Great St Mary's steeple, ruthlessly swept away some forty years back by the then newly generated Gothic mania, now happily fast calming down. Such battlements show the appropriateness of the name of *pinnae* as applied to these defensive appendages by the Romans, who could only have got them from their original teachers in art, their Etruscan neighbours. *Timber*, evidently, is their material, as it was (probably) that of the upper part of the fortification of every low Cyclopean wall, otherwise so easy of ascent: a supposition confirmed not merely by the nature of the case, but by the timber *brattice* known actually to have given the desired height to mediaeval fortifications much more elevated than these were. On the other hand, the walls of cities "fenced up to heaven," with which the Phoenician artist was familiar, are always represented in his works (*paterae* and coins) as finished off with a *serrated* line cut in the *stone* parapet.

A medallion of Antoninus Pius exhibits the Cyclopean gateway of Alba Longa, as it stood in his day, supporting the gigantic figure of her famous son, and flanked by two lofty *lantern-towers*, whose slender proportions make us suppose their

[1] That faithful pictures of objects then existing were in this manner preserved, is made certain by a most interesting and important monument now in the Museum of Volterra. In the bas-relief ornamenting a small alabaster sarcophagus, representing the siege of Thebes, the *arco dei Giganti* of the Etruscan town, still standing, is exactly represented with the three immense heads at its springing and keystone, just as the sculptor saw them, more than two thousand years ago, with every feature perfect, but now reduced, by time's corroding tooth, to black and shapeless blocks.

construction no other than woodwork: and that accurate archaeologist, Virgil, would certainly not have "lugged in by the head and shoulders" (to use a vulgar but most applicable expression) Priam's wooden look-out[1] into his otherwise perfect picture of the Taking of Troy, had he not been compelled by the fact of its forming a prominent feature in the then existing history of that event.

That delightful specimen of an antiquary of the old school, the amiable Comte de Caylus, has published this very intaglio accurately drawn, in that inexhaustible storehouse of his long-continued gatherings, the *Recueil d'Antiquités.*[2] But in explaining the subject, he has exhibited a deficiency of *esprit*, and an expenditure of misapplied reading, truly to be wondered at in a Frenchman of Voltaire's times. He begins by looking at the picture *upside-down*, whereby he converts the hero into a *tumbler* throwing a somersault; and the architectural part into a weird-looking machine in which, to his infinite satisfaction, he discovers the undescribed *Petaurum*, that so delighted the Roman populace in the days of Lucretius and Manilius. His mistake is the more surprising from his having already given in the previous volume, the same subject, without the masonry indeed, but with the name ΚΑΠΑΝΟ inscribed (the first four letters in a monogram), which, however, he has, most unaccountably, been unable to decipher[3], or to divine the real nature of the subject, but

"Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus."

[1] "Turrim in praecipiti stantem, summisque sub astra
Eductam tectis . . . . . .
Adgressi ferro circum, qua summa labantes
Juncturas tabulata dabant, convellimus altis
Sedibus, impulimusque. . . . . *Aeneid* II. 460.

[2] Tom. V. pl. lxxxvi. 2.

[3] Merely remarking that the characters differ from those usually found on Etruscan gems. Tom. IV. pl. xxxvii. 4. By a strange oversight, he repeats the same gem, a white agate, in Tom. VI. pl. xxv. 3, with pretty nearly the same observations.

Although no description is extant of the real form of the *Petaurum*, we may be sure it was very unlike the object with which the too sagacious Count identifies it on our gem.

Manilius' expressions[1] are sufficiently definite to show that the machine was of the nature of a balance which threw one acrobat aloft in the air, whilst the other descended in a horizontal flight[2]: it was in fact a combination of our vertical swing and the "flying trapeze." Caylus, on the contrary, understands by the term a contrivance that shot out the performer by means of a strong internal spring, being worked on the principle of the cannon which, lately, projected the fire-fly Zazel into the clouds (of smoke) for the shuddering admiration of the visitors to the Westminster Aquarium. New inventions in this line are but forgotten tricks resuscitated. The fable of "Spring-heeled Jack," the highwayman, was an actual fact to the Romans, when the Emperor Carinus (who, as Diocletian said of him, did at least make his subjects laugh) exhibited amongst the other wonders of his magnificent Games, an acrobat termed *neurobates* "who by means of springs concealed in his boots flew up to an incredible elevation in the air[3]."

The notion of a machine for producing a semblance of flying over the heads of the spectators was naturally suggested by the military engines of the period, the motive power in all of which was a *spring*; that being the sudden recoil of a long lever acted upon either by the tension of twisted ropes of sinews, or a counterpoise of great weight. Such engines were capable of

[1] v. 439.

[2] The performers, no doubt, being equipped with *wings* to improve the illusion. Shortly before Nero's death, a *flying* boy was dashed to pieces at his feet in crossing the amphitheatre.

[3] Neurobatem, qui velut in ventis *cothurnatus* ferretur, exhibuit: et ichnobatem qui per parietem urso eluso cucurrit: et ursos mimum agentes: et item centum salpistas uno crepitu concinentes:—these last an anticipatory German brass-band, and a fitting orchestra to the theatrical bears. (Vopiscus, *Carinus*, cap. XIX.)

tossing to a distance far greater weights than the human body (for which purpose, indeed, by soldiers of special cruelty they were sometimes abused): the catapult of Archimedes, with three well-aimed shots of ten talents (six hundredweight), entirely shattered the *sambuca* of Marcellus, as it drew near his walls across the harbour of Syracuse, mounted on the decks of eight gallies fastened together. The use of these *tormenta* survived in actual warfare down to a much later period than is generally supposed. Stevechius, in his edition of Vegetius, gives a large and detailed drawing of an *onager* (or *trébuchet*, to use its very expressive mediaeval name) constructed during the German Wars of the Emperor Charles V. for the purpose of reducing to capitulation the garrison of a castle situated upon an island on the Rhine, which had set at defiance the light cannon of its assailants. This tremendous machine, its motive power derived from the sudden drop of an immense weight at the short arm of the lever—threw from the opposite river-bank into the middle of the fortifications the carcases of *dead horses*, whose intolerable stench quickly effected what gunpowder had failed to do. The good old Count with his imaginary *petaurum*, and the cognate ideas suggested by its mechanism, have led us far astray from the "Fall of Capaneus," which must have passed through many vicissitudes of Fortune, lively and tragical, since the gem escaped from his cabinet, which it adorned in the year 1762. It turned up, at last, mounted for a bracelet with six other antique intagli, in banded-agate, nicol, sard, and red jasper, at a recent London sale (May, 1883); whence, following the law of "Natural affinity," this rarity of its class was attracted into the ever-growing *dactyliotheca* of Mr S. S. Lewis, where Hermes grant that it may find an abiding resting-place!

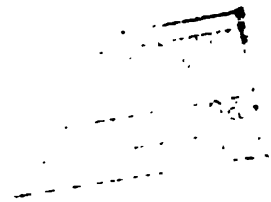
XXI. Notes on the Tympanum of the south door of Pampisford Church, and on the Rectory of Pampisford. Communicated by G. F. Browne, B.D., St. Catharine's College. (With one Plate.)

[May 21, 1888.]

On the surface of the semicircular tympanum of the south door of Pampisford Church, round the top, are incised ten small round-headed arches, which have escaped notice owing to the position in which they are placed. The piers of the arches are marked with incised lines, shewing the separate stones of which they are represented as being built. The capitals are of very early shape. Such arches in church architecture would be early 12th century work, but the style of surface ornament did not keep pace with the development of architectural styles. The arches are 5½ inches high, and the human figures in them for the most part about 5 inches. The surface of the figures and piers and arches is flush with the rest of the stone, the effect being produced by cutting away very roughly the surface of the stone within the arches, leaving the piers and figures standing clear. The ten scenes seem to be taken from the story of the birth and death of John the Baptist. Beginning with the lowest arch on the east side, the subjects are as follows (some alternative explanations might be given):—1. The altar of incense. 2. Zacharias bowing before the Angel. 3. The Angel. 4. Herodias's daughter dancing. 5. Herod and his guests. 6. St John the Baptist,

Tympanum, Pampisford Church, Cambs.

Lith. & Imp. Camb. Sci. Inst. Co



perhaps shewn as an angel. 7. The headsman's block. 8. The severed head. 9. A single figure in the attitude of carrying something not shewn, probably the charger with the head. 10. Another head, with the neck; the neck is bent sideways upward, as though the head had been lying on one side and was rising up of its own accord: probably shewing the resurrection or Invention of the head.

The Church is said by tradition to be dedicated to St John the Baptist. Cole, in his MS. account of the Church (B. Mus.) gives that dedication, but a note is added by Mr J. Allen that the dedication is to SS. Peter and Paul. Baker, in his MS. account, gives SS. Peter and Paul[1]. Carter, in his *History of Cambridgeshire* (A.D. 1819), gives St John Baptist as the dedication. H. Clouyll by will dated 17th Oct., 1453, leaves his body to be buried in the church of Peter and Paul of Pampesworth; and this is usually the most conclusive evidence of a dedication. The two Saints' Days are only five days apart, St John being June 24, and SS. Peter and Paul June 29, so that some confusion is not unnatural. The village feast is "the first Monday in July, unless that is July 1, in which case it is the second Monday." This brings old St John's Day, July 6, into the feast week in every case but one, i.e., when July 6 is on Saturday; while old St Peter's Day, July 11, only falls in the feast week when it is a Saturday, Friday, or Thursday. This is in favour of St John the Baptist as the dedication, and the evidence of the tympanum is strongly in the same direction.

The Head of John the Baptist is said to have been found in Herod's palace in the year 330. After many changes of abode, it was brought from Constantinople to Amiens in 1204, and this no doubt would attract attention in the north of France to the Invention of the Head. It is therefore interesting to enquire whether Pampisford had any special con-

[1] MSS. Baker, xxviii. 222.

nection with the north of France at that time. The Domesday Survey states that Pampesuuorde was held by Alan (Fergant) of Britany; he built Richmond Castle, in Yorkshire, and made Pampesworth part of the Honour of Richmond. The Counts of this line were represented in 1171 by Constance of Britany, and her granddaughter some time before 1219 brought the Honour of Richmond and her titles to her husband, Peter of Dreux. Dreux is not many miles from Amiens, and it is tempting to suggest that in spite of the early style of the sculpture, which points to a date 100 years earlier, it may have been due to this connection. The date 1204 or 1205 is only seven or eight years later than some of the round-arched work at Ely Cathedral, and the monks of Ely held lands in Pampisford. But it may well have been that the canons of Amiens procured the Head because of some special regard paid to the Invention of the Head locally, of which special regard this stone may in that case be an earlier evidence.

In the Cathedral of Geneva, among some very remarkable work which may fairly be dated quite as early as the earliest date that can be suggested for this tympanum, there is a representation of the daughter of Herodias dancing. The fact that she is dancing is shewn, much as it is here, by the swing of her gown and by the streaming out behind of the two plaits in which her hair is done. There is another curious coincidence. Herod is shewn dragging John the Baptist out of prison by the hair of his head, with his left hand, and in order to suit the grouping the prison is represented as a tower lying horizontally, out of the top of which the Baptist is being dragged; his body is half out, and is horizontal, while the king pulls the head upwards, so that the head and neck are in the same position as in the lowest end of the tympanum on the west side.

A few notes on Pampisford may not be out of place here.

The local pronunciation of the name Pampisford is *Pawnser* or *Parnser*, the last syllable evidently coming from *worth*, not

ford. The Domesday spelling is *Pampesuuorde;* the Hundred Rolls of 1275 and 1279, the Taxatio of 1292, the Pleas in Cambridge of 1299, and other records down to the Reformation, agree in the spelling *Pampesworth;* the Valor Ecclesiasticus of Henry VIII. gives in one place, on a return made in Norfolk, *Pansworth,* but in the local return, *Pamsforth;* while the Computus Ministrorum of the same King gives practically the present local pronunciation, spelling the name *Pawnesworth.*

The account of the landowners of Pampisford in Domesday is unusually interesting and varied. Forty-three persons held all the land in Cambridgeshire, and five of these held in Pampisford, Pampesuuorde as it is spelled, the *d* perhaps being pronounced like *th* in *this.*

The Abbat of Ely held a considerable amount, and it is recorded that this land had always been in the lordship of the Church of Ely.

Alan Fergant (iron-glove), of Britany, who commanded the Bretons at the battle of Hastings, was the military holder of Pampisford. His land was occupied by Ralph, who is supposed to be the Ralph who rode with Alan at Hastings, the one English traitor in William's army. He had improved the Pampisford property from a yearly value of 10 shillings, when he received it, to 30 shillings, at which indeed it had stood in the good times of the Confessor. There is a specially interesting fact connected with this land of Ralph's. It was held in Anglian times by Almar under Eddeva, 'Eddeva the fair' as she is described in the Survey, time after time, under the head of Alan's holdings in Cambridgeshire. All his holdings in Cambridgeshire, some eighty or more, were held in Edward the Confessor's time by Eddeva. The surveyors often call her merely Eddeva, but they keep returning to the description 'Eddeua pulchra.' In one case in Suffolk they describe her as 'Eddeua faira,' having coined a Latin word from the Danish original of our word fair. Who this beautiful East Anglian

lady was is a matter of much dispute, but the argument that she was Edyth with the Swan's neck, the mother of Earl Harold's children, seems on the whole to have the best support. Another view has been that she was Harold's sister, Edward's fair Queen.

Hardwin de Scalers was the third holder of land, and we shall see the connection of his family with Pampisford 300 years later. Whaddon was the Cambridgeshire seat of this family of d'Eschalers or Scales, and they continued there in the male line till 1467.

Picot, the extortionate and tyrannical sheriff of Cambridgeshire, was the fourth holder, and Ralph occupied his land. In Anglian times Ederic held it, the 'man' of Aluric Cilt: this is interesting as one of the occasions on which the curious and much-discussed word Cilt, meaning literally 'Child,' is used in the Survey.

Lastly there is the Countess Judith, the traitorous Norman wife—now widow—of Waltheof. She held in Cambridgeshire much of the land which Harold held as Earl of East Anglia, especially Kirtling, where Harold once had and she now had a park of woodland beasts: there were only two parks in Cambridgeshire, Kirtling and Burgh, and only 16 persons in England besides the king had parks. In 1057 Harold's brother Gyrth became Earl, and he was Earl when he was killed at the Battle of Hastings. It was he who urged Harold to stay in London and let him lead the forces against William; and it was he who in the fight unhorsed William with a spear and then fell under William's mace, the first of the brothers to fall. It is specially interesting to find that the land of the Countess Judith in Pampisford was held before the Conquest by a socman of Earl Gyrth; the Earl's name is spelled in this case as Wace spelled it in his early Norman verse, Guert.

This land brings us to the first mention of anything ecclesiastical. Judith's land was held by a priest, unus presbyter,

it was half a virgate, and was worth then and always had been worth 64 pence a year. There is no mention of a church, but the unus presbyter, without a name, seems to mean that it was the resident priest who had the land. The amount 64*d.* is unusual: it suggests 64 acres at 1*d.* or 32 at 2*d.* The virgate varied much, 30 acres, 32, 60, 64. In Cambridgeshire a church is only mentioned once, while in Lincolnshire 222 churches are mentioned. This increases the probability that in this case the unus presbyter means the parish priest: in one or two cases in this county we find "presbyter sine ecclesia."

The Hundred Rolls of Edward I. appear to settle the question as to this unus presbyter being the parish priest. At that time the advowson of the Church of Pampesworth belonged to Hugo de Broc, and the church was endowed with 32 acres of land with a house; the 32 acres no doubt correspond to the 64*d.* of the Domesday Survey. In 1292 (Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV.) the value of the Rectory was £17. 6*s.* 8*d.* a year, out of which £3 was paid to the Prior of Ely and £1. 2*s.* 0*d.* to the Prior of Barnwell. In the Valor Ecclesiasticus of Henry VIII. the Rectory is said to be worth £11. 5*s.* 0*d.*, out of which £2. 13*s.* 4*d.* was paid to the Vicar, £3. 6*s.* 8*d.* to the Prior of Ely, and £1 to the Prior of Barnwell, leaving £4. 5*s.* 0*d.* net; the Computus Ministrorum (Henry VIII.) nearly agrees:—Pawnesworth Rect' £4. 0*s.* 0*d.* The Valor Ecclesiasticus gives the Vicarage as worth £8, which includes, no doubt, the £2. 13*s.* 4*d.* paid out of the Rectory; this would make the Rectory and Vicarage together to be worth in the time of Henry VIII. £16. 11*s.* 8*d.*, as against the £17. 6*s.* 8*d.* which the Rectory was worth in 1292, before the formation of the Vicarage.

A post-Reformation dispute about the Rectory of Pampisford, as part of the possessions of Blackborough Priory, has two special interests; it was one of the cases on which Lord Chancellor Bacon was removed, and it stirred Sir Henry Spelman to write

his history of sacrilege. Edward VI. granted the property of Blackborough to the see of Norwich. Bishop Scambler leased it to Queen Elizabeth at a very low rate. She assigned the lease to Sir Thomas Heneage, whose widow, the Countess of Southampton, sold it to one Fisher through the agency of her servant Wrenham. Fisher underleased it to Harpley, and Harpley's executrix sold it to Sir Henry Spelman. Wrenham's son asserted that Fisher only held it in trust for Wrenham his father, and Lord Chancellor Egerton gave it against Fisher. Bacon became Chancellor and reversed this, giving the suit in Fisher's favour, and, without calling Spelman, giving Spelman's lease to Fisher, sentencing Wrenham to lose his ears in the pillory. Spelman and Wrenham complained in Parliament, and it was found that for these decrees Bacon had of Fisher hangings of eight score pounds. This was one of the cases on which the Chancellor was deposed. Sir Henry Spelman, having been a great loser, hereby first discerned the infelicity of meddling with consecrated places.

The successive steps in the process of appropriating the Rectory of Pampesworth to the Priory of Blackborough can be traced very precisely, and it seems worth while to state them.

Edward III. in the third year of his reign, May 21, 1329, ordered an enquiry to be made by Simon of Hereford, his escheator on this side Trent, whether it would be to the damage of the king or of any other or others if William de Lalleford, Chaplain, were allowed to assign to the Prioress and nuns of Blakeberwe the advowson of the Church of Pampesworth and if they were allowed to appropriate it to their own uses; also, how the advowson was held, what was the annual value of the church, and who were between William and the king as concerning this advowson (Record Office).

The enquiry was held at Pampesworth on June 4, 1329, before twelve jurors. They declared that it would not be to the damage of the king or of anyone else; that the advowson

was held of Isabella de Scales by the service of a twelfth part of one Knight's fee; that the annual value of the church was twelve marks (£8); and that William held the advowson of Isabella de Scales, who held it of John of Britany, Earl of Richmond, who held it of the king in chief (Record Office). The Register of Blackborough gives the intermediate stages through which the advowson had passed from Hugo de Broc at the beginning of Edward I.'s reign. First, Richard de Welles held it. Then, in 1306, William de Goldington and Margaret his wife held it. In 1309 they conveyed it to John de Hynton and Isabella his wife. In 1328 John de Hynton granted it to William de Lalleford, Rector of Revenhale, for 24 marks (£16), and William conveyed it to the Convent the next year.

The royal licence for the conveyance is dated June 12, and stipulates that a chaplain shall be provided to pray for Isabella de Scales and William de Lalleford. In 1335 the Prioress and Convent presented John Godred, Priest, to the Rectory (Register of Blackborough Priory).

On May 20, 1377, Thomas Bishop of Ely granted to the Prioress and nuns that they should enter upon full possession so soon as Hugo de Burre vacated the Rectory. The licence was granted on the petition of William Bishop of London, the Lord William de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, Robert (should be Roger) de Scales, and the religious women the Prioress and nuns of Blakebergh of the order of S. Benedict. The reasons assigned were that the property of the Priory had been greatly injured by a murrain among their cattle, inundation of the sea, and other ill fortunes; while the houses and buildings which the pious devotion of the founder had recently erected, of a noble and sufficiently sumptuous character, were in unseemly ruins by reason of a sudden fire; so that the Priory could not meet the charges for self-support, reception of guests, and other pious purposes. The petition was granted, to enable them to support these charges and to commend more frequently in their

prayers the souls of the Lady Isabella de Scales and of William de Lalleford, of the parents of the Bishop, and of himself when he should be taken away from this life. The conditions are that all episcopal and archidiaconal rights are reserved, and the honour and dignity of the Church of Ely; also the portion of the Prior and Chapter of Ely, viz. two parts of the tenths, greater and lesser, of the possessions of the late Auger, son of Henry, due to the office of Precentor of the Church of Ely; also the pension of the Prior and Convent of Bernewell; and also a congruous portion, to be approved by the Bishops of Ely, to perpetual Vicars to be appointed by the Prioress and Convent. By the express consent of Rector Hugo, he was to pay each year so long as he remained Rector six silver pennies to the Prioress and Convent, in token of their lordship and possession of the said church. Given at the Bishop's manor of Dodyngton in the fourth year of his consecration; witnesses, brother John of Bocton, Prior of Ely, the noble Waryn de Insula, lord de Teyes, brother John of Ely, sacrist, and others. Hugo de Burre signed his deed of consent at Cambridge April 29, 1377; the Bishop's deed is dated May 20; the Prior and Chapter sealed it on their behalf on June 26; and King Edward III. died on June 21.

The two Bishops named played remarkable parts in the history of their time. Thomas Bishop of Ely was Thomas Fitz-Alan, son of the Earl of Arundel; he was made bishop of Ely at the age of 22, and was 25 when he granted this licence. He became Archbishop of York in 1388, at the age of 38, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1396, at the age of 46, this being the first instance of a translation from York to Canterbury. He was declared guilty of high treason in 1398, landed at Ravenspur with Henry, and made him King as Henry IV. He burned Sawtre and Badby, and tried Sir John Oldcastle. William Bishop of London was William Courtenay, son of the Earl of Devon; he succeeded Simon of Sudbury, who was

murdered in the Tyler rebellion, as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1381. He prosecuted Wiclif and had the scene with John of Gaunt in St Paul's. William de Ufford was the last Earl of Suffolk before the de la Poles. His sister and coheiress was mother of Roger de Scales, who was made to march on London with the Norfolk rebels; this Roger's son was the last of the line, his daughter marrying Antony Widville, the brother of the Queen of Edward IV. Waryn de Insula was the last baron L'Isle, a barony not since called out of abeyance. His description in the deed as lord de Teyes is curious. He was summoned to Parliament as de Insula only; his grandmother was sister and heiress of Henry, lord de Tyes, and Sir Harris Nicholas states that the barony of Tyes or Teyes is in abeyance among her descendants, *if* her father was summoned as lord de Tyes; but here we have the title used two generations later.

The connection of Blackborough with the Scales family, who, as we have seen, were from the time of the Conquest connected with Pampisford, was close and permanent. Roger de Scales and Muriel his wife, in the time of Stephen or Henry II, settled monks at Blakeberg, then called also Shiplode, in the parish of Middleton (near Lynn), in honour of God, the blessed Virgin, and St Catharine. Soon after that there were religious of both sexes at Blakebergh, under Hamo Wauter and Maud his mother. Robert de Scales, son of Roger, settled it before 1200 on nuns of St Benedict, usually ten and a Prioress, and his son William took the habit of religion here. Catherine de Scales was prioress in 1238. The expenditure for lights shews that there was an altar of St John the Baptist, which gives another link with Pampisford. There is still existing at Middleton, the parish in which the Priory stood, the lofty gate-tower of the hunting castle of the Scales family, and their heirs the Widvilles.

The income of the Priory in 1292 was £45. 12*s.* 5½*d.* Of this £4. 12*s.* 5½*d.* went for the clothes of the nuns, £2. 17*s.* 5*d.*

went as rent of assise &c. to lords of fees, £1. 5*s.* 0*d.* to the repairs of the fabric of the church, leaving £36. 19*s.* 1*d.* (it should be £36. 17*s.* 7*d.*) for expenses and hospitality. The nuns and servants were in all 44. At the dissolution the net income was £42. 6*s.* 7½*d.*, which is within a shilling of the net income 250 years before, if we count in the £4. 5*s.* 0*d.* from the Rectory of Pampisford and the £1. 5*s.* 0*d.* for the repairs of the Church.

The Chartulary of Blackborough is in existence, in the possession of Mr J. H. Gurney at Keswick, near Norwich. Mr Gurney has very kindly sent me extracts from the Chartulary, beyond those printed in the Monasticon.

XXII. Notes on Limblow Hill, near Royston, Cambridgeshire. Communicated by Professor Hughes.

[May 21, 1888.]

About ½ mile W. of the Great Eastern Railway and 2 miles S.W. of Royston, on the brow of the hill which slopes down to Litlington and Bassingbourne, there is a mound rising some 18 feet above the ground with a diameter of about 42 feet, and surrounded by a ditch and bank, which have been so far modified or obliterated by recent agricultural operations that their original form and extent are not now clear. The path from Royston to Litlington passes close by it, and it has long been a favourite spot for a holiday stroll.

In summer the mound itself cannot be seen from a distance, but the clump of trees which surrounds and conceals it is conspicuous from all the broad valley W. of Royston, and from the hills above it.

The proprietor has recently commenced to remove it, and has cut a trench through it down to the level of the surrounding ground. This has enabled us to examine in detail the structure of one of these curious moated mounds, of the age and object of which so little has been ascertained.

I visited the spot with Mr Jenkinson last term, and have since sought for information on the subject from various persons resident in the district.

An examination of the interior of the mound shows that it was not composed of the material dug out of the fosse. Had that been the case, the surface soil which was first removed would have been first thrown down, and therefore formed the

base of the mound, and then the solid chalk would have been excavated and heaped up above it.

But in Limblow Hill there were from top to bottom rapid alternations of humus and chalk rubble in layers about 6 inches thick, just such as would be produced if only the surface soil and decomposed top of the chalk were scraped together and thrown on the mound. A slight rise on the outside of the fosse, where it still exists, seems to suggest that the material was thrown out from it to form a bank on the outside.

I learned that a rectangular pit four feet long and two feet deep and filled with large flints had been found at the bottom of the mound, but of this nothing was seen when we visited the place. We saw only fragments of an antler of red deer. I was unable to ascertain whether this had formed a pick, but it would be exactly the kind of instrument that might have enabled the mound-builders to loosen the surface soil and rubbly top chalk. Such a pick, made by cutting off all the points except the brow tyne, I have found in the fosse of a British camp at Parcymeirch near St Asaph, similarly constructed of the surface soil and rubbly top of the rock. Several such were dug up in the pits at Cissbury.

There is therefore much to suggest that the mound was pre-Roman, modified and used perhaps in Roman or even later times.

The name is variously given in the district: Limlow—Limblow—Linglow. The last form is interesting as there is a similar mound on the Westmorland moors[1] known as Lingy low.

Further enquiries have brought no information as to objects found *in* the mound. All that I could hear of occurred in the fosse or elsewhere *round* the mound, where human bones and Roman coins are recorded to have been dug up in the early part of the century. There is a note to that effect on the six-inch ordnance map.

[1] Near Crosby Ravensworth, Shap, Westmorland.

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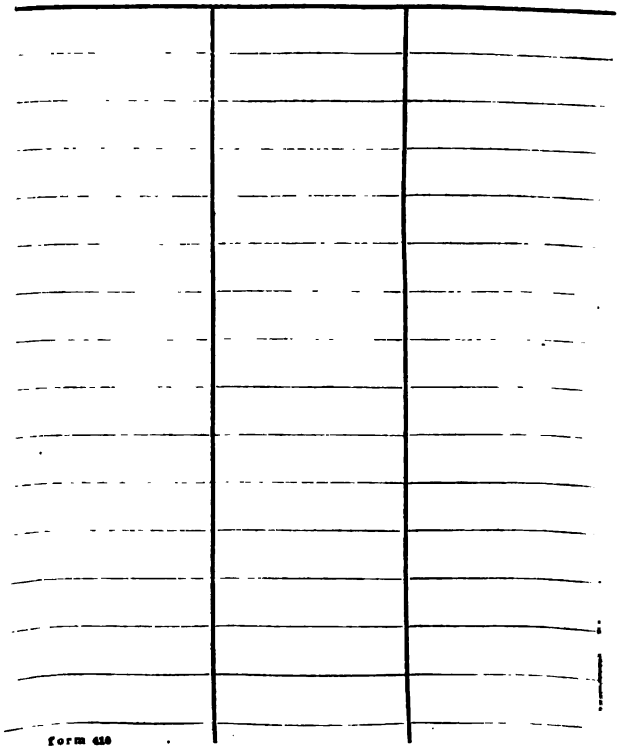

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